



**SADC  
Hashim Mbita Project**

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**Southern African  
Liberation Struggles  
1960–1994  
Contemporaneous Documents**



edited by

**Arnold J. Temu**

and

**Joel das N. Tembe**

**6**

**Frontline States  
(continued)**

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# Tanzania

**Tanganyika Independent on  
9 December 1961**

**Zanzibar Independent on  
12 January 1964**

**Union of Tanzania on 26 April 1964**

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# 6.1

## Tanzania and the Liberation Struggle of Southern Africa, 1961 to 1994

By Arnold J. Temu, Neville Z. Reuben,  
and Sarah N. Seme

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# Introduction 1

In defining the concept of liberation, it is necessary to point out that the essence of liberation is freedom. In his *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, Hegel stresses that "...the History of the World is none other than the progress of the consciousness of freedom."<sup>2</sup> In order to understand how the consciousness of freedom unfolds itself, liberation has to be conceptualized as a process. This phenomenon is well elaborated by Julius Nyerere:

Liberation is a historical process. It is not a single action which can be completed and have that completion celebrated annually. And for Africa liberation has four aspects or stages. First is freedom from colonialism and racialist minority rule; and second, is freedom from external economic discrimination; third is freedom from poverty and from injustice and oppression imposed upon Africans by Africans. And fourth is mental freedom – an end to the mental subjugation which makes Africans look upon other peoples or other nations as inherently superior and their experiences as being automatically transferable to Africa's needs and aspirations.<sup>3</sup>

Obviously, only the first phase of the struggle has so far been accomplished. While African countries are currently struggling with the second phase of the liberation struggle, none has embarked on either of the last two phases. Meanwhile, without effective accomplishment of the preceding phase, subsequent phases cannot be tackled effectively.

The history of the accomplished phase needs to be documented in order to uncover its dynamics and antecedents for posterity. In the specific case of Tanzania, a comprehensive documentation of the contribution of individuals and the country as a whole to the liberation struggle in southern Africa is still lacking. This is a significant lacuna in the history of the country, which this chapter attempts to address.

This chapter discusses the role and contribution of Tanzania to the liberation struggles in southern Africa from 1961 to 1994. It is divided into four parts. The first part introduces the study. It highlights its objectives, methodology, and conceptual framework. The second documents the role and contribution of Tanzania to the liberation struggle in southern Africa from oral sources supplemented by archival and contemporary sources. The third discusses various issues arising out of the efforts of the masses and the political leadership in Tanzania, to mobilize international support for the cause of the liberation struggle in southern Africa. The fourth part is a conclusion.

(1) The Research Team consisted of Prof. A.J. Temu, Team Leader; Prof. I.N. Kimambo, Department of History, University of Dar es Salaam, Project Consultant; Mr N.Z. Reuben, The Open University of Tanzania Associate Researcher on the Project; Mr E.C.J. Tarimo, Lecturer, The Open University of Tanzania; Mrs H.S. Simpassa, Lecturer, The Open University of Tanzania; Ms. S. Seme, Lecturer, State University of Zanzibar; Mr J.M. Kanuwa, Lecturer, The Open University of Tanzania; Mrs N. Kinunda, Assistant Lecturer, Dar es Salaam University College of Education; Mrs E. Kessi, Assistant Lecturer, Dar es Salaam University College of Education; and Mr H.M. Machangu, Assistant Lecturer, Dar es Salaam University College of Education.

(2) Hegel, G. *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*. 1837. As cited in <http://www.class.uidaho.edu>.

(3) Nyerere, J.K. "Address Delivered to the Convocation of Ibadan University, Nigeria," 17 November 1976.

The focus of the chapter is on oral interviews recording the memories and experiences of various groups who witnessed the role that Tanzania played in the struggle. The oral data was supplemented by archival and contemporary records. The targeted social categories included current and former political leadership, members of the defence force, and those who provided support to the freedom fighters, such as peasants, urban dwellers, and intellectuals. In collecting the oral data, the country was divided into regions, as follows: Arusha, Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Iringa, Kilimanjaro, Mbeya, Morogoro, Mtwara, Lindi, Ruvuma, and Zanzibar.

## Background

Tanganyika began to contribute to the liberation struggle of oppressed and colonized people before its independence in 1961.<sup>4</sup> The assistance coincides with the nationalist struggle waged from the 1950s by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) on the mainland and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) in Zanzibar. TANU, the first truly African nationalist political party in Tanganyika, aimed at seeking independence from Britain through popular elections and its founding father and leader for over three decades was Julius Kabarage Nyerere, popularly known as *Mwalimu*. Hitherto, there were Welfare and Tribal Associations essentially aimed at improving the lives of members. TANU was a broad, mass based movement led by a small elite. This origin gained its popularity across the length and breadth of the country, so much that it won a series of electoral victories in 1958, 1959, and 1960, before achieving independence on 9 December 1961. The attempt of the British colonial government to transform the territory into a multi-racial society through an electoral process based on racial parity in the elections leading to independence, in order to entrench indefinitely a white supremacy political order, was defeated when TANU won all the seats.

TANU readily shared with other liberation movements its nationalist experiences and skills before and after the independence of Tanganyika. In the TANU Constitution was enshrined the principle of “cooperation with all the political parties in Africa engaged in the liberation of the entire African Continent.”<sup>5</sup> As Cleopa Msuya put it in an interview, the philosophy which stated *inter alia*, “‘Africa is one and all Africans are our brothers’ was the driving force for our support for the liberation struggle; the other driving force being Nyerere’s commitment to the cause of liberation. Julius K. Nyerere, the founder of TANU, shouldered the responsibility

(4) Even before Tanganyika achieved independence, TANU activists were receiving and sheltering political refugees from Congo Leopoldville (DRC), Burundi, and South Africa: See interviews with Binti Omari Baluwena, former TANU Regional Chairperson for Kigoma, 17 May 2007; Ms. Moody Jackson (Mama Mzungu), 11 May 2007; Hon. Kingunge Ngombale Mwiru, 29 May 2007. TANU and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) in Zanzibar were among the founders and active members of PAFMECA and later the Pan-African Freedom Movement of Eastern, Central and Southern Africa (PAFMECSA). ASP worked closely with FRELIMO in prosecuting the liberation struggle in Mozambique before and after the Zanzibar Revolution on 12 January 1964.

(5) TANU. *Katiba ya Tanganyika African National Union*. Dar es Salaam: Makao Makuu ya TANU, 1967: p.2.

of liberation on the Tanzanian, African, and international platforms.<sup>6</sup> Under his leadership, TANU cultivated and nurtured contacts with other nationalist parties in Africa. For instance, TANU co-operated with the Kenya African National Union (KANU) in Kenya, the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) in Uganda, and the United National Independence Party (UNIP) in Zambia. Furthermore, immediately upon its formation, TANU began to offer sanctuary to cadres and leaders of nationalist movements. In February 1957, TANU assisted in uniting the African Association and the Shirazi Association in Zanzibar to form a united and broad based nationalist front in the name of the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), to strengthen the nationalist struggle against British colonialism and Arab domination, in Zanzibar. TANU worked closely with UPRONA in Burundi, raised funds to support KANU leaders during the Mau Mau rising, and provided guidance, material, and technical support to UNIP in Zambia and to the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) in Malawi.<sup>7</sup>

When Tanganyika attained independence in 1961, TANU proclaimed unwavering support for the liberation struggle.<sup>8</sup> Nyerere, like Nkrumah of Ghana, considered the independence of his country meaningless if it was not accompanied by the independence of other countries in Africa. Sheikh Abeid Amani Karume, the first President of the ASP and Chair of the Revolutionary Council of Zanzibar, shared these sentiments. He said, "We have to join hands to assist other African countries which are still under colonial rule and racial discrimination and unite our continent because Africa is one."<sup>9</sup> In pursuit of the objective of African Unity, on the eve of Tanganyika's independence, Nyerere openly declared his willingness to delay the independence of his country until the other two mainland East African countries, Kenya and Uganda, got their independence. At one level, this was strategic thinking: Nyerere knew that it was easier for African countries to unite immediately before independence rather than afterwards. At another level, this position demonstrated Tanganyika's commitment to Pan-Africanism.

The concern for the liberation and unity of Africa provides the thread that runs through the contemporary history of Tanzania. In an address to the TANU National Conference on 16 October 1967, *Mwalimu* Nyerere said,

(6) Interview with Hon. Cleopa D. Msuya, Former Minister of Finance and Prime Minister of the URT, (Mwanga, Kilimanjaro) April 2007; Similar remarks were made by Ambassador Charles S. Kileo, (Dar es Salaam) 29 January 2008; and Hon. Pius Msekwa, National Vice Chairman of the Ruling Party, CCM, (Party's Sub-Head Office, Lumumba Street, Dar es Salaam) June 2008.

(7) Interviews with Bhoke I. Munanka, 16 February 2007; Mwiru, 29 May 2007; Brig. Gen. (Rtd) Hashim I. Mbita, 26 April 2008, 25 May 2008, and 28 May 2008; George C. Kahama, May 2007; Walter Bgoya, (Dar es Salaam) August 2008.

(8) The roots of the nationalist struggle in Africa can be traced to the Pan-African Movement, whose origins in the New World are linked with the struggles of African slaves for emancipation. See George Padmore. *Pan – Africanism or Communism?* London: Dobso, 1956.

(9) ZNA/BA/68/2 op.cit.; See also interview with Mr Athuman Hemed Nyuni, 10 April 2007; Mr Borafya Juma Silima, 12 April 2007 and Mama Fatma Karume at Maisara, Zanzibar, on 23 October 2008.

While our concern with world events is real and important, the events of Africa are even greater and of more direct relevance to us . Total African liberation and total African unity are the objectives of our party and our government .<sup>10</sup>

*The Arusha Declaration* on 5 February 1967 reaffirmed Tanzania’s position to co- operate with other political parties from other states to bring about African Unity .<sup>11</sup> Concern for African Unity was not an end in itself; the founders of the OAU considered it as the most reliable and quickest means towards the second phase of the liberation struggle, namely economic independence.<sup>12</sup>

The TANU Guidelines of 1971 were very clear on Tanzania’s commitment to the total liberation of Africa . It was stated:

The second important aspect of our foreign policy is to strengthen relations with, and co-operate in supporting, genuine liberation movements in Africa . We have said earlier that our own Party is still a liberation movement in the vanguard struggle against colonialism and imperialism . By strengthening our co-operation, in the knowledge that their war is our war, we shall double our strength in bringing about the total liberation of Africa.<sup>13</sup>

These principled positions provided the *raison d’être* and *praxis* for Tanganyika and TANU to provide a home and training bases for nationalist movements fighting for the independence of their respective countries . Tanganyika also provided homes for refugees fleeing white oppression, providing them with support and training . So did Zanzibar under ASP leadership . The Zanzibar Revolution in January 1964, and the subsequent formation of the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar in April 1964, not only radicalized the peoples of Tanzania, it also strengthened their resolve to support and fight for the liberation of southern African countries, and of others yet under colonial rule.<sup>14</sup> By February 1970, the OAU Liberation Committee, established by the OAU in 1963, had recognized the ANC, PAC, ZAPU, ZANU, MPLA, FNLA, FRELIMO, PAIGC, SWAPO, FLCS (Djibouti), and MOLINACO (Comoros);<sup>15</sup>

all these liberation movements had representatives in Dar es Salaam.<sup>16</sup> Tanzania

(10) URT. *Tanzania Policy on Foreign Affairs: Address by the President Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere at the Tanganyika African National Union National Conference*, 16 October 1967. Dar es Salaam: Information Services Department: See p. 8; Nyerere, Julius K. *Freedom and Socialism*. Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968: See p.373.

(11) TANU. *The Arusha Declaration and Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance*. Dar es Salaam: Publicity Section: See p.2.

(12) Youlou, President of Congo Brazzaville. Speech given during Proceedings of the Founding OAU Summit Meeting. Addis Ababa: 25 May 1963.

(13) TANU Information Centre. *Guidelines*. Dar es Salaam: Government Press, 1971: See pp.5-6.

(14) Kileo. 29 January 2008.

(15) African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), Pan African Congress of South Africa (PAC), Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU), Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), *Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola* (MPLA), National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), Mozambique Liberation Front, *Frente da Libertacao de Mocambique*, (FRELIMO), African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, *Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde* (PAIGC), South West African People’s Organization (SWAPO), Front for the Liberation of the Somali Coast (FLCS of Djibouti), and *Mouvement pour la Liberation des Comores* (MOLINACO of the Comoro Islands).

(16) OAU. Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa. “Minutes of the Sixteenth Session.” Moshi, Tanzania: February 1970.



encouraged the formation of broad based liberation movements . For example, Justice Joseph Sinde Warioba recalled:

Myself and Hashim Mbita were members of an International Commission which investigated the causes for the assassination of ZANU Chairman, Herbert Chitepo in 1974 . We found out that the assassination was the result of ethnic differences within the Liberation Movement .<sup>17</sup>

The first Executive Secretary of the OAU Liberation Committee, Ambassador Sebastian Chale, advised liberation movements struggling to achieve the independence of the same country to form a coalition front and settle their differences after the defeat of the common enemy . He noted:

The greatest danger of the liberation movements going it alone instead of creating a united front was that energy, time, and money were being wasted. Since its inception at Addis Ababa in 1963, the Committee has attached the greatest importance to harnessing political forces into single units to speed liberation and recently the Secretariat held talks with the leaders of FRELIMO and UDENAMO with this in mind.<sup>18</sup>

Tanzania set up military camps for training freedom fighters from southern Africa and offered them secure rear bases for armed struggle,<sup>19</sup> while consolidating its defence forces to secure those rear bases and its national frontiers .<sup>20</sup> At the same time, refugees escaping persecution from colonial and racist oppression were accommodated in settlements and camps where they engaged in economic and social activities .<sup>21</sup> Tanzania also hosted their crèches and schools.

There is evidence that prior to independence in 1961, Tanganyika offered sanctuary to members of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa . In 1960, Frene Genwalla, an ANC member, came to Dar es Salaam to meet Julius Nyerere, the Chief Minister of the Responsible Government, to request asylum for Oliver Tambo and other ANC cadres who had fled from South Africa after the Boers had banned the ANC, the Pan African Congress (PAC), and the Communist Party . Nyerere immediately sought assurance for their safety from Governor Richard Turnbull, and paved the way for them to receive sanctuary in Tanganyika. Genwalla said:

(17) Interview with Justice Joseph Sinde Warioba, (Dar es Salaam) 14 February 2007.

(18) *Tanganyika Standard*, 3 August 1965.

(19) The Government was constantly and consistently taking comprehensive measures to enhance security within and around areas of liberation activities – S. Tunginje, Principal Secretary, PMO, to Inspector General of Police, in PMC/P.30/Vol.2/336, dated 2/3/86; PMC/P.30/Vol.2/23, dated 25/5/1990; Memo by Capt. M.M. Kimario, Commanding Officer, Farm 17, on “Resolution of the Security Problems of FRELIMO in Tanzania” in Ibid. Tanzania supported recourse to armed struggle when it became obvious that this was the only means to change.

(20) Interviews with Gen (Rtd) M. S.H. Sarakikya, the first CDF, Arusha , 10 April 2007; C.Y. Mgonja, former Cabinet Minister, Regional Commissioner and TANU Secretary, Mtwara Region, Regional Commissioner and CCM Secretary, Tabora Region, Same, 13 April 2007.

(21) Sites and Monuments identified from field research: Camps, offices, residential houses, graves, etc. Army Archives. File Number: PMC/P.30/1 /Vol.2/23.

... in 1960 I needed to inform (Julius Nyerere) that in less than 24 hours, the Deputy President of the recently banned ANC, Oliver Tambo, and other leaders would be arriving in his country to seek sanctuary, and to appeal to him to intervene and to ensure that the British government would not deport them and return them to South Africa, from which they had just escaped.

It was in the evening when I found the leader in a meeting of his national executive committee. He immediately left the meeting and in a short time obtained the necessary assurances from the British Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull. The next day, with the arrival of Oliver Tambo, the ANC had found a home in exile.

Nyerere's ready response to our appeal helped to shape the struggle for this country's liberation and the course followed by other liberation movements.<sup>22</sup>

Nyerere correctly considered apartheid South Africa as the "blackbox" of the liberation struggle in southern Africa.<sup>23</sup> It is not without interest that immediately after the independence of Tanganyika, Nyerere stopped timber exports to South Africa, closed down the Witwatersrand Native Labour Authority branch in Tanganyika, and banned the recruitment of Tanganyikan labour to work in the mines of South Africa, the economic costs to his country, notwithstanding. At the same time he nominated Chief Albert Luthuli for the Nobel Peace Prize, and joined Trevor Huddleston to found the British based Anti-Apartheid Movement to mobilize world opinion against colonial oppression and apartheid.<sup>24</sup> The choice of Britain as the base for such a movement was clear. Britain was South Africa's largest trading partner and the largest investor in that country.<sup>25</sup> In December 1961, he informed the Commonwealth that to allow apartheid South Africa to remain a member would be a vote to exclude independent Tanganyika.<sup>26</sup>

Similarly, Nyerere knew that a successful struggle against apartheid and hence colonialism in southern Africa, could only be waged under the banner of African Unity. Nyerere was one of the founding Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. At its founding Summit Conference in Addis Ababa, he committed Tanganyika to the total liberation of Africa.

(22) Genwala, Frene. Speech to the National Assembly. Cape Town, 20 October 1999. A year later, O.R. Tambo organized the recruitment of twenty-one Nurses to come and work in Tanganyika on contract. Interviews with Edith Madenge and Moody Jackson, May 2007.

(23) Interview with Justice Joseph S. Warioba, Former Attorney General, Prime Minister and First Vice President of the URT, 14 February 2007; Remarks by Prof. Magubane, Review Workshop, Pretoria, February 2008; the policy of the US State Department was to maintain white minority regimes in southern Africa as a strategy of protecting the long term interests of Imperialism. According to Sergio Vieira, former Personal Assistant to President Machel, Neto maintained that Mozambique and Angola would never have peace until South Africa is free from apartheid rule - Interface Meeting, June 2007.

(24) Genwala, Frene. Speech to the National Assembly. (Cape Town) 20 October 1999.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Interview with Hon. Dr John S. Malecela, (Dar es Salaam) 24 November 2008.

We in Tanganyika are prepared to die a little for the final removal of the humiliation of colonialism from the face of Africa ... the humiliating truth is that Africa is not free and therefore it is Africa which should take the necessary collective measures to free Africa. This is the clear and serious message that should go from this conference to the Security Council .27

Nyerere's remarks were partly in response to the call made earlier by President Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria:

So let us all agree to die a little, or even completely, so that the peoples still under colonial domination may be freed and African Unity may not be a vain word .28

Ben Bella's stand was certainly informed by the experience of his own country, where an armed struggle was waged in order to secure political freedom from France . On the contrary, having successfully led his country to political freedom through political negotiations, Nyerere was a firm believer in the need and importance of a peaceful liberation process in southern Africa . This is quite apparent from the political as well as economic measures he took in relation to the apartheid political system in South Africa in the early 1960s . Unfortunately, however, his position was forced to change following dramatic developments in southern Africa with regard to colonialism and apartheid from the 1960s . Portugal was unwilling to grant political power to the African majority in the colonies of Mozambique, Angola, Sao Tome and Principe, Guinea Bissau, and the Cape Verde Islands as Portugal regarded these colonies as "Overseas Provinces" . In 1965, Ian Smith declared unilateral independence from Britain for the white minority settlers in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), while the colonial power watched as a "toothless bull dog." This stance is not surprising as, according to Dr Malecela, when the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, addressed the UN Decolonisation Committee in 1962, he said that he expected the country to achieve independence after a thousand years .29 The South African apartheid regime strengthened its racial policies by banning the ANC and the PAC in 1961 . It also consolidated its illegal occupation of Namibia and intensified economic, political, and military support to the Portuguese colonies and Southern Rhodesia in order to create a buffer zone with independent African States to the north . Given this scenario, armed struggle became the only means to achieve the desired political change in southern Africa . According to Nyerere:

In Mozambique, Angola, and Portuguese Guinea, the African people are being governed by an external power which categorically rejects the principle of self-determination . In Southern Rhodesia, the colonial power claims to accept the principle of self-determination, but has utterly failed to assert its authority against a

(27) Nyerere, J.K. Speech in Proceedings of the Founding Summit, op.cit. See also Nyerere, J.K.. *Freedom and Unity*, pp.215-216.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Interview with Hon. Dr John S. Malecela, op.cit. In fact, in a meeting with President Kaunda in 1970, the British Prime Minister, Edward Heath, declared that Britain had no power to stop whatever action was taken in Rhodesia by the White Minority Regime and that Britain was not prepared to go to war to impose settlement in Rhodesia (LC/1/121. "Arms Sale South Africa."F.40).

racist minority which denies this principle . In South Africa the apartheid policy is imposed on the Africans and other non-white peoples and maintained by the most ruthless suppression . And the United Nations has failed to take any effective steps to dislodge this same tyranny from South West Africa. In all these cases outside forces are suppressing Africans and Africans are being humiliated and persecuted for being what they are, black or coloured Africans!<sup>30</sup>

Besides political and human rights principles, there were two other reasons for Tanzania's involvement in the liberation struggle . Firstly, historical and blood ties justified the provision of homes, material and moral support to those seeking refuge, both individually and as national movements . The ancestors of the majority of the present inhabitants of southern Tanzania originated from southern Africa . While the Makonde, Yao, and Makua reside in southern Tanzania and Mozambique, the Ngoni of Tanzania are cousins of the Nguni speaking people from South Africa whose dispersal in southern Africa was triggered by Shaka's Mfetsane wars in the 1820s.

Secondly, the people of southern Tanzania lived in constant fear as Portuguese harassment and aggression increased, particularly from the onset of the liberation war by FRELIMO . However, even prior to that, Portuguese soldiers used to cross Ruvuma River to pursue, harass, and even kill Mozambicans seeking sanctuary among their relatives in Tanganyika. M.M. Kalemaga indicated that in 1958, a Portuguese soldier who was fluent in Yao and Makonde languages strolled along the banks of the Ruvuma River distributing guns to the Makonde living in Newala District, Mtwara Region . He instructed them to shoot anybody crossing the river from Mozambique. When the report was later confirmed by the District Security Committee which investigated it, the colonial government took steps to protect the people from Portuguese attacks .<sup>31</sup> When in 1960, over 600 Mozambicans were killed at Mueda for protesting against Portuguese colonial agricultural policy, many Mozambicans fled to Tanganyika to join their relatives who were working in sisal plantations . In the same year, Makonde of Tanganyika and Mozambique formed a social welfare society known as Makonde African National Union (MANU) . It was transformed into a nationalist organization in 1962, known as FRELIMO.<sup>32</sup>

Several Portuguese provocations causing death to Tanzanian citizens occurred across the border . In 1966, a landmine laid by the Portuguese at Likuvi Village, Mahurunga Ward, blew up, killing three people and injuring several others . In 1971, another bomb blast in Newala District, Mtwara Region, killed a family of four . In 1972, a Portuguese soldier was caught with a map and a camera spying at Chitoholi in Newala District, while another, who crossed the river to attack a detachment camp, was killed at Kitaya by soldiers of the Tanzania People's Defence Force (TPDF) when he refused to surrender . Surveillance Portuguese jet fighters flying over the Tanzanian sky in order to frighten Tanzanians from helping Mozambicans were more usual

(30) Nyerere, J.K. Address to the Convocation of the University of Toronto. Toronto, Canada: 2 October 1962.

(31) Interview with Martin M. Kalemaga, (Newala, Mtwara) 17 October 2006.

(32) TNA/1600/Registration Association.

than rare . They flew along the Indian Ocean up to the Kikwetu sisal plantation in Lindi Region in search of guerrilla camps and the refugee settlement at Rutamba, bombing villages or dropping napalm bombs to burn down the villagers' farms. Portuguese acts of aggression could not be tolerated .

These provocations on the southern border with Mozambique provided the immediate cause for action to put into effect Tanzania's long cherished principles of supporting the liberation of the colonized peoples of Mozambique, whence the immediate threat came . Mark Chona, a former Special Assistant to President Kaunda noted:

If Tanzania did not assist FRELIMO, the Portuguese could have moved north to capture some parts of Tanzania and endanger the lives of many Tanzanians . If Zambia did not stand up against the Portuguese in Angola or the Smith regime in Rhodesia, the South African regime could move north to destabilize us. We could have been like the Palestinians who were forcefully displaced in 1948.<sup>34</sup>

Emphasizing that Mozambicans and Tanzanians were one people, Nyerere stressed that an injury done to Mozambicans was an injury done to Tanzanians:

A Makonde who lives north of Ruvuma is not different from the Makonde who lives south of the river . A denial of freedom to one is denial of freedom to both. And the Makonde born north of Ruvuma River is a Tanzanian . A denial of his freedom is therefore a denial of all Tanzanians' freedom . No Tanzanian is free when other Tanzanians' right to freedom is denied . No African is free while other Africans are dominated by colonialism.<sup>35</sup>

A three pronged approach was adopted by the government . Firstly, the government established detachment camps of the TPDF, along the southern border with Mozambique . The then Vice President, Rashidi Kawawa, popularly known as "*Simba wa Vita*" (the Lion of War), ordered Tanzanian soldiers to shoot down any Portuguese jet fighter which crossed the border . Tanzania decided to give full support to Mozambique freedom fighters by training them and providing them with military bases as well as social and economic development settlements.<sup>36</sup>

Secondly, Tanzania declared the southern regions of Ruvuma, Mtwara, and Lindi restricted areas to unauthorised aliens.<sup>37</sup> Hon. Chediell Y. Mgonja, who served as the

(33) Interview with Omary Hassan, (Vigaeni, Mtwara) 11 December 2006.

(34) Interview with Mark Chona, a former Special Assistant to President Kaunda, at the Interface Meeting between HMP Focal Points and Personal Assistants to the former Heads of State of Tanzania (*Mwalimu J.K. Nyerere*), Botswana (Sir. Seretse Khama), Mozambique (Samora Machel), and Zambia (David Kenneth Kaunda), June 2007.

(35) Hanlan, Joseph. *Mozambique: The Revolution Under Fire*. London: Zedbook, 1984: See p.21.

(36) Interview with Mzee Rashidi Mfaume Kawawa, former TANU Vice President, Prime Minister and Second Vice President, Defence Minister and CCM Secretary General, (at his Madale Residence in Dar es Salaam) 5 January 2007.

(37) Interviews with Mama Anna Abdalla, Former Regional Commissioner of Morogoro, 1975–1980, Cabinet Minister, 1985-2005, (Dar es Salaam) 30 May 2008; Mgonja, op.cit; Gen (Rtd) Sarakikya, op.cit. In his interview, Brig. Gen Hashim Mbita (Rtd) narrated how he led a TANU Delegation on a study tour to Romania in order to study its experiences on national security. At the end of the study tour, he submitted a report in which, among other recommendations, local residents were required to report immediately to the Ten Cell Leader any guest they received in their families.

Regional Commissioner (RC) of Mtwara Region from 1972 to 1975, recalls that it was a very busy place in relation to the pursuit of the dream of African liberation . FRELIMO had its Referral Hospital at Mtwara . Its cadres who were injured in battle were treated there . Mtwara was also a transit centre to other military zones . Similarly,

Almost everybody had a bunker. In every public building, we constructed bunkers. It was something new, but very impressive. Similarly, there were defence villages along River Ruvuma. Although the villagers were not highly educated, they had a high level of political consciousness which enabled them to identify themselves well with the issue of liberation.<sup>38</sup>

Thirdly, the government began the mobilization of peasants in the southern regions of Tanzania for compulsory militia training .<sup>39</sup> The training was later extended to the peasants and urban peoples all over the country in the wake of the invasion of Guinea Conakry by Portuguese mercenaries as a result of its firm and unwavering support to PAIGC fighting for the liberation of Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands from Portuguese colonial rule .<sup>40</sup> Trenches were dug and bunkers constructed in public institutions such as schools, colleges, hospitals, government offices, and so forth in order to shelter people from enemy attacks . By 1972/1973, a total of 3,962 peasants and urban dwellers in Ruvuma and Mtwara Regions were undergoing militia training . A total of 15,878 other people were undergoing militia training in the rest of the country.<sup>41</sup>

The Table below shows the number of people who underwent militia training throughout the country in 1972/1973 .

**Table 1: Status of Militia Training 1972/1973<sup>42</sup>**

S/No.	Region	Trained Militia	Trainees	Trained Leaders
1.	Ruvuma	2800	211	142
2.	Coast	8000	146	618
3.	Bukoba	5878	0	50
4.	Lindi	0	145	0
5.	Tanga	0	0	0
6.	Mtwara	1162	676	133
7.	Mbeya	2000	430	0
8.	Musoma	0	1125	0

(38) Interview with Mgonja, op.cit. After the liberation of Mozambique, FRELIMO handed over the hospital to the Government of Tanzania. It is now serving as the Maternity Wing (FRELIMO Ward) of the Ligula Regional Hospital.

(39) Interview with Mama Anna Abdalla, op.cit; Ngombale Mwiru, op.cit.

(40) Ibid.

(41) GSO Records: PMC/P.30/25.

(42) GSO Records: PMC/P.30/25.

9 .	Kigoma	150	0	0
10 .	Iringa	500	0	0
Total		20490	2733	943

At the same time the government created the Tanganyika People's Defence Force (TPDF) following the disbandment of the Kings African Rifles in early 1964, and introduced compulsory National Service training for school leavers and the general population, particularly civil servants . Narrating his personal experience of the latter, Ambassador Charles Kileo recalled:

I was inducted into the National Service in December 1966 . When I came out after five months of basic training, I was posted to the Regions . From that time we became Political Commissars of National Service . Even when we were at the University, we were Political Commissars in the Armed Forces, not only of the National Service . 43

The task of the Political Commissars was to go to military camps, places of work, schools, and other institutions, both on the mainland and in Zanzibar, to teach political education in order to raise the political consciousness of the Armed Forces and the masses in general . The TPDF, National Service, and the Militia played decisive roles in the process of putting the entire nation on the right defence footing . According to Walter Bgoya, it was still essential for the Party cadres to organize ideological classes in order to mobilize and win the support of members of the civil service, many of whom believed that the Government was wasting time and resources by supporting the liberation struggles in southern Africa .44 The effects of the political mobilization carried out by the Political Commissars are obvious from the memories of a former law student at the University College of Dar es Salaam:

I was the Student Leader at the University College of Dar es Salaam . When Ian Smith declared UDI in 1965, we organized an unauthorized demonstration to the City Centre . We stoned the British Council Library along Makunganya Street . We lowered the "Union Jack" from the British High Commission Building and burned it at the Askari Monument.45

These steps were taken by Tanzania not only for self-defence, but also to mobilize the villagers to receive and co-exist with refugees and freedom fighters . Freedom fighters were settled in military camps and refugees in settlements . The TPDF was also prepared to assume the position of training and fighting side by side with the freedom fighters . Among the first were freedom fighters and refugees from Mozambique .

(43) Interview with Ambassador Charles S. Kileo, op.cit. In his interview, Walter Bgoya recalled that members of TANU Study Group carried out the mobilisation work. Similar views were provided by Ambassador George Liundi, (Dar es Salaam) 30 October 2008.

(44) Interview with Walter Bgoya, op.cit.

(45) Interview with Justice Joseph Sinde Warioba, op.cit.

## Military Training Camps:

Tanzania had been offering military training to liberation movements since the 1960s . Movement cadres entered the country in different periods, either for training or in transit to other countries for the same . The first camp was set up for FRELIMO cadres at Bagamoyo in 1963 . The following year, it was transferred to Kongwa in Dodoma Region . The Kongwa Camp served all the liberation movements whose cadres underwent military training in Tanzania . Besides FRELIMO, they included the ANC, PAC, SWAPO, MPLA, ZANU, and ZAPU . In the course of time, political and military reasons compelled the Government of Tanzania and the OAU Liberation Committee to set up separate camps for different liberation movements . In the case of the PAC, the number of its cadres undergoing training in different camps in the country by 1983 was as detailed below:<sup>46</sup>

**Table 2: Training of PAC Cadres in Tanzania, 1983**

Liberation Movement	Camp Location	Number of Cadres
PAC	Dar es Salaam	75
	Chunya	88
	Bagamoyo	34
	Ruvu	14
	Morogoro Health Centre	13
	Mwanza	03
	Itumbi	06
TOTAL:		233

General Security Office (GSO) Records show that the following numbers of cadres were undergoing training in the country by June 1985:<sup>47</sup>

**Table 3: Training of Liberation Movement Cadres in Tanzania, June 1985**

Liberation Movement	Country	Number of Cadres
ANC	South Africa	1,756
PAC	Azania (South Africa)	249
SWAPO	Namibia	90
TOTAL:		2,095

Tanzania played a key role in providing training opportunities to freedom fighters . Military training included logistic operations . This involved reception, movement, storage, and distribution of military equipment, food, office equipment, vehicles, and other supplies to the freedom fighters .<sup>48</sup> The logistic operations were

(46) GSO Record: COC/P.3/5/Vol.II.

(47) File Number: COC/P.3/5/Vol.I/125,15 July 1985.

(48) Interview with Hon. Dr Malecela, op.cit.



carried out by the Special Duties Unit (SDU) under the TPDF . This Unit was concerned with receiving military equipment at the port, transport of the same and storage in warehouses in Dar es Salaam or Mbeya and then distribution of the equipment to the freedom fighters . It was also concerned with logistic requirements such as food supplies, office equipment, vehicles, etc, destined for the military training camps or the frontline . As Support Organ of the Liberation Committee, the other tasks of the SDU involved management and coordination of the logistic requirements of the liberation movements with the Secretariat of the OAU Liberation Committee.<sup>49</sup>

For example, in the case of Zimbabwean freedom fighters, 20,000 of them were evacuated from the country in planes provided by Nigeria after completing training in 1977 .<sup>50</sup>

Freedom fighters belonging to nationalist movements from southern Africa were accommodated in special camps chosen for their purpose . There were two types of camps: Firstly, there were camps which served as bases for military training . Military training and the support of neighbouring countries are vital in any armed liberation struggle .<sup>51</sup> Secondly, there were camps which served as settlements for economic and social development.

The Government set up TPDF and Police Force detachments in both types of camps to ensure their defence and security . The camps were also granted some kind of diplomatic status . The liberation movements had effective internal authority in their camps . According to our interviewees, they were internally independent .<sup>52</sup> Government intervened only when their actions diverted from the objective of liberation . The camps sometimes faced internal problems, as well as intrapersonal squabbles . Where the liberation movements were unable to resolve them, the Government worked closely with the Liberation Committee, the Frontline States and the liberation movements themselves, to normalize the situation .<sup>53</sup> In this case, Field Force Unit members of the Police Force or even TPDF personnel had to go to the camps to restore peace and order when freedom fighters quarrelled . Agents sent by the Portuguese and the apartheid government in South Africa spied on the camps, assisted by traitors among the freedom fighters . When such elements were identified, they were quickly arrested and dealt with . Mutual relations were built between the freedom fighters and the neighbouring communities .

The camps were scattered in different regions of the country (See Map I below) .

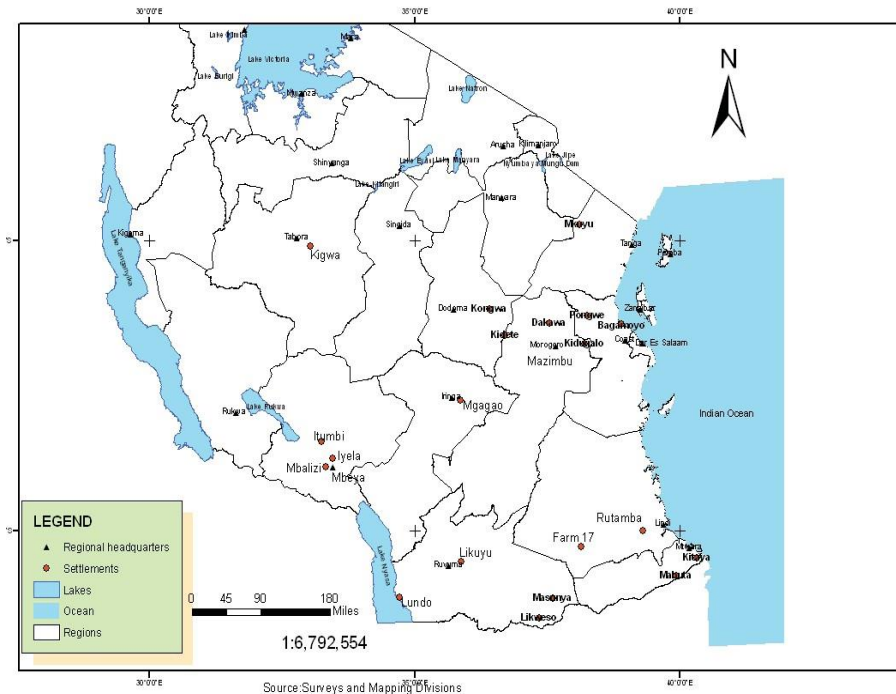
(49) Interviews with Major Gen. Muhidin Kimario (Rtd), (Dar es Salaam) July 2007; Lt. Gen. A. Mwamunyange, Chief of Staff and presently, Commander of the Defence Forces, (Dar es Salaam) 30 March 2007; and Mbita, op. cit.

(50) Department of Foreign Affairs Archives, Pretoria. "Tanzania Relations With South Africa." 1/199/3 Volume 2, Folio 27, 12/09/1984

(51) Lt. Col. Hashim Mbita, op.cit, p.135.

(52) Interviews with Brig. Gen (Rtd) Mbita, op.cit; Mama Anna Abdalla, op.cit.

(53) Interview with Hon. Dr Malecela, op.cit.



*Map I: Military Camps and Settlements for Social and Economic Development*<sup>54</sup>

### **FRELIMO Camp at Bagamoyo:**

The first camp was established at Bagamoyo in January 1963 for FRELIMO . The earliest arrivals at the camp included Generals (Rtd) Chipande, Tembe, Pachinata, and the first Commander of the FRELIMO Army, Phillipe Magaie . This earliest group was later joined by Samora Machel .<sup>55</sup> This camp ceased to be a military training camp and gave room to a secondary school for FRELIMO cadres when the Kongwa Camp was set up.

### **Kongwa Camp**

A permanent camp was established in Kongwa District in April 1964, named after the popular appellation of Kongwa .<sup>56</sup> It was in the middle of the country, far from the border with Mozambique and other countries fighting for liberation, consequently safe for freedom fighters to operate . It was set up on an abandoned groundnut farm, which had been under the British Overseas Food Corporation and was linked to the

(54) Surveys and Mapping Division.

(55) Interview with Brig. Gen. (Rtd) Hashim Mbita, op. cit.

(56) Interview with Mzee Muhidin Nuru, (Kongwa) August and December 2007; Some of our interviewees, including Mzee Tito, Muhidin Nuru, and Zuberi White Mwanzalila, told us that the Camp was started by the OAU Liberation Committee in 1964, and the first instructors came from Ethiopia and Somalia.

central railway line by a rail junction . The groundnut scheme collapsed in the early 1950s, leaving behind physical infrastructures, including dilapidated buildings, farm land already overgrown with bush, and thickets and an airstrip which is still in use to date.

The government decided to establish the military training camp in Kongwa District for strategic reasons.<sup>57</sup> At this initial stage, logistic reasons may have dictated the need to keep all the liberation movements in one place .<sup>58</sup> It was easier and cheaper to provide the movements with supplies like food, medicines, clothes, arms, and also to share limited facilities and services optimally . The first Tanzanian Camp Commander was Major Changambele.

Before setting up the camp, the government held meetings with the people of Kongwa to inform and prepare them for the arrival of the freedom fighters . Oscar Kambona, the Foreign Affairs Minister and TANU Secretary General, in public meetings with the people, stressed the need to accept the freedom fighters, and to provide them with moral and material support . At the same time, he stressed the historical and blood ties that bound the peoples of southern Africa, hence the necessity to take the freedom fighters in their midst, reiterating Nyerere's words that Tanzania could not consider itself free until all the other countries in Africa were free .<sup>59</sup> It is not without interest that before the arrival of the first batch of trainees, the camp was inspected by President Nyerere . Ahmed Ben Bella, the President of Algeria, was to visit Tanzania and inspect the camp, the very week he was overthrown in 1966 . While on a State visit to Tanzania in 1967, Gamal Abdel Nasser, the President of Egypt, visited the camp accompanied by his host, President Nyerere.

Muhidini Nuru, the Chairperson of TANU Youth League at Kongwa, led a contingent of youth in cleaning and renovating the premises of the designated camp and received the earliest freedom fighters that arrived there in April 1964 . He recalled that FRELIMO cadres loaded in not less than thirteen military trucks, led by FRELIMO Vice President, Rev . Uria Simango, arrived for training.<sup>60</sup>

GSO records show that in December 1964, five trained SWAPO soldiers arrived from China and were camped at Kongwa . More trained SWAPO soldiers continued to arrive from Egypt, Algeria, and the Soviet Union . Meanwhile, recruits from Namibia were also sent to Kongwa for military training . In October 1969, they declined to go to the frontline as they had not received sufficient training to enable them face the Boers . While 59 of these SWAPO soldiers were sent to the Soviet Union for further military training, those who were old and physically weak were sent to economic and social development camps at Dabalo in Dodoma Region and

(57) OAU Liberation Committee Basic Documents provided for member states to avail to liberation movements facilities for military training camps and social and economic development settlements.

(58) Interviews with Major Gen. Muhidin Kimario (Rtd), op. cit.; Lt. Gen. A. Mwamunyange, op. cit.; Peter A. Kisumo, (Moshi) 15 November 2007; Brig. Gen. Mbita, op.cit.

(59) Interviews with Mzee Tito, Muhidin Nuru, and Zuberi White Mwanzalila, op. cit.

(60) Ibid.

Pangale in Tabora Region, to lead a civilian life .61 In the course of time, however, SWAPO continued to send its cadres to Kongwa for military training .62

The first ANC cadres to settle at Kongwa were Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) soldiers who had already received military training in the Soviet Union and in African countries like Egypt, Morocco, and Algeria . They were sent to Kongwa to plan strategies for infiltrating South Africa . Our interviewee told us that the ANC and ZAPU planned joint operations at Kongwa to launch attacks against apartheid South Africa from Southern Rhodesia; one such operation involved the Wankie and Sipolilo campaigns from August 1967 to July 1968.63 The numbers of MK soldiers were soon swelled by fresh recruits from South Africa.64

Tanzanian military instructors collaborated with Chinese military instructors to train freedom fighters . The OAU Liberation Committee also provided instructors from Ethiopia and Somalia . Gun as well as artillery shots were always heard as the freedom fighters were training at the firing range beneath Mdinge Hill . Often, they were seen on route march . They were serious people determined to liberate their countries . Whenever a group passed out, it left for the frontline and a fresh group of trainees arrived for training.

FRELIMO cadres, the first group of freedom fighters to arrive at Kongwa for military training, were also the first to leave, ready for engaging the Portuguese in their motherland . Freedom fighters began their training under close supervision by the TPDF . After finalising the plan of operation at Kongwa, the first group of 250 highly trained and well equipped FRELIMO guerrillas crossed the Ruvuma River and entered Cabo Delgado to launch their first attacks on September 25, 1964 .65 The TPDF accompanied the guerrilla fighters across the river in order to provide back up . As trained groups of fighters entered Mozambique to fight Portuguese domination, the Tanzanian army continued to provide military training to fresh groups of guerrillas . This support continued until Mozambique achieved independence on 25 June 1975.

Kongwa Camp had a broader mandate of serving cadres of all the liberation movements . This factor accounts for the elaborate preparations as well as the moral, material, and financial support provided to the camp by the OAU member countries through the Liberation Committee . Tanzania allowed free interaction of the freedom

(61) File Number: COC/R.1/1: Reports of Freedom Fighters' Affairs.

(62) Lucas H. Pohanda, SWAPO Chief Representative to Office of Prime Minister, Dar es Salaam, SWAPO New Cadres to Kongwa, Ref: LC /26/76, 28/05/1976 SWAPO New Cadres to Kongwa, Ref: SN/ DTD/ Q22/76, Peter Nanyemba, Secretary of Defence and Transport, Office of Prime Minister, Dar es Salaam, 18/02/1976.

(63) In a Memorandum submitted by Chris Hani and seven other MK and ANC members who took part in the operation, they criticized the operation as a suicide mission and resented the ANC for abandoning cadres imprisoned in Rhodesia and Botswana while taking part in the operation.

(64) The joint operation mounted by the ANC and ZAPU military cadres to launch attacks against apartheid South Africa from Southern Rhodesia was planned at Kongwa. See also Obituary: Cde Ackim Matthew Ndlovu (Cde Hatari Ngozi) 1932-2009, p.4. Cde Ndlovu was the Founder and Commander of ZIPRA. He died in Bulawayo on 7 July 2009. He was laid to rest at the National Heroes' Acre, Harare, on 11 July 2009.

(65) Ibid.

fighters with the communities around the camp . The Ethiopian Military Instructor, Col . Habash, married a local woman . The marriage produced several children . Other freedom fighters in different movements also interacted fruitfully with the local people and some produced children . While some of Habash's children accompanied Zimbabwean freedom fighters to Zambia, others remained at Kongwa as farmers and businessmen .<sup>66</sup> Most of the children whose fathers were SWAPO cadres returned with their fathers to Namibia. However, one of them, Nashikele, whose father, Namala, was an uncle of Sam Nujoma, came back to live in Kongwa with her children and mother . When President Sam Nujoma visited Kongwa in 2000, he met Nashikele . Sam Nujoma was euphoric . He turned to his audience and remarked:

Kongwa is our home; the evidence to this is these children . We ate with you in your houses (*matembe*), we cultivated in the fields together, we married here, and the children are here . We greatly value Kongwa .<sup>67</sup>

There were complaints of freedom fighters “interacting with the local people, drinking with them in the local bars, sometimes fraternizing with people’s wives, which led to fracas and the police being called in to solve them .”<sup>68</sup> These incidents, however, seldom disrupted the cordial relations between them and the communities around them . Those interviewed remarked that they respected the freedom fighters as they never dishonoured their children . Whenever a freedom fighter made a woman pregnant, he informed his Commander who went to the family concerned to confirm the matter . When the child was born, it was registered with the government . All the children and their mothers were taken care of . Eventually, they were claimed in line with the traditional customs of their mothers.<sup>69</sup>

ANC cadres remained in Kongwa until 1975 . They then left for Mazimbu . They came as youth and left Kongwa as adults . They used to go to the front to attack and then come back . Those interviewed noted:

They had their families here . We took care of their families when they were away . When they went to Mazimbu, we took care of their infants . When they grew up, we sent them to Mazimbu . On leaving for South Africa, they took their children and wives. Even when they were at Mazimbu, they used to come back to Kongwa for the initiation ceremonies of their children . When such ceremonies were conducted at Mazimbu, their in-laws from Kongwa were invited . It is, therefore, quite unfortunate that when Mandela visited Tanzania in 1992, he did not come to Kongwa .<sup>70</sup>

(66) Interviews with Muhidini Nuru and White Mwanzalila, op.cit. We were not able to interview the two children who have settled at the nearby Kibaigwa trading post.

(67) We were able to meet and interview Nashikele and her mother. While Nashikele complained that SWAPO had abandoned her, her mother was very bitter that contrary to African traditions, the Government of Namibia has not assisted her to contact her surviving child in Namibia or even to pay respects at the graves of her husband and earliest child, both of whom died in Angola.

(68) Ibid.

(69) Elia Akwaake, SWAPO Acting Chief Representative to Principal Secretary, PMO, dated 2/3/87 in P.30/10/ Vol.5.

(70) However, Mandela visited Dodoma Region and addressed a huge rally at Jamhuri Stadium. Late on the same day, he flew in a helicopter to Morogoro, before proceeding to Mgagao in Iringa Region where he slept. Interview with Mbita, op.cit.

The people of Kongwa rightly regard ANC cadres as their relatives and playmates . Our interviewee told us:

We played football together . Through football, they improved their command of language . ANC had a very good football team . What current youth regard as fashionable was being practiced by ANC cadres in 1964. These include hair styles, men putting on necklaces and ear rings, dancing, etc . This shows that they were far ahead of us . The ANC team had a better standard of football than even our National Team . They beat all the other teams in Kongwa . When we went for the Regional League, we secretly included ANC members in our team . In this way we beat the strongest team in the Region, Maji Football Club, eight goals to nil . The entire Region got shocked. We consecutively won the Regional league from 1968 to 1970. The news that Kongwa had a very good football team spread throughout the country . The Police Force team flew from Dar es Salaam to play with us . Our team which played with them consisted of ANC members with the exception of two players only . We beat the Police Force four goals to two goals. The ANC goalie, Amos, saved a penalty shot. The Police Team proposed that the Kongwa Team should be made the National Team . It was then revealed that was not possible as the players were freedom fighters who would soon leave the country for the frontline .

Our relations did not end in football . Freedom fighters attended all the National celebrations . They staged cultural performances and addressed the rallies . We also took part in their celebrations . They also supported us in our development projects . For example, ANC cadres built our community hall, i.e. Police Hall. The building was inaugurated by Mwalimu Nyerere in 1968. The NMB Branch started there . It was our social and dancing hall . Whenever the late artist Patrick Balisidya came to Kongwa, he performed there . Freedom fighters who had trained as medical doctors served in our health centre . Meanwhile, many of the local people were allowed to go for medical treatment at the clinic in the camp . We, therefore, had very close and cordial relations with these people.<sup>71</sup>

Further, he said:

We will greatly appreciate it, if a high ranking ANC leader will come to pay homage to the people of Kongwa as we have our relatives in South Africa. True, there are also people from Morogoro and Dar es Salaam . However, they have never come back to Kongwa . They have been to Morogoro and assisted a lot . They have invested a lot of assets there . Why have they forgotten Kongwa when they started here?

Many of the senior commanders of the ANC lived in Kongwa . They included Joe Modise, Chris Hani, Ambrose Makiwane, Gen . Nkose, Gen . Masondo, and many others.<sup>72</sup>

The interviewees recalled that after the independence of Mozambique, Samora came to Kongwa . He addressed a public rally and thanked the people of Kongwa for their support to the liberation struggle . Thereafter, he held talks with the elders at the Rest House . Nujoma did the same thing . Angolans have not done it as they entered into a civil war after independence . However, Zimbabweans have not come

(71) Interviews with Mzee Tito, Zuberi White Mwanzalila, op. cit.

(72) Ibid.



### **Nachingwea (Farm 17) Camp:**

As the liberation struggle gained momentum in the 1970s, it was found necessary to provide liberation movements with training camps in other more appropriate areas . FRELIMO transferred their camp to Farm 17 in Nachingwea, which was closer to the Mozambican territorial border where the war of liberation had already been ignited . It was easier to infiltrate fighters to Mozambique from Nachingwea, which was a major TPDF military camp, probably the largest . FRELIMO freedom fighters were also sent to the Monduli Military Academy in Arusha for cadet and conventional warfare training . Russian instructors used to train freedom fighters at Monduli as well as in the other military training camps .<sup>75</sup> Freedom fighters began their training under close supervision of the TPDF.

Nachingwea was one of the three areas selected in Tanzania to settle British soldiers as farmers after the Second World War . Besides Nachingwea, the other areas were Kongwa in Dodoma Region and Urambo in Tabora Region . These were centres of a groundnut scheme . A total of eighteen farms were prepared at Nachingwea with a head office and an airstrip at the largest of these farms, i.e. Farm 17.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, the terminus of the railway line built from Mtwara Port to Nachingwea was located at Farm 17.

Nachingwea District, in general, and Farm 17, in particular, are of historic importance to Tanzania, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe . Gen . Sayore indicated that when he went to Nachingwea in 1967 to work at the TPDF camp there, Farm 17 was already a FRELIMO camp . The Government of Tanzania built a house for the FRELIMO President, Samora Machel, at the camp as he used to spend a lot of time there supervising the training of FRELIMO freedom fighters . In 1968, the Central Committee of FRELIMO created the Female Detachment and issued guidelines on their recruitment and training at Nachingwea . This was a significant landmark in the history of the Mozambican liberation struggle as, besides inflating its military ranks, it offered women an experience of equality with men . Nine years later, ZANLA, with the support of female cadres trained at Nachingwea, mounted an attack on a Rhodesian forces base at Chipinge Town . When Mozambique attained independence in 1975, Farm 17 was used for the training of Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) combatants.<sup>77</sup> They were drawn from ZANU and ZAPU armed wings, i.e. ZANLA and ZIPRA respectively.<sup>78</sup>

Gen . Sayore recalls that one of the most challenging assignments he carried out in the TPDF was to manage the training of more than 6,000 Zimbabwean freedom fighters at Farm 17 . Besides the freedom fighters, there were also more than 300 TPDF military instructors . It was possible to train three army regiments at

(75) Interview with Lt. Gen. Sayore (Rtd), (Dar es Salaam), 10 May 2007.

(76) Ibid.

(77) GSO Records: COC/R.1/1 Reports: Freedom Fighters' Affairs.

(78) Interviews with Lt. Gen. Sayore (Rtd) and Brig. Gen. Mbita (Rtd), op. cit. This initiative was intended to strengthen the efforts of liberation movements in Zimbabwe.



Farm 17 concurrently . On reporting at Farm 17, he found the Zimbabwean freedom fighters on a strike . Aware of the fact that they were armed, he avoided confrontation with them and opted for a dialogue . However, he made it clear to them that they should abide by the regulations of the camp; otherwise he would be forced to seek assistance from the TPDF in order to enforce discipline . Later on, he came to learn that poor administration was responsible for the disintegration of law and order in the camp . For example, although the OAU Liberation Committee was responsible for all the training needs, including provision of food, clothes, medicines, and arms, funds for the same were routed through the TPDF . In order to ensure that the funds were received in a timely fashion, Gen . Sayore decided to fetch the funds from the TPDF himself . Furthermore, he purchased cattle from Shinyanga and brought them to Dar es Salaam in a train, before shipping them to Mtwara in a TPDF ship . From Mtwara, the animals were marched for more than 100 kilometres to Nachingwea . In this way, he was able to solve the problem of the lack of meat at the camp . Another problem that he tackled was the rampant behaviour among the freedom fighters to smoke marijuana . To curb this dangerous behaviour, he sent vehicles to Songea, Tabora, and Morogoro to collect tobacco for the freedom fighters . With an adequate supply of tobacco, they stopped smoking marijuana .

At the end of the training, the cadres were sent to Mtwara to board a plane in order to fly to Beira in Mozambique, from where they proceeded to the frontline in Zimbabwe . However, they were searched before they were sent away as it was well known that some of the cadres had been planted in the ranks of liberation movements by Ian Smith . While carrying out such an exercise at one time, Gen . Sayore recalled that they caught a cadre with a map he had sketched to show key sites of the camp hidden in his private parts . The map was very detailed . Among other sites, it indicated the position of the airstrip, residential quarters for the trainees and the instructors, the offices, rooms in the General's house, including the location of his bed . On interrogation, the spy admitted to having been infiltrated into the ranks of the liberation movement as an informer of the Smith regime . As a defensive measure, Gen . Sayore immediately ordered logs of wood to be cut and then planted on the airstrip to prevent any unauthorised plane from landing . A few days later, an unidentified plane attempted to land, but was forced to fly away when the pilot realised that logs of wood had been planted on the airstrip . After the Kagera War in 1979, Gen . Sayore returned to Nachingwea to set up an Infantry School for the TPDF .

Farm 4 and Farm 5, which were detachment camps for Farm 17, are now used as National Service camps in Nachingwea . Farm 17, which was used by FRELIMO for training of soldiers, is now used as a secondary school . It has two ranges of buildings; one range of buildings were those built in the 1940s by John Moram an English Manager of the groundnut scheme and the second range of buildings, which are bigger, were those built in the 1960s and 1970s by FRELIMO . Another interviewee, Mr Longinus Nambole, the Headmaster of Farm 17 Secondary School, acknowledged and appreciated the effort done by freedom fighters at Farm 17, such as of reducing

the number of snakes that were planted at the farm in the 1940s by John Moram, the manager of the groundnuts scheme in Nachingwea . The purpose was to kill wild rats, which were destroying groundnuts . Mr Nambole said that, although they still have such a problem at the school, they appreciate very much the camping of freedom fighters at Farm 17 before the establishment of the school . He added that, if the secondary school had started at Farm 17 just after the groundnuts scheme, it would have been terrible . The establishment of a training camp at Farm 17 made it possible for the FRELIMO soldiers to significantly eliminate those snakes .

On the other hand, Mr Nambole provided an account of incidents of bombs in the school environment . He explained that from 2002 to date, students have found five bombs within the school surroundings . It was fortunate that none of the five bombs exploded . Each bomb was found in a different area and time . And each one of them was reported and handed over to the police as soon as it was discovered . According to the head teacher, the school environment is good, only that it is a military environment with the associated implications . These include the underground bunkers . According to Mr Nambole, a military environment and equipment should not be part of academic upbringing .

### **Mgagao Camp**

The Mgagao Camp was situated on a high escarpment in one of the coldest areas of Iringa Region . The high plateau is endowed with a temperate climate most suitable for the production of fruits like citrus and apples; vegetables like peas and cabbages, soft wood for timber, pyrethrum, wheat, barley, and other tropical and temperate crops . The villagers and their leaders were prepared to receive the freedom fighters to settle among them . This resulted from a visit by government officials to the village to inform them of the government's intention to provide land to liberation movements for military training, to enhance their capacity to liberate their countries from colonial rule . The camp was to be located on 1200 acres land . Part of it was an abandoned pyrethrum and timber plantation belonging to a white farmer who left Tanganyika after independence, and the rest belonged to villagers who willingly offered it to the government .<sup>79</sup> The camp was established in November 1969 and, in the same year, ZANU and ZAPU transferred their training camps from Kongwa to the camp in Kilolo District, 64 kilometres south east of Iringa Municipality and within reach of the Dar es Salaam - Mbeya highway .

Interviews show that the village grew rapidly following the establishment of the camp . The first group of freedom fighters to settle at Mgagao Camp consisted of MPLA cadres from Angola . They were followed by groups from Zimbabwe and South Africa . Groups of cadres kept on coming to the camp for training up to 1994 when the last country, South Africa, attained majority rule .

(79) Interviews with the Village Chair and Secretary, (Mgagao) 16 February 2007, showed that the land was not enough, so villagers were asked to vacate and provide land for the camp with a promise that it would be returned to them when the training task was accomplished .

The first group of freedom fighters from Angola arrived in November 1969 and left in January 1970. The second group, according to the Village Chair, was from Zimbabwe. It consisted of ZANU and ZAPU cadres. After three weeks, the Government of Tanzania transferred one group to another camp.<sup>80</sup> In this particular camp, discipline was strictly enforced. Previous incidents involving the murder of MPLA and ZANU cadres by the neighbouring villagers had taught members of the liberation movements a couple of lessons. These included controlling movements by cadres from the camps to the surrounding villages. The third group, which came from South Africa, was made up of PAC and ANC members. It arrived in 1974. The two liberation movements occupied the camp, with groups of cadres coming in and out up to 1994, when South Africa attained a majority government.

The first groups which received training in this camp were trained by Chinese instructors. These groups came from Angola and Zimbabwe. The South Africans were trained by TPDF instructors. Among the instructors was Joseph Mpewa (TR0062) whom we interviewed. He was a Warrant Officer Two (WOII), a title he held up to his retirement. Mpewa reports that he trained PAC freedom fighters when he came back from Uganda, after the Kagera War in 1979. He remembers the name of his superior as one Capt. Shayo, although he could not remember his second name.<sup>81</sup> Before he went to Uganda, he participated in training FRELIMO freedom fighters at Farm 17 in Nachingwea. Among those he trained was the first Mozambican president, Samora Machel. He describes Samora as a very brave soldier.<sup>82</sup>

Mgagao Camp was far better than Chunya for PAC cadres, because it provided better infrastructure and facilities. The camp consisted of six spacious dormitories, a large administration complex, a big kitchen, storeroom, a shelter for firewood, flush toilets, and showers. Its groups of cadres, numbering between sixty and one hundred, changed constantly as recruits came and went for military training in other countries, inside and outside Africa. The rule controlling movements to the surrounding villages was resisted by most PAC cadres who lived in Mgagao Camp, as it tended to turn the camp into "a concentration camp, a prison or solitary confinement." The cadres continued to sneak out into the village, bought home-made beer, and brought it to the camp. Eventually, the rule was relaxed and cadres were allowed to go to the villages, but only over week-ends. This policy resulted in disciplinary problems in the camp; hence corporal punishment became common in that particular camp. In fact, corporal punishment was used in all PAC camps and was among some of the issues which widened the rift between the leadership and the soldiers in the camps. The cadres felt that corporal punishment was arbitrarily applied and the "favoured few were absolved from it." In most instances, the "favoured few" were defined along tribal lines. PAC cadres found the food situation in Mgagao

(80) Records from the GSO show that clashes occurred in June 1976 where eight ZAPU cadres were killed PMC/P.30/20: 6/9/77-16/2/1978.

(81) Interview with Joseph Mpewa (TR0062), (Mbeya Rural District Office) 28 April 2007.

(82) Ibid.

Camp quite satisfactory . Crop farming was doing quite well in the camp . A former cadre is cited to have observed:

The garden thrived . We had abnormally large cabbages, beetroots, onions, and carrots . The vast *shamba*, the ploughing field, was green with maize . We ploughed with a tractor, so our toughest manual work was weeding the fields . We reared a flock of pigs and slaughtered them for meat . Yugoslavia also sent us a large quantity of tinned food that drastically changed our diet . We shipped bags of cabbage to Iringa town to sell . We were already anticipating a time not far off when we would be liberated from handouts from the OAU's Liberation Committee .

The memories which occupy the minds of many of those who witnessed the various groups coming for training at the camp were the incidents of fighting among Zimbabwean cadres which left a number of cadres dead and buried in shallow graves . Mr Kilavi recalls to have counted about ten dead bodies .<sup>83</sup> According to Mr Kilavi, other cadres fled and walked through the bush and mountainous areas of Iringa and Mbeya to Zambia and Zimbabwe .

It was reported that instructors of the same liberation movements, at one time instigated chaos among their cadres, such that for two weeks no training went on, as they refused to be trained by TPDF soldiers .<sup>84</sup> Following the chaotic condition, all 750 cadres were sent to Nachingwea from where they were to be ferried to Mozambique, and later to the frontline in Zimbabwe . When they reached Mtwara, on their way to Mozambique, they met about 5000 cadres from Zimbabwe coming for training . About 150 of those who were on their way to Zimbabwe mingled themselves with the new group and returned to Mgagao . Efforts were made to separate them because it was feared that if they mixed with the new group they would influence the latter negatively and cause more chaos .<sup>85</sup>

A request to release the ten instructors who were in custody following the problem was granted on condition that they should leave the country and perform their duties elsewhere, preferably in Mozambique .

In December 1975 at Mgagao Camp, the Zimbabwean freedom fighters made the *Mgagao Declaration*, to support the *Lusaka Accord*, which merged ZANU, ZAPU, the old ANC, and FROLIZI to form the UANC under Bishop Abel Muzorewa . They, however, criticised Bishop Muzorewa, Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, and James Chikerema as hopeless and ineffective leaders of the Zimbabwe revolution . They argued that the three leaders were incapable of leading the ANC as they were only

(83) Interview with Kilavi, April 2007. Kilavi worked in the camp as a plumber for more than 20 years. GSO Records show that one Swadzini Ndlovu of ZAPU reported that on 6 June 1976, 36 ZAPU members were killed by ZANU members at Mgagao. At that time, there were 809 ZAPU cadres at the Camp. Many of them fled on foot to Zambia: PMC/P.30/20: 6/9/77-16/2/1978.

(84) GSO records indicate that the Chairman of ZANU, Cde. Robert Mugabe, wrote a letter requesting the release of the instructors, arguing that they were good instructors and their detention would affect the training of the new cadres. But the Coordinating Committee of the Prime Minister's Office argued that if they were left free without any sanctions, it would be difficult to prevent the recurrence of such undisciplined behaviour in the future: PMC/P.30/20: 6/9/77-16/2/1978.

(85) GSO Records: PMC/P.30/20: 6/9/77-16/2/1978.

good at fighting through the press . They pointed out that Robert Mugabe was an outstanding Executive Member, who they respected most and could mediate with the leadership of the ANC . They also condemned the set-up of the Zimbabwe Liberation Council (ZLC) as being composed of members from Ndabaningi Sithole's home district . They argued that it was not the time for village politics and that all of the members had records of corruption and subversion in the former ZANU . So they declared that they did not accept the ZLC and that Ndabaningi Sithole had done nothing to promote the armed struggle .<sup>86</sup> Thus, Mgagao is remembered for this declaration, which marked a significant turning point in the Zimbabwean politics and the liberation struggle .

Many of the conflicts that involved liberation movements also involved Tanzania, as a host country to the liberation movements . Tanzania, as one of the Frontline States, had to oversee that justice was done to make the liberation struggle a success; hence many times undertook to reconcile splinter groups .<sup>87</sup> In executing this role, *Mwalimu* Nyerere was sometimes branded a dictator by those who refused to obey the law and were affected negatively by the consequences of their own actions.<sup>88</sup>

The neighbouring community co-existed amicably with many of the liberation movements which lived at Mgagao Camp . They exchanged goods which were required to sustain their lives . For instance, the cadres had items such as sugar, rice, cooking oil, jackets, and blankets supplied to them by the OAU Liberation Committee and donor countries . At times they exchanged such items for items from the local community such as local beer, or sold them to get money for purchasing other items . They took time off to socialize with the villagers, especially women, and this resulted in marriages . Some of the children born from these marriages were taken back to the freedom fighters' respective countries . Others were left behind by the freedom fighters and were brought up by their mothers, especially where the mothers were reluctant to let their children go . During the time of this study, a list of 22 people claiming to be born of freedom fighters was provided by the Village Chairman who had taken a census of them in Mgagao, following a directive from Dr Asha-Rose Migiro, then Minister of Community Development, Women Affairs, and Children in Tanzania (later Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation and presently the Deputy Secretary General of the UN) . Frequent fighting between individuals in the local community and the freedom fighters occurred, but most of the time the freedom fighters fought among themselves . The Kihesa-Mgagao Village Chairman told us that some of the cadres did not live amicably with the villagers.<sup>89</sup> Regardless of

(86) Chung, Fay. *Re-Living the Second Chimurenga: Memories from Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle*. Stockholm: the Nordic Africa Institute, 2006: See pp.340-346.

(87) Interview with Brigadier General Mbita, op.cit., indicates that the efforts to reconcile the two groups in conflict were thought to have succeeded only to be informed of the deaths later.

(88) GSO Records show that frequent chaos occurred at Mgagao which involved reconciliation and decisions of the Coordinating Committee of the Prime Minister's Office. COC/R.1/1 Reports: Freedom Fighters' Affairs.

(89) The Village Chairman describes some of the PAC cadres as people of doubtful characters typical of frustrated people, a product of the apartheid system which made them what they were.

such minor negative comments, the villagers accepted the freedom fighters as part of them, such that it was difficult for everybody to believe that they would be leaving. It was reported that the whole village spent sleepless nights bidding farewell to the freedom fighters, while others cried over losing their beloved ones.<sup>90</sup>

## ANC Camps in Tanzania

The ANC relocated its training camp to the Morogoro Region where they had already established ANC headquarters in exile since 1965. Mama Ana Abdalla told us that they established other camps at Kingoluwira, Magadi, and Kidete in Morogoro Region; Pongwe in Coast Region; Mkuyu in Handeni District, Tanga Region; Mgagao in Iringa Region and Itumbi in Chunya District, Mbeya Region.<sup>91</sup> When the ANC was forced to suspend its activities in Mozambique in the wake of the 1984 Nkomati Accord, and later in Angola as a pre-condition for the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia, the movement relocated some of its *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK) fighters to its camps in Morogoro and Iringa (Mgagao) in Tanzania.

### Chunya Camp

The PAC was established on 6th April 1959 after breaking away from the ANC of South Africa. However, the PAC was banned on 21 March 1960, after organizing a nation-wide campaign against the pass laws which led to the Sharpeville and Langa massacres in which 72 people were killed and more than 360 wounded.<sup>92</sup> After this tragic incident, many PAC cadres and leaders, including its founder, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, and Secretary General, Potlako K. Leballo, were detained. Three members of the Executive Committee, who were not detained because they were outside South Africa during the massacres, were N. Machomo, P. Molotsi, and P. Raboroko. Another Executive Committee Member, Z.B. Molote, who was out on bail, was advised to flee the country to help run PAC underground within South Africa. Many PAC cadres fled to neighbouring countries, where they could be trained. Instead of the three members who were out of the country during the massacre (i.e. Machomo (London), P. Molotsi (Accra), and P. Raboroko (Maseru)) helping the young people escaping South Africa to get training to strengthen liberation activities, they saw them as threats to their leadership positions. So many of the youths ended in refugee camps, while others got chances for further studies in different countries which supported the struggle. Meanwhile, Molote, who continued to run PAC activities underground, was able to

(90) The Village Chairman reports how painful it was to say goodbye to these people.

(91) Minute dated 17/09/76 by B.M. Kibasa, Coordinating Officer, COC/R.1/30/Vol.II; Meeting Between the Defence Minister, Hon. Salim A. Salim and the ANC Delegation from Lusaka on 26/2/1988 in COC/ANC/SA/M/Vol.I. PMC/P.30/1/Vol.2/23 dated 25/5/90;

(92) Interview with P.K. Leballo, Acting President and National Secretary, Pan African Congress of Azania (South Africa) in the *Nationalist*, 7 July 1971 (GSO Records, PMC/P.30/25). This account has also been drawn from the Memorandum of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress to the OAU Liberation Committee, 20 October 1972.

travel between South Africa and Lesotho, leading PAC cadres in those areas as ‘Acting President.’

Early in 1963, P.K. Leballo, who was Secretary General since the formation of the PAC, went to Lesotho after being released from prison in South Africa. He took over Molote’s position and formed the “Presidential Council” with himself as the Chair. P. Molotsi, who was in Accra, moved his office to Dar es Salaam in 1963. P. Raboko, who came earlier to Tanzania than Molotsi, was teaching in Moshi. Other members of the NEC who followed after Molotsi and Raboko to Dar es Salaam in 1964 were J.D. Nyaose and A.B. Ngcobo. Later, they were joined by M. Nkoana and R. Tshehlana. However, Molotsi refused to cooperate with his fellow leaders, arguing that they had no mandate to run the PAC in Dar es Salaam. Approval was granted, after consulting Leballo, for the leadership to remain in Dar es Salaam. After a short time, Molotsi was removed from the leadership after discovering that he was misusing funds released by the OAU Liberation Committee. Later, Nyaose, helped by Raboko who had left his teaching job, had conflict with Ngcobo over the position left by Molotsi. Leballo and Z.B. Molote had to come to Dar es Salaam from Maseru to settle the dispute. After that, Leballo and Molote toured some European countries, and then Molote went to run the Lusaka office, but Leballo had no permanent office. He sometimes stayed in Dar es Salaam and sometimes in Lusaka.

At the end of 1964, the PAC had a good number of cadres who had received military training in friendly countries. The PAC began to move the majority of its cadres to Tanzania. Unlike the ANC which had numerous camps in Angola, Zambia, Lesotho, and Tanzania, with cadres more than a hundred in each, the recognisable PAC military camps which existed in exile were in Lesotho and Tanzania. The PAC, however, had numerous cell structures in countries such as Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, and even Uganda.<sup>93</sup> For the PAC cadres who came to Tanzania from 1964, accommodation was offered in a camp at Chunya. The camp settlement was offered by the Government of Tanzania. The Chunya Camp was the first PAC camp in Tanzania. Besides this camp, the PAC had established an army camp in Leopoldville (Kinshasa), Congo, in 1963 where the first group of its guerrillas was trained. The camp in Leopoldville was at Kikunzu. It belonged to the FNLA, but was temporarily given to the PAC for the training of its first group of guerrillas in November 1963. As a result of the leadership disputes already referred to, conditions in this camp and other PAC camps were unsatisfactory. For example, conditions inside the Kinkunzu Camp have been described as consisting of “ramshackle logistical systems, inadequate food, poor training facilities and inhabitability which led to poor health of inmates, death and disease.”<sup>94</sup>

In the Chunya Camp, the same conditions prevailed. Residents complained of a poor diet, loneliness, poor training facilities, and, worst of all, the lack of a

(93) Interview with Col. Gide Rose Jale (Mopero), (the South African High Commission in Dar es Salaam) 4 December 2007.

(94) Interview with P.K. Leballo, op. cit.

programme of action . For this reason, many PAC cadres, particularly those who could speak Kiswahili, tended to disappear over the weekends from the camp in order to socialize with Tanzanian nationals . As the PAC was involved in leadership battles and internal conflicts, the camp did not develop into a significant military camp . The cadre population in this camp varied from time to time, and at no time did this camp accommodate more than a hundred PAC cadres . Similarly, aware of the temporary nature of the settlement and also the importance of secrecy, given the political conditions of southern Africa as a whole, the residents of the camp never established a thoroughly organised community life . It was stressed “once a person establishes himself, he develops roots, and this retards the home going process .”<sup>95</sup> With this rationale, the PAC leadership did not to fund the development of infrastructure in the Chunya Camp . Consequently, conditions in the camp remained precarious, unstable, and transient . The PAC also established camps at Ruvu and Pongwe in the Coast Region.

### **Itumbi Camp**

In November 1965, another camp was established at Itumbi in Chunya District, Mbeya Region . It was set in a double-storey, redbrick structure left behind by a British settler, who was a miner, upon Tanganyika’s independence . He gave the right of its occupancy to his house boy .<sup>96</sup> It is about 15 to 20 kilometres from Matundasi, a village situated to the West of Chunya Town along the road to Makongolosi . It is a mining area where gold is mined just a few kilometres from the residential houses . Even the camp itself is surrounded by mines and the majority of people there are small-scale miners from various parts of Tanzania, particularly, Tabora, Shinyanga, and Mwanza Regions . The rest of the community live on farming and cattle rearing.

The ground floor of the double-storey building housed a small camp press, a store-room, and a dispensary . The first floor accommodated cadres . There were also a few tents, some borrowed from the TPDF . These were pitched near the building and were used to alleviate overcrowding . In front of the red-brick building was a parade ground used for drills by the soldiers and also for sporting activities such as volleyball and soccer .

The first group of freedom fighters arrived in February 1966 . These were MPLA cadres from Angola, who stayed for three years before leaving . The second group was from Zimbabwe, which arrived in 1972, stayed for two years and left . FRELIMO cadres are said to have stayed in Itumbi briefly, but the exact time is not known . The last group was from South Africa, comprising of ANC and PAC cadres . Later, the ANC were transferred to Iringa and only the PAC remained in the camp . Even the

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(95) Ibid.

(96) Interview with Mr Chisipula, 29 April 2007.



PAC was later on transferred to Mgagao following disagreement between a group which supported Leballo and the rest .97

Like the freedom fighters of Mgagao Camp, those of Itumbi had close social interaction with the villagers around them . They drank with them and socialized with the women . The Tanzanian government had introduced the Villagization Policy in 1969, which forced the villagers from Itumbi to move to Matundasi;98 this did not hinder the freedom fighters from going there to visit them . The more positive results of this socialization were children . Unlike Mgagao, no census was taken and therefore it is difficult to establish the exact number of those who share blood relations with the freedom fighters who lived there . Some of the children, however, were taken by their fathers, while others remained with their mothers .99 These children have been the lasting bond that ties Tanzania to the freedom fighters and with the countries that have been liberated as a result of the support given by Tanzania.

### **Other Liberation Struggle Sites in Mbeya Region**

The freedom fighters rented houses in Mbeya town, where they stayed when they visited the area . Among these was the house opposite Mkapa Conference Hall, which was formerly *Worofea* Centre (Welfare Centre), and which belonged to a man by the name of Kibwana . It was reported that freedom fighters such as Leballo, Sithole, Mugabe, and Samora used to visit the place and talk to their fellow freedom fighters while taking drinks . A woman by the name of Ramla Kibwana (the daughter of the late Kibwana, the owner of the house) denies that the freedom fighters lived there . However, she admits that they visited the place to take the local brew which she sold . The first PAFMECSA Meeting was held at the *Worofea* Centre in 1962. Others were at Majengo and at Isanga .100

Another place visited in Mbeya City is the centre for receiving migrant labourers for the mines in South Africa, which was built before the First World War . Later, it was turned into a camp for FRELIMO freedom fighters near Mbeya Airport, and is now Samora Secondary School . Samora House, a house the late President of Mozambique is said to have lived in once, was also visited .101 The house is still there, though not in good condition because the glass windows have been broken, some doors stolen, and the roof is dilapidated . However, the compound is still very clean and is being guarded by TPDF soldiers .102

(97) GSO Records show that the last group of PAC cadres was transferred to Mgagao in 1983 by Lt Colonel Matiku.

(98) Interview with Mzee Roki, (Matundas) 29 April 2007.

(99) Interview with Mzee Kayoka, (Matundas) 29 April 2007.

(100) Interview with Mama Ramla Kibwana, (Mbeya) 28 April 2007.

(101) There are conflicting reports concerning this house: For instance, Brigadier Gen. Mbita refutes that Samora lived in Mbeya, while interviews with the local people, one of them being Samora's Training Officer, show that he did live there.

(102) Interview with Said Mpewa, (Mbeya) 28 April 2007.

## Settlements for Economic and Social Development

The Government of Tanzania offered land for settlement and production to the liberation movements, for cadres who remained in the country for a considerable period of time . The movements included FRELIMO, ANC, PAC, and SWAPO .<sup>103</sup> Through the OAU Liberation Committee, as well as their own contacts, the movements were able to secure technical, financial, and material assistance from UN agencies, international organisations, Scandinavian countries, and solidarity groups in Europe and North America, for social and economic projects in the settlements . Accounts from interviews conducted indicate that the people, the Government of Tanzania, as well as the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar availed considerable material, financial, social, political, and even moral assistance to these camps.<sup>104</sup>

In Ruvuma Region, Dr Lawrence Gama explained that refugees, mostly women and children arrived in big numbers . This meant there was substantial need for food and accommodation . The immediate action was to accommodate the groups in available premises before a permanent solution was found . In most cases, Tanzanians accepted the newcomers in their homes, and provided them with food and shelter . The government also gave support . However, this was a temporary solution . A permanent solution involved finding land, clearing, and assembling camping material . In most cases, the immediate support came from Tanzania, and the support of international organizations came later . According to Dr Gama, Tanzania's contribution included money, facilities, labour, and administration costs . The youth, especially from the National Service Camps, were easily mobilized to build refugee camps, which provided mutual benefits to both the host and refugee communities .

### Rutamba Settlement

Many Mozambicans crossed the Tanzania-Mozambique border to the northern part of Ruvuma River to join their relatives after the Mueda Massacre in 1960 . However, massive migration of hundreds upon hundreds of Mozambican refugees to southern Tanzania began in late 1964; a month after FRELIMO launched military operations against the Portuguese . Within the first three months, over 10,000 refugees crossed the border .<sup>105</sup> In the beginning, refugees entered without proper arrangements . The government made provision in the country's laws to cater for refugees . The Second Vice-President, Rashid Kawawa, set the purpose of the Tanzanian policy towards refugees . He said that:

Tanzania Government is convinced that her independence is incomplete before the whole of Africa is independent . We shall neither give up nor lag behind in supporting the refugees . This group of refugees does not get any help from the United

(103) COC/R.1/1 Part B: Reports of Freedom Fighters' Affairs.

(104) This is apparent from the accounts provided under each settlement.

(105) Interviews with Sayore, Kimario, (Kawawa) op.cit.

Nations High Commissioner for Refugees . So it depends solely on help from friendly governments and the Organization of African Unity . The help promised here is that which will enable them to live here peacefully.<sup>106</sup>

TANU political leaders urged people in the southern regions, especially in Mtwara to accommodate the refugees temporarily, while the government was trying to find a permanent solution . Initially the refugees were sheltered at Litembe Village . From there, they went to Kianga temporary camp in Mtwara Town . Many of these were welcomed into the homes of the local communities . Zainabu Mfaume recalls that her late husband, Shaabani Rajabu, accommodated more than twenty-five refugees for more than three months.<sup>107</sup> Refugees who crossed the Ruvuma River to Newala through Mapili, Mkundi, and Mkunya were given land to settle at Mkataumbo and Mahuta.

In 1965, Mozambicans who entered Tanzania were settled at Rutamba in Lindi Region . The planning and establishment of the Rutamba Settlement project covering an area of 2000 acres cost the government £ 654,271 .<sup>108</sup> Many were accommodated by families in neighbouring villages. Others were given land to settle in Newala and Tunduru Districts.

The settlement comprised of six villages, namely Nambawala, Mwijai, Chilala, Mahuta, Zambia, and Kamuntu . Each family was given a five acre plot.<sup>109</sup> Although the number fluctuated, it accommodated over 9240 refugees . It is noteworthy that not all refugees from Mozambique stayed in Rutamba . Their distribution according to their villages and gender is as follows:

**Table 4: Distribution of Refugees in Rutamba Settlement Villages<sup>110</sup>**

Village	Male	Female	Boys	Girls	Total
1 . Nambawala	337	375	252	263	1127
2 . Mwijai	248	354	285	286	1173
3 . Zambia	182	212	217	197	805
4 . Mahuta	312	226	251	175	964
5 . Chilala	327	508	403	396	1684
6 . Kamuntu	808	876	723	721	3138
Total	2114	2557	2131	2045	8891

Tanzania also provided land and material support for FRELIMO to construct its own offices and transit camps . Mbeya was a large transit camp for FRELIMO .

(106) Tanzania Government. "Hansard December 14-23, 1965." Dar es Salaam: The Government Printing Press, 1965, p.634.

(107) Interview with Zainabu Mfaume, (Vigaeni, Mtwara) 24 October 2006.

(108) Ibid.

(109) TNA/R.30/15 Rutamba Settlement: See p.60.

(110) TNA/R.30/15 Rutamba Settlements: See p.60.

At Songea, FRELIMO set up its sub-headquarters for Niassa District in Mozambique .111 Tanzania also provided a conducive environment for the Mozambican settlement . This is demonstrated by the fact that many Mozambicans remained in Tanzania after their country attained independence . Our research verified this conclusion when we found that many people in southern Tanzania originated from Mozambique .

### **Lundo Settlement**

Besides Rutamba, another social and economic development centre was set up for Mozambican refugees at Lundo in Songea District. Cosmas Lima explained that the coming of freedom fighters and refugees to Lundo was a very important historical event for their village because it encouraged the clearance of forests and bushes around the village .112 Before the formation of Lundo Settlement, forests with fierce wild animals surrounded them; for example wild pigs were destroying crops in their farms. The use of traps, pesticides, and frequent patrols around the camps and nearby villages to deal with this problem made it possible for the freedom fighters, refugees, and Tanzanians bordering the settlement to live safely and carry out their economic activities.

Businesswomen and traders had varied views about the freedom fighters and refugees . Ms. Imelda Songea, who was the most active woman in selling local beer, said,

My customers increased when the camp was established . In the evening after work, we gathered at the local bar and shared what we had prepared for the day. There were many of us supplying the local beer . These people were good customers . They were paying cash instead of buying on credit as most Tanzanians used to do . This was very important to us . Eventually I taught the refugees to prepare our local beer and sell it. This helped them to participate in the economic and money making activities. Many women from the camp came and joined us in this business . When the camp was phased out, some women just shifted their families from the camp to the villages and continued with ordinary life like us .113

Another aspect in relation to freedom in the performance of economic activities availed to the newcomers is linked with the cultivation of coconut trees and cashew nuts . These were among many economic activities that the newcomers participated in fully without any restrictions . Refugees cultivated, harvested, and sold their crops as did Tanzanians . They earned money to support themselves as if they were in their home country, and benefited from other economic activities . Ms . Pili said they were cultivating rice, queuing in their cooperative societies, as well as selling and receiving cash, together . No one asked them or troubled them .114 That is why some of them found no reason to return to their home while they could find a happier life here in Tanzania . The Tanzanian government did not differentiate between Mozambicans

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(111) Ibid.

(112) Interview with Cosmas Lima, (Lundo) December 2007 and February 2008.

(113) Interview with Ms. Imelda Songea, (Lundo) December 2007.

(114) Interview with Mama Pili, (Lundo) December 2007.

and Tanzanians when it came to the cultivation and selling of agricultural crops . Both were given land, resources, agricultural facilities, and implements equally . They had freedom in their farms, cultivating with their families and extended families, and later enjoyed the results . Mama Pili said that the area at Matekwe was very fertile . There was no agricultural crop that failed to grow and this was a motivation to the newcomers to apply their knowledge and power for their own economic advantage . Big farms of cashew nuts belonged to the newcomers . According to Ms . Pili, this also provided competition to the indigenous Tanzanians, who started to compete by acquiring new farms and planting new cash crops . Availability of cash crops and other economic advantages enabled the newcomers to obtain cash to spend on themselves and their families .

Ms . Imelda Songea gave an account concerning how women's associations helped to comfort their fellow refugee women during the struggle for independence . She said that Tanzanian women accepted women from the Lundo refugee camp to join them in their associations . These associations were concerned with social as well as economic matters . During times of problems like death or illness, they used to help each other . For example, during death, all members were supposed to come together to prepare the burial ceremony . Women prepared food, consoled, and gave condolences to the bereaved family . In times of happiness such as weddings, they did the same by contributing and preparing food for the ceremony, and presenting gifts to the couple and their parents . In selling their crops and handicrafts, they also divided their gains equally, without discriminating against the newcomers . So in all these activities, refugee women participated in the associations and benefited equally, as did Tanzanians .

After independence, different liberation movements left for their respective countries . According to different accounts, most of the camps and settlements were handed over to the Tanzanian government . Most of the buildings are still strong and durable, and are being used for various activities . The buildings at Mahukuru are used by the Tanzanian government's Aboud Jumbe Social Institute . In Rutamba, the buildings have been converted into a social institute as well . In other areas such as Matekwe settlement, there is the Matekwe Secondary School . The same applies to Lundo Settlement, where some buildings are now used as civil servant quarters and a recreational hall . There is an important historical privilege for Tanzania to use those historical buildings for important matters of national significance . These buildings remind Tanzanians of the role they played in the struggle for the liberation of southern African countries .

Economic activities were set up in different areas that were involved in the accommodation of either freedom fighters or refugees . The establishment and maintenance of big plantations of cashew nut trees in Nachingwea is an historical landmark in Lindi Region . According to Councillor Chimbuli Gervas of Rutamba, most of the cashewnut trees that now dominate the Lindi landscape were owned

by refugees, who planted them for their own benefit .115 Although Tanzanians had cashew nut plantations, they were not as large as those of the refugees . The expansion of plantations owned by Tanzanians was motivated by the settlement of refugees and their families in the area . Chimbuli added that the expansion began in the late 1960s when the increase of refugees was at the highest level . The expansion occurred in different areas in the Lindi Region such as Nachingwea, Matekwe, Rutamba, and Mnazi Mmoja . These areas became rich in cashew nut plantations as a result of refugee and freedom fighters' settlements . Mama Pili also supported this assertion by pointing out the role played by Tanzania in helping the refugees to solve their economic problems . She further said that Tanzania gave them the chance to involve themselves in cultivating and selling their products so that they could get money for their daily use .

Cultivation of food crops is another historical mark that has been left in the region . Food production was concentrated in areas with big settlements of refugees for their consumption and sale, in the case of excess production . Food crops like cassava were there before the coming of refugees, but the establishment of camps for refugees and freedom fighters resulted in the increase of such crops in the area . This helped the area to supply food to other areas . In explaining this point, Mama Pili says that most of the refugees were involved in the cultivation of big farms . They also kept animals, so dairy products were produced in those settlements for everybody to buy . This point was also supported by Mzee Lima of Lundo settlement, who said that with the coming of people from Mozambique, cultivation of rice both for subsistence and commercial purposes was introduced .116 The refugees involved themselves in big scale farming, and the indigenous Tanzanians imitated the trend and began to engage in rice cultivation on a large scale . The area is now prominent for supplying rice to neighbouring areas such as Mbamba Bay and Mbinga Town . Traders from those areas come to Lundo to buy rice for trading . Mzee Lima said that at the beginning, rice was eaten during breakfast or as children's food, but it is now the staple food in the area .

The participation of Tanzania in the liberation struggle led to the development of villages in various areas of southern Tanzania . They were the result of the establishment of settlements and economic activities such as agriculture, livestock keeping, trading, forest product making, and harvesting . Mzee Mtenda, who provided the example of Matekwe Settlement in Nachingwea, said that the settlement grew to be the most important village in the area with good houses constructed for refugees and civil servants who were employed there .117 Further, Matekwe had a lot of supplies of various products . For example, Mzee Mtenda mentioned the supplies of coconuts, cashew nuts, dairy products, and many others . This point was also raised by Councillor Nchia of Nachingwea who said that Matekwe now is an important

(115) Interview with Councillor Chimbuli Gervas, (Rutamba) December 2007.

(116) Interview with Mzee Lima, (Lundo) December 2007.

(117) Interview with Mzee Mtenda, (Nachingwea) December 2007.

village in Nachingwea compared to others due to the availability of all the important social services .118 He said Matekwe has a secondary school whose two vehicles help to transport villagers in times of problems such as illness or death . Therefore, Matekwe is a big village with a big population, as well as a good economic base, which makes it a food basket to the neighbouring villages .

The importance of Matekwe as an important food supplier to other areas was also linked to the prison at Matekwe . According to Councillor Nchia of Nachingwea, after the refugees were phased out in 1978, the Matekwe settlement was taken by the Tanzanian Government to be used as a prison . Matekwe Prison was more involved in the maintenance and development of big plantations . In other words, the core economic activity of Matekwe Prison was agriculture . This continued until the 1990s, when the prison was phased out and the establishment of a primary and a secondary school took place .

The development of villages was also seen in other settlements such as Mahukuru, Rutamba, and Lundo . At Lundo, for example, besides the school buildings present, there are a lot of other attractive structures used for social as well as economic activities . There is livestock keeping as well as honey collection from the surrounding bush and forests . These activities are historically linked with refugee settlement in the area . Lundo Village is self-sufficient as all the social services are available . This has attracted many people to join the village after the phasing out of the refugee camp . According to Mr Mwinuka, a teacher at Lundo Secondary School, the village experiences an influx of people from other areas because of the available social services .119 Mr Mwinuka added that most of their fellow teachers in other areas were lacking accommodation, but at Lundo even a nursery school teacher has a big house . In the past, there were a lot of vacant houses waiting to be occupied by government employees . In Lundo Village there are important services such as tap water, milling machines, nursery, primary, and secondary schools, a hospital, recreational halls, and a police station . Furthermore, there is a weekly market where traders from parts of Mbinga and other areas buy and sell agricultural produce, and other goods produced by the indigenous people of Lundo . The area is important in the supply of rice, fish, milk, fruits like mangoes and oranges, and vegetables .

Ms . Imelda Songea gave an account of how new knowledge was acquired . This was a two-way process in the sense that both the Tanzanians and Mozambicans benefited from new skills . Different skills were involved in the daily organization of women's associations, including administration skills and economic skills such as handicraft, agriculture, trading, and dairy farming skills . These were shared among the members in the women's association at Rutamba . Ms . Imelda said that she could not remember attending any formal training as far as their economic activities were concerned .120 For example, she mentioned that the making of local pots and

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(118) Interview with Councillor Nchia of Nachingwea, December 2007.

(119) Interview with Mr Mwinuka, (Lundo) December 2007.

(120) Ms. Imelda Songea, op. cit.

baskets needed some skills, however, such skills were exchanged among the women themselves; those who knew taught those who did not know. Cultural skills such as dancing and singing were also among the skills that were acquired during the liberation struggle in Lindi Region. The exchange of songs and dancing styles were among the activities of the women's association.

The introduction of traditional dances in different areas is another historical mark in Lindi. This point was articulated by different respondents when asked about the outcomes of having freedom fighters and refugees in their areas. Traditional dance such as Sindimba is an alien feature in Tanzania and Lindi, in particular. This dance was introduced in the area by people from Mozambique. The dance is performed at various occasions such as wedding ceremonies, traditional ceremonies, and election campaigns. It is used in initiation ceremonies for boys and girls. Ms. Pili said that there are also some traditional dances that were introduced by the newcomers in Lindi and one of them was specifically used during the initiation of bridegrooms in marriages. Tanzanians have adopted this dance and use it in marriage ceremonies. But before that interaction, such dances did not exist in Lindi. On the other hand, many areas in southern Tanzania, including Nachingwea, experienced some negative impact of the liberation struggle. According to Mr Nambole, southern areas accommodated many people from other countries that were involved in the liberation struggle.<sup>121</sup> He said that Farm 17 provided training for many more soldiers than all the other training camps; more refugee settlements were located in southern Tanzania than in other parts of the country, and these impacted the lives of the people in the region. The land, people, and their properties were exposed to the attitudes and behaviour of the newcomers. Mr Nambole mentioned destruction of wildlife. Lindi Region has many wild animals. According to Mr Nambole most of these animals were hunted either for food or in self-defence. Since most of these camps, including Farm 17 and the Matekwe settlements, are located inside the forest, the ecosystem of flora and fauna was affected. Mr Nambole also mentioned the destruction of the forests for the construction of camps and other related activities. Much of the timber and lumbering material came from the forests. This reduced the opportunity of the local people to earn income from the forests. In addition, the harvesting of those materials by indigenous businessmen was prohibited for security reasons. He further noted that some economic activities declined and others ceased completely. This meant that the economic development of the local communities of southern Tanzania slowed down as a result of the liberation struggle in the area. On the other hand, he added that the restrictions to some extent helped to conserve the forests. So the forests located in southern Tanzania remained un-damaged by unchecked economic activities.

The graves of freedom fighters and refugees exist in Tanzania. Although some of the remains were sent back to their respective countries, many were buried in

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(121) Interview with Mr Nambole, (Nachingwea) December 2007.



Tanzania . Mr Mtenda of Nachingwea stressed that many African freedom fighters and refugees were buried there, even if some African leaders claim that they removed all of their dead and transferred them to their home land, they cannot refute the fact that graveyards are still here in Tanzania, and they are still being taken care of .122 Ms . Pili said that the graveyards of freedom fighters are very important to our history, since they remind us of the experience that we shared with them .123 Ms . Pili also said that the remains were not removed and sent back to their respective countries rather they do exist there in reality. “The graves are still there; I remember even their leaders once came to visit them and we witnessed the event.” Some graveyards exist in Namatula, near Farm 17 in Nachingwea, and in Kawawa Area in the former Lundo Settlement, and they are maintained by the local administration.

Tanzania became famous in the world for its involvement in fighting for the independence of fellow Africans . This statement was from Mr Mbelle, who said that important countries like China, Cuba, Russia, and others provided support to Tanzania as far as the liberation struggle was concerned .124 The leaders of these countries visited Tanzania to see for themselves how the liberation struggle was planned and operated from Tanzania . The leaders from various countries in the world who visited Tanzania during the era of the liberation struggle popularized the name of Tanzania. Dr Gama added that Tanzania was a centre of security in Africa and the world; and that the country was peaceful and stable, making it difficult for various enemies to interrupt the whole process of the liberation struggle .125 It is important to note the point made by Dr Gama concerning the security status of Tanzania . It was due to the involvement of Tanzania in the liberation struggle that security measures were enhanced in Tanzania, and that most of the important state security organs were introduced and maintained in the country.

### **PAC Masuguru Settlement**

The Masuguru Settlement at Ruvu in Tanzania was the first stable PAC settlement in exile. It lasted from 1978 to 1993 . Similar to the ANC of South Africa, the PAC had camps in various parts of southern Africa . The most notable camps were in Lesotho, Tanzania, Botswana, and in the Congo . The Botswana camp was, in fact, a refugee camp at Dukwe, about 130 km north-west of Francistown . The camp accommodated members of the ANC, PAC, South African Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYRCO) which was formed by Tsietsie Mashinini, the leader of the 16 June 1976 Soweto student uprisings, and a few members of ZAPU and ZANU. The Dukwe Refugee Camp was established in 1980 on the insistence of the Botswana government, under pressure from the South African government to get rid of ‘terrorists’ from within its borders, that all members of liberation movements, not attending school and who were not employed

(122) Interview with Mr Mtenda, op.cit.

(123) Interview with Ms. Pili, op. cit.

(124) Interview with Mr Mbelle, (Songea) February 2007.

(125) Interview with Dr Gama, (Songea) February 2007.

should move to Dukwe. The camp had previously accommodated Zimbabweans, who were now on their way back to their country in preparation for independence.

The relocation of the PAC head-office to Tanzania in 1964 did not mean the closure of the Maseru chapter of the PAC. It was Leballo and the inner core of his leadership who were the first to move to Dar es Salaam. The one structure of the PAC continued to operate, as the Lesotho PAC mission. However, after 1985, following the death of the six PAC cadres who were murdered by the Basotholand para-militia, relations between the PAC and the Lesotho Government deteriorated rapidly. The circumstances surrounding the murder of the six PAC cadres remained unclear, but the complicity of the Lesotho government in the schemes of the South African regime to eliminate members of the liberation movements in the neighbouring territories was not ruled out. The PAC began to move the majority of its cadres to Tanzania.

The Masuguru Camp was started as a transit and rehabilitation camp in 1978. Recruits from South Africa resided there in transit either to military training or education abroad. The Masuguru Camp was initially established to serve as a “rehabilitation camp,” where enemy agents and comrades who had committed serious ‘offences’ and breaches of discipline, were “re-educated.” With the demise of P.K. Leballo’s leadership and the assumption of power by Vus Make and later John Pokela, the development and purpose of the camp was redefined along the lines of the ANC’s Mazimbu Settlement near Morogoro and the Dakawa settlements, which were aimed at establishing a stable ANC exile community in Tanzania.

Ultimately, the Masuguru Camp grew into a settlement for PAC cadres who had families living with them. In other words, the settlement resembled efforts of the PAC to “create a fuller human life” for all its members in exile, especially families, children, and women. 126 Residents in this camp were taught technical skills previously denied to them in South Africa. These included skills in horticulture, poultry, carpentry, sanitary engineering, plumbing, piggery, motor mechanics, and electrification. The Masuguru Settlement started during the era of P.K. Leballo in 1978, and assumed an elaborate form during the era of Nyathi John Pokela in 1982, when the Tanzanian Government granted 440 hectares of land to the PAC. The aim was to help the organisation to establish a settlement for “self-reliance and other developmental activities.”

The initial population at the Masuguru Camp counted 52 and increased, by the end of February 1979, to more than 100 persons. By 1982, the figure had risen to close to a thousand people. Accommodation in the camp consisted of dormitories, which were later upgraded into houses. Each house consisted of five bedrooms and a separate communal dining hall with kitchen and were built as the settlement grew early in 1982. By 1984, about 67 houses were constructed on the site. From 1982, the scope of activities at the camp developed beyond the provision of a sanctuary for activists, to the establishment of a self-sufficient community with a clinic, classrooms, mechanical

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(126) Interview with Col. Gide Rose Jale, (Mopero) op.cit.

and agricultural training centres, where PAC members could acquire skills which were to be beneficial to the “liberated Azania of the future.”<sup>127</sup>

Phase one of this settlement was built in 1978 . It involved the construction of 67 houses, a separate dining hall, kitchen and toilets, an administration block, one classroom and library, a store, roads and paths, water pumps, boundary fences and gates . Support for the initial development of phase one of the settlement was received from various governments as well as non- governmental organisations . The governments of the Netherlands and Norway made contributions to the costs of repairing the existing facilities and to the financing for the construction of the first 67 houses . The Tanzanian Christian Refugee Service (TCRS) also made a financial contribution towards the purchase of clothes for the young men at the settlement, and purchased urgently needed medical supplies . In addition to these financial contributions, United Nations agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) donated US \$233,000 and US \$350,000 respectively.

The master plan for the development of the Masuguru Camp into a settlement involved the construction of a full-scale village within the settlement area, with accommodation for families and single persons . By 1985, approximately 1,500 people were accommodated in the settlement . A pre-school and a pre-vocational school, a dispensary and a community centre were developed during this period . Most importantly, the settlement had farm-land to ensure self-sufficiency in food production . Over 55 hectares of land had to be cleared of bush before it could be used for farming . During the initial period, there were difficulties with crop farming . Most of the PAC families and cadres in the settlement came from the townships in South Africa . They were not skilled enough to take advantage of the fertile land and use it for growing crops in the settlement area . Skills in agriculture were progressively developed among camp residents . Various agricultural training courses were organised by the PAC’s Department of Education and Manpower Development in order to equip its membership with agricultural skills.

After the formative years (1978-1984), the Masuguru Settlement developed into a full-scale settlement, a hive of political activities and a home for PAC members in exile . It provided a stable environment for children and women of the PAC . This curbed the habit of sending children born in exile into South Africa . Furthermore, the settlement became an important source of income to the PAC and contributed towards lowering the costs of feeding the cadres . Between the years 1986 and 1988, for instance, enormous quantities of paddy, maize, sorghum, cowpea, and fruit such as pineapples and papaws were produced from the settlement . The farming settlement also raised 1,200 broilers and 12 beef cattle . Crop production in the settlement was made possible largely through irrigation schemes . The Ruvu River, which supplies water to the cities of Dar es Salaam, Bagamoyo, and other towns in Tanzania, passed

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(127) Ibid.

through the settlement, thus making irrigation possible . In this way, the settlement helped the PAC not to depend entirely on material handouts from international donors, especially on items such as food . The settlement continued to exist until 1993, when most of the assets were sold and the residents of the settlement were relocated to South Africa in preparation for the April 1994 elections.

The settlement was beneficial to the neighbouring communities in different ways . For example, between 1988 and 1990, the United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) estimated an infant mortality rate of 121 (which was over 50%) for the area of the settlement, including the neighbouring Coast Region . This led to the development of an extensive medical facility within the settlement . It provided basic health services, not only for inmates, but also for a population of over 10,000 people living in the neighbouring villages of Kidogzero, Kitonga, Milo and Mbwewe.

### **Mazimbu Settlement**

The ANC opened its first settlement at Mazimbu in Morogoro Region on 100 acres of land given to them by the government of Tanzania . As discussed above, PAC cadres settled at Masuguru, Ruvu in Bagamoyo District, Coast Region . In the case of Mazimbu, the local community offered voluntary labour in construction work .<sup>128</sup> Ephraim Mkwega recalls that he was among Tanzanian casual labourers who volunteered to take part in the construction of the Mazimbu social and economic infrastructure . At the time of the interview, he was 59 years old . He came into contact with the ANC cadres in 1976 at Kihonda when he was 18 years old . He was working with the Tanzania Sisal Marketing Authority (TSMA) . Among others, the ANC cadres he worked with included Ndlovu, Mabuye, and Ossie Dennis . Mkwega assisted in erecting animal sheds . They started with two pigs, which soon multiplied into several hundreds . Later they raised chicken and kept dairy cows . Hon . Anna Abdalla, the Morogoro Regional Commissioner from 1975, often teamed up with other regional leaders and the general public in assisting ANC cadres to construct the Mazimbu Settlement . The ANC did not have money to pay casual labourers regularly . While others left, some including Mkwega remained . When O.R . Tambo was informed about his commitment to the ANC and his spirit of voluntarism, he advised that he should be treated as a member of the Mazimbu Community.<sup>129</sup>

Initially a school was constructed to accommodate South African students and young people who ran away from South Africa following the Soweto student uprisings in 1976 . Construction began with the renovation of two dilapidated buildings in order to create space for accommodating 30 students, who by then were accommodated in different houses around Morogoro Town . The school was opened

(128) Interviews with Anna Abdalla, op.cit, Ephraim Mkwega, Tunga R. Tunga, Edith Marsh Mboye, Mohamedi Jambwari, Monica Mate, Joseph Mussa, Gaudence Vincent Abdallah, Nemess Florence, and Kibibi Edward Twala, (Morogoro) May 2007.

(129) Ibid.

in 1977, but an actual official education programme began in 1978. After completing the two houses for the accommodation of students, the construction team was not sure how to proceed with other construction. Their morale was raised first by the visit of the Treasurer General of the ANC, J. Nkobe, in January and by another visit by the ANC President, Oliver R. Tambo in February 1978. While the Treasurer released funds for the construction process, the President gave guidelines on how construction work should proceed. He stressed that the ANC should build a school that would be the pride not only of the students who would study there, but also of all the oppressed people of South Africa. He added that the school to be built should be one that would always remain a monument of solidarity between the people of Tanzania and the oppressed people of South Africa.<sup>130</sup>

As construction work continued, the Tanzanian government increased the grant of the land to 250 acres.<sup>131</sup> The first new buildings were begun on 8 January 1979. In the same year, the Mazimbu Education Centre was renamed Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO) in honour of Solomon Mahlangu, a young student activist hero who was hanged by the apartheid regime in 1979.<sup>132</sup> In November of the same year, the ANC developed the Building Project of SOMAFCO. The project description constitutes site description, a dormitory unit, a school, cultural facilities such as a cultural workshop and amphitheatre, a children's centre, a medical centre, sports village centre, vocational training stores and farming and construction design facilities. The project description also indicated the education structure and construction management structure as well as financial estimates for all aspects of the project.

The Education Centre was broadly aimed to cater for remedial education of the students and school education, considering that most of them had had low Bantu education and a number of them had been in and out of school.<sup>133</sup> SOMAFCO was aimed to fulfil the wishes of the ANC, dating back to the mid-fifties through the Freedom Charter. Education was taken by the ANC as one of the important fronts in the liberation struggle. Other fronts were the military and the political. In the context of the liberation struggle, education had to fight against the apartheid system of education, including Bantu education. Thus SOMAFCO was expected to develop a broad spectrum of education that could facilitate the comprehensive development of recipients as responsible members of society. Education developed at SOMAFCO was supposed to be transformative. In other words, it was supposed to transform the South African society from relations of domination, oppression, and exploitation, and from the condition of inequality and injustice into a new democratic society. The SOMAFCO education programme had to be based on the

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(130) Ibid.

(131) Interview with Anna Abdalla, op. cit.

(132) Interview with the High Commissioner of South Africa to Tanzania, His Excellency Sindiso G. Mfenyane, who worked and lived at Mazimbu and Dakawa, (Dar es Salaam) May 2007.

(133) Ibid.

ANC education policy . Among important aspects of the policy were 100% literacy, free compulsory education for all children, adequate education facilities, mass adult education, all children to have access to the type of education they are suited to, and education to play the role of moulding character and preparing full and responsible citizens . This educational thrust was a direct contrast to the drab apartheid educational curricula that emphasized pedagogies, highly conservative reading of certain German and Dutch educational traditions adapted to the racial environment, and integrated to Bantu education.

The specific objectives of SOMAFCO included: First, to have an educational institution which would cater for the education needs of young people who had been forced to leave their country through the persecution of the racist South African regime . Second, the educational institution was also supposed to cater for the education and training of the adult population so that they could make a contribution to the liberation struggle in South Africa . Third, SOMAFCO was to be used for the preparation of manpower and cadres who would be able to contribute in building a new democratic South Africa after the collapse of the apartheid regime .

In the process of planning a new and alternative type of curriculum, a fundamental question was raised as to what should be the relationship between the political and educational aspects of the school at SOMAFCO . As a revolutionary academy, SOMAFCO had to raise the political and social consciousness of its students . But it had also to provide good general education and to provide knowledge and skills for service in the new apartheid free South Africa . The curriculum had, therefore, to take into consideration both aspects and to strike a balance between them .

In order to raise the political consciousness of the students, the history of liberation struggle in South Africa became an important part of social sciences . At primary level, children were also taught revolutionary songs and were familiarised with the ANC leaders . Natural sciences were given special emphasis as these were greatly downplayed in the Bantu education system . Arts and culture were also part of the curriculum .

Another important aspect of the curriculum and education programme was the emphasis put in combining classroom education and production . This was intended to bridge the gap between mental and physical labour . Thus the students had also to be involved in farming, horticulture, and handicraft activities . In farming, they were involved in crop production, cattle husbandry, piggery, and poultry .

In support of the curriculum and programmes, a number of institutions were established . The secondary school was the heart and core of the Mazimbu Complex with five forms of secondary education . At the beginning, it was assumed that was to be the only school, but sooner or later it was realized that it was necessary to have nursery and primary schools . Due to the expansion of the education centre, boarding accommodation, and houses for teachers were established . Other structures built included a productive modern farm, workshops, and factories making furniture and other articles, and a small but well equipped hospital . A number of students

who completed secondary education got scholarships to study abroad in socialist countries, Scandinavian countries, and even in countries of Western Europe .

During the official opening of SOMAFCO in 1985, the ANC President, Oliver Tambo, in his speech pointed out the achievements made by SOMAFCO as follows:

We have scored other successes, the most significant being the progress we have made towards a genuine alliance between learning and production, between mind and labour, which is the essence of our future liberated society . The Mazimbu of yesterday was not untypical of a community with many features of a rural African setting . The same area today is a picture of modern Africa, of which we, our Tanzania brothers and sisters, as well as our supporters and allies throughout the world are justly proud . From there we have sent out young people who are now returning as highly trained specialists committed to advancing the interests of our people now and in the future . Today, thanks to the great ventures in SOMAFCO, Mazimbu and Dakawa, that new society (envisaged in the Freedom Charter) in fact is being born.<sup>134</sup>

### **Dakawa Settlement**

Dakawa was established as the second ANC settlement in Tanzania in 1982. But land was granted to the ANC by the Tanzania Government before 1982. Kilosa District offered a total of 3,000 acres and Morogoro District offered a total of 10,000 acres for the ANC agricultural project.<sup>135</sup> Like Mazimbu, Dakawa is also located in Morogoro Region, about 60 km from the main road between Morogoro and Dodoma. Dakawa constitutes a larger area than Mazimbu, involving more than 10,000 acres in an area which was a sugar cane plantation . The situation which necessitated the establishment of Dakawa as an extension of Mazimbu was the increasing number of South Africans who fled from South Africa. This increase was due to the intensification of the liberation struggle, which resulted in increased repression by the apartheid regime in the 1980s . Thus from the very beginning, Dakawa was conceived of as a settlement where the ANC could settle its people who fled from South Africa . The people at Dakawa were not expected to live as refugees, but as a self-reliant community engaged in various projects such as education, health, agriculture, handicrafts, and manufacturing factories. Dakawa was also expected to avoid the experience of Mazimbu, where 80% of the people engaged in the development of the complex were Tanzanian workers . In Dakawa, development was to be done by the South Africans themselves. Agriculture was to play an important role in their quest to be self-reliant. On the whole, the objectives of developing Dakawa were first to provide formal and informal training in a variety of fields for the ANC cadres. The second main objective was to develop a range of agricultural projects such as crop farming, animal husbandry, and horticulture . Various types of agricultural projects were outlined, including the production of maize, sorghum, sunflower, beans, cotton, sweet potatoes, and groundnuts. Third, it was intended to develop small scale industries for food

(134) Tambo, Oliver. Speech opening SOMAFCO. 1985.

(135) PMC/P.30/20/Vol.3 Kub: MZA/LDC/3/13, dated 22 July 1981.

processing, soap making, the making of leather goods, and handicrafts . In terms of a vocational centre, full-time vocational training was to be established to train cadres of the organization in fundamental skills . Fields to be offered included carpentry, joinery, electrical installation, plumbing, motor mechanics, agro mechanics, welding, metalworking, masonry, painting, and sign writing . The intention was to eventually develop the centre into a technical college or university . The Dakawa Development Plan also included population estimates . Given the size of land in Dakawa and the growing influx of immigrants from South Africa in the 1980s, estimates were made on the different groups of people . Population estimates in Dakawa indicate as follows:136

**Table 5: Population Estimates in Different Units at Dakawa in the 1980s**

Group	Children Without Parents	Children With Parents	Total
a) Crèche	150	150	300
b) Nursery	300	300	600
c) Lower Primary	200	200	400
d) Higher Primary	200	200	400
e) Secondary	400	400	800
Sub-totals	1250	1250	2500
f) Village adults			2400
g) Vocational Training Centre			200
h) Students Orientation Centre			250
Total			5350

It was, however, pointed out in the plan that it was impossible to predict with accuracy the eventual future population of the Dakawa Development Centre . Whereas the eventual future population of SOMAFCO, Mazimbu was expected to be 2,500 persons, the minimum estimate for Dakawa was 5,000 persons . Over the five years following 1984, the annual growth of population was expected to be between 300 and 500 in terms of new arrivals and natural increase . The estimate of 5,000 was expected to be reached after ten years, that is by 1994.

The 1990 *Revised Dakawa Development Plan* was aimed at revising the 1984 development plan . This step was necessitated by the political changes that were taking place inside South Africa . Early in 1990, the ANC was unbanned and developments were such that the apartheid regime was nearing its collapse, to give rise to a new democratic system . Nelson Mandela and other prisoners were released .

(136) ANC. *Development Plan for the Dakawa Development Centre*. 1984.



While the 1984 plan was conceived to have a population of 5,000 accommodated in ten villages, the new plan was based on a population of about 2,500 accommodated in four villages. The revised plan put great emphasis on education and training facilities as required by the ANC. Thus the revision focused on providing primary, secondary, and adult secondary school education and expanding the vocational training facilities in order to develop the potential of the inhabitants to cater for the needs of the post-apartheid South Africa. The revised plan also took into consideration the nature and character of agricultural development such that it was planned to operate in close cooperation and coordination with the Mazimbu facilities. The plan for population was revised from that of more than 5,000 to that of 2,500 as shown below.<sup>137</sup>

**Table 6: Revised Plan Population at Dakawa**

Group	Children Without Parents	Children With Parents	Total
a) Crèche		60	60
b) Nursery		120	120
c) Primary and Secondary School	500		500
d) Adult Secondary School	200		200
e) Vocational Training School	200	_____	200
Sub-totals	900	180	1080
f) Adult/Staff engaged in activities			1420
Totals			2500

It has to be noted, however, that by 1990, when the 1980 *Development Plan for Dakawa* was being revised, a great deal of implementation had already been done. Actual implementation of the 1984 plan began in mid-1984. At that time, the settlement supported only 200 to 300 inhabitants. By 1990, it supported 1,200 inhabitants, engaged in various activities, including technical training, administration, agriculture, small industries, and command activities.

The infrastructure had been considerably developed. The main road leading to the development centre, roads linking villages, and internal roads within villages had been constructed. Water supply and drainage facilities, sewage facilities, and the power supply had been developed. Residential houses for accommodation, dormitory blocks, classrooms, a vocational training centre, and an inter-village centre had been constructed. Education technical institutions and sports facilities were considerably developed. Not less than six small industries had been developed at the industrial centre. Agricultural development had reached the stage of cultivating 400 hectares of mainly maize and sunflower with 25 dairy cows and 100 beef cattle.

(137) ANC. *Revised 1984 Development Plan for Dakawa*. 1990. See pp.22–23.

On 2 February 1990, F.W. de Klerk, the last president of the apartheid regime in South Africa, made an announcement which unbanned the African National Congress, the Pan-African Congress, and various other restricted organizations in South Africa.<sup>76</sup>

As far as the future of projects was concerned, the ANC National Executive Committee issued a policy statement on 20 April 1990. In that statement, among other things, the ANC NEC pointed out that with the unbanning of the ANC, the NEC had decided to transfer the ANC's headquarters to Johannesburg, South Africa. Because of that, the future of all projects and activities of the ANC outside South Africa had to be reviewed. Despite the review of the projects, the ANC was of the view that there were compelling reasons for the continued existence of external projects, especially in relation to human resources development.

Arising out of that view, the statement pointed out that SOMAFCO was to remain in operation in the foreseeable future to cater for the over 1000 students. Furthermore, the ANC decided to continue providing secondary education and vocational training at the Dakawa Development Centre and to restructure those institutions to meet the needs of the new situation. Continuing with secondary education and vocational training would enable 500 out-of-school youths in South Africa to benefit from education and training. It was also decided that, in addition to the education projects, all other projects at Mazimbu and Dakawa such as farms and small scale production units were also to continue.

On 6 February 1991, a donors' conference was held in Arusha, convened by the ANC. In his opening speech, the Vice Chairman of the *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (Party of the Revolution, CCM), Hon. Rashid Mfaume Kawawa, emphasized that "all social and economic infrastructure established in the different countries of exile to benefit South Africans must continue to be serviced until majority rule is attained."<sup>138</sup>

The statement by representatives of donor countries (Norway, Finland, and Sweden) supported this stand with some modifications. The statement of the ANC noted:

With the unfolding situation within South Africa, the ANC's priorities have changed and a greater emphasis needs to be placed on project development in South Africa; therefore, the Conference for Donors will have a dual aim, firstly to present our remaining needs at Dakawa and Mazimbu and secondly the ANC's future needs in South Africa.<sup>139</sup>

While the ANC continued with the Mazimbu and Dakawa projects in Tanzania, steps were also taken to develop new projects inside South Africa. When in 1994 a non-racial democratic state was established with the ANC as the ruling party, the ANC handed over Mazimbu and Dakawa to the Government of Tanzania. The Government of Tanzania decided to make use of them in different ways. Mazimbu became a

(138) Kawawa, Hon. Rashid Mfaume. Speech at Donors' Conference. Arusha: 6 February 1991.

(139) ANC. Statement at Donors' Conference. Arusha: 6 February 1991.

campus of the Sokoine University of Agriculture . Dakawa is still continuing as an education centre with an agricultural high school and a vocational training centre .

## Zanzibar and FRELIMO

It is pertinent to point out the role that Zanzibar, albeit a part of the Republic since 1964, specifically played in the liberation struggle of Mozambique . Its relationship began during the colonial period and continued after independence .

### Zanzibar's Cooperation with Mozambique

There is a long history of cooperation between the people of Zanzibar and those of southern Africa, particularly Mozambique . The history of this cooperation dates back even before the formation of political parties after the Second World War . Makonde people came to Zanzibar as early as the period of Portuguese rule along the East African coast in the early 16th century . A number of vessels carrying both Makonde and Portuguese officials arrived in Zanzibar, particularly on Pemba Island from Pemba Bay in Cabo Delgado .<sup>140</sup> The Makonde worked with the Portuguese as potters and some as slaves . When the Portuguese were defeated by the Arabs at the end of the 17th century, they left Zanzibar, but the Makonde remained . The Makonde also came to Zanzibar from Mozambique running away from cruel Portuguese rule . They came in search of jobs in clove plantations in Zanzibar in general and Pemba in particular . Some came as skilled artisans in sculpturing . Most doors and windows of ancient buildings in Zanzibar such as Beit-el-Ajaib and the Palace Museum and also other wooden items seen today in Zanzibar were carved by the Makonde . As they became successful, they invited their relatives in Mozambique to join them . Gradually, a large number of Makonde people migrated to the islands and became part of the Zanzibari community . Other people who migrated to Zanzibar from Mozambique alongside the Makonde were the Yao and the Makua . However, the Makonde were more numerous than the other tribes from Mozambique . Naturally, all immigrants from Mozambique, whether Yao or Makua, came to be identified as Makonde .<sup>141</sup>

It is also said that the name Pemba originated from Pemba Bay in Mozambique . As noted above, most Makonde from Pemba Bay in Mozambique migrated to Pemba Island, some as slaves and others as labourers on clove plantations . The name of the island before it adopted the name Pemba from Pemba Bay in Mozambique is not yet known .<sup>142</sup> In Kilwa, where the Portuguese stayed, there is also a place called Pemba . The evidence provided by most people interviewed to prove this claim is that almost all of the people of Pemba Island have similar dialects with the Makonde . For

(140) Interview with Mchingama, (Zanzibar) April 2006; Interview with Borafya, op. cit.

(141) Ibid.

(142) However, from interviews carried out, most likely the name was still Pemba as the word has local roots. For example, among the Digo people along the Tanga coastline who used to travel to the Island each farming season to cultivate paddy, the name for a paddy farm is "pemba." Furthermore, among the Gunya people of Zanzibar, "pemba" is the name of the sail of a dhow.

example, both the Makonde and other people in Pemba, put ‘N’ in the place of ‘M’ when they pronounce words such as *Mtu*, *Mkate*, and *Mtoto* (Swahili words meaning person, bread, and child respectively). They pronounce them as *Ntu*, *Nkate*, and *Ntoto*. Similarly, they share the same intonation in speech.<sup>143</sup>

Apart from that, those interviewed noted that Pemba Island has a big number of Makonde, to the extent that out of every three people, there will be a Makonde. There are also cultures which are found both in Pemba and in Mozambique. Culture practices such as *mchezo wa ng’ombe* (bull fight), which is most practiced in Pemba, is also practiced in Mozambique, but in Mozambique they usually use the buffalo instead of a bull. That was a symbol of Portuguese cruelty, in order for a prisoner to be freed he had to fight and defeat a buffalo. There is also *ngoma ya kibati and msewe* (*kibati* and *msewe* play), played by people of Pemba Bay of Mozambique, Pemba of Zanzibar, and Pemba of Kilwa.<sup>144</sup>

During the political awakening in the islands, the Makonde participated fully. They registered themselves as the African Association, which was established in Zanzibar in 1934. In 1957, there was a coalition between the African Association and the Shirazi Association to form the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP); most of the Makonde were among the active members of the ASP. They actively participated in the struggle for independence in Zanzibar, particularly as members of the ASP. The Sultan’s government and other political parties demanded their repatriation to the mainland during the time of elections as they knew that they would vote for the ASP. For instance, in 1963 three vessels (ships) were provided by the Sultan to transport all people of mainland origin, including the Makonde, back to Tanganyika as it was claimed that they were not eligible to vote.<sup>145</sup>

Furthermore, the Makonde participated fully in carrying out the Zanzibar Revolution. Unlike other Zanzibaris, they were better experts in using arrows, bows, and machetes, the traditional weapons employed in carrying out the popular revolt. They were, therefore, in the frontline of the operation. It is next to impossible to omit them in the annals of the history of the Zanzibar Revolution as they provided critical support for its success. There is a saying which is today used in Zanzibar to tease the Makonde, which nevertheless vindicates their critical role in the revolution. “*Wakati wa mapinduzi, makonde chonga mbele, (songa mbele) wakati wa kazi ya jeshi, makonde Npupi (mfupi)*,” meaning, during the revolution, the Makonde were ordered to go to the frontline; during recruitment into the regular army, they were disqualified for being too short.<sup>146</sup>

(143) Ibid.

(144) Interview with Mr Atanas Benjamini Guga and Mr Andrick Kajogoo Venedi, members of the Makonde community living in Zanzibar and working in the Consulate of the Republic of Mozambique, (Zanzibar) March 2007.

(145) Ibid. Mchingama, op. cit.

(146) Interview with Mr Athumani Nyuni, Mwenyekiti, wa Wazee wa CCM, (Zanzibar) March 2007. Also interview with Mr Borafya, op. cit.

## **The Mozambique African National Union (MANU)**

When the wind of change was blowing in Africa in the early 1960s, the Makonde people living in Tanganyika and Zanzibar were also touched by the struggles . They, therefore, started to be involved in the struggle for the independence of their country of origin . MANU, which was popularly known as Makonde Union was formed in Tanganyika, from where it crossed the Indian Ocean to Zanzibar . MANU was a catalyst for the Makonde people of Zanzibar to fight for the independence of Mozambique. The party was welcomed, accepted and supported by the ASP. However, because Zanzibar was still under colonial rule and Arab domination, ASP support was limited although quite significant.

MANU rented a house at a place called Mwembeladu, close to Biziredi Mosque . The office was popularly known as the Makonde Club . This name has been maintained to date . This was the first office of MANU in Zanzibar . However, because MANU members were financially poor, they could not manage to pay rent . Soon afterwards, MANU found itself in heavy debts. The ASP settled the debts, after which it assisted in paying the rent.<sup>147</sup>

## **The FRELIMO Party before the Zanzibar Revolution**

As already explained, MANU merged with the National African Union of Independent Mozambique (UNAMI) and the Mozambique National Democratic Union (UDENAMO) to form FRELIMO in 1962 . Given that some of the MANU members did not join FRELIMO, the new front was obliged to set up its first office not at Mwembeladu, but at Makadara, in the Mwembemimba area . There too they rented the premises . That was the first FRELIMO office in Zanzibar . The ASP stopped paying rent for the Makonde Union and instead supported FRELIMO . However, the ASP was not able to offer adequate support to FRELIMO as they were still under colonial rule . Consequently, FRELIMO accumulated debts for failing to pay rent. The landlord, who was a member of the ASP, cancelled the debt as his contribution to the struggle for independence in Mozambique.<sup>148</sup>

The ASP offered FRELIMO an office in one of the rooms at ASP headquarters at Mapipa ya Ngozi, currently Kisiwandui . The same premises are presently serving as a CCM Sub-Office for Zanzibar . This was the first FRELIMO Office in Zanzibar . This was before the Revolution . In 1963, FRELIMO called the youth to join their colleagues in Dar es Salaam for military training in Liberia and at Bagamoyo . Mozambican youth living in Zanzibar and Pemba Islands were very eager to go for training . Therefore, they responded positively . Youth from Pemba and Zanzibar assembled at Kisiwandui where FRELIMO offices were located . However, neither the youth nor FRELIMO

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(147) Mchingama, op. cit.

(148) Mchingama, op. cit.

could cover the cost of transport . The ASP was not able to assist as it was tied up with financing its election campaign . The ASP advised the youth to travel in the ships provided by the Sultan government to repatriate people of mainland origin to Tanganyika . However, on reaching the port, they found that the ships had sailed away . While waiting for further assistance, they collaborated with ASP Youth in planning the Zanzibar Revolution.

## The FRELIMO Party after the Zanzibar Revolution

The Zanzibar Revolution was successfully carried out by the ASP Youth League in collaboration with the FRELIMO Youth on 12 January 1964 . As noted above, the Makonde played a critical role in the revolution . Naturally, the Revolutionary Government felt obliged to provide, in turn, full support to the Mozambique Freedom Fighters. FRELIMO was the only party which was recognized by the Revolutionary Government and the ASP.

As noted previously, it was on 25 September 1964 that the armed struggle was launched at Chai, in the Province of Cabo Delgado.<sup>149</sup> After the revolution, Karume declared that the government would support freedom fighters in countries which were still struggling for their independence . In a public meeting which was held at Maisara ground at Mnazi Mmoja area in Zanzibar, President Karume emphasized that Zanzibar was independent and should help its friends in southern Africa who were under colonial rule. This objective is also found in the ASP manifesto. The call to assist liberation struggles was responded to by the people of Zanzibar; they were determined to provide any assistance of which they were capable.<sup>150</sup>

Because the Makonde were part of the Zanzibari community, the Revolutionary Government provided very close cooperation to FRELIMO in the struggle for Mozambican independence . Unlike Mozambique, other countries which were under colonial rule, did not get direct support from Zanzibar . Contribution to these other countries was mostly through the Union Government which was created when the two countries, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, united on 26 April 1964. After the revolution, Zanzibar's economic position was good because cloves commanded a good price on the world market . Zanzibar contributed a lot to the Liberation Committee, through the Union Government; however, statistical data could not be obtained.<sup>151</sup>

After the revolution, FRELIMO continued to operate from the same office at Kisiwandui . As already hinted, before the revolution, there was another movement which was also fighting for the independence of Mozambique, namely the Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique (COREMO). The movement was

(149) Essack, Karim. *The Struggle for People's Power in Southern Africa*. Dar es Salaam: Thakers Printers and Publishers, 1975.

(150) ZNA/BA/68/2, op. cit.; Interview with Mr Athuman Hemed Nyuni, Mr Borafya Juma Silima, op. cit.

(151) Interviews with Mr Borafya, op. cit.; Prof. A. Sherif, (Zanzibar) April 2007.

opposed to FRELIMO . However, the ASP gave it an office at Kisiwandui building . In order to strengthen FRELIMO after the assassination of Dr Mondlane in 1969, the Revolutionary Government banned COREMO and all its members were expelled from Zanzibar .152

The Revolutionary Government donated to FRELIMO twin buildings at Kikwajuni area. Hitherto the buildings housed the American Library . The Americans, who were using the buildings, were moved out and the buildings became new FRELIMO Offices . These buildings are currently used as offices and the residence of the Consulate of the Republic of Mozambique in Zanzibar .153

Another building which the government gave to FRELIMO is found in Migombani area in Zanzibar . The FRELIMO Representative in Zanzibar, Mr Bartholomeo Mtika, lived in that building . This was before the establishment of the Mozambique Consulate in Zanzibar . When Mr Mtika left for Mozambique, the house was taken over by the Revolutionary Government . The house is currently used by the National Insurance Company, Zanzibar branch . When the Consulate of the Republic of Mozambique was established in Zanzibar, the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar provided another building to FRELIMO where the Consular General is living . The building is in Migombani area, a few metres from the former building which was used by the FRELIMO Representative.154

## **Mtoni and Chukwani Camps**

When FRELIMO asked for assistance from the Revolutionary Government under the leadership of President Abeid Amani Karume to send its youth to Dar es Salaam to join their colleagues for military training, Karume advised FRELIMO to send them to the Zanzibar Liberation Army (ZLA) for training by Chinese instructors . Many FRELIMO youth undertook military training at Chukwani and Mtoni Camps . These were the major camps where they trained together with Zanzibar youth . After completing the training, they were sent to join their colleagues at Nachingwea, from where they proceeded to the frontline in Mozambique . Others were left as reserves in Zanzibar at the advice of President Karume . This shows the great confidence that the ASP had in FRELIMO youth as the backbone of the revolution . All the training costs were borne by the Revolutionary Government . Other FRELIMO youth were given military training at Kitope and Dunga Camps .

## **Kitope Camp and Residence**

Kitope is an area in Zanzibar, where a large number of people of Mozambican origin have been residing for a long time . It is located in the Northern Region on

(152) Interview with Capt. Mchingama, op.cit.

(153) Interview with Mr Bernado Costantino Lidimba, Consul General, (Consulate of the Republic of Mozambique in Zanzibar) April 2007.

(154) Ibid. and Capt. Mchingama, op.cit.

Zanzibar Island . Other areas in Zanzibar where Mozambican immigrants are found in large numbers are Dunga, Chuwini, and Pemba . It is at Kitope where the first camp was set up to provide FRELIMO youth with preliminary military training before they were sent to Nachingwea for basic training . The camp is called Dongongwe Camp . Apart from military training, the trainees were also engaged in agricultural activities for their own food self-sufficiency . The surplus was sold to get money to support other activities at the camp . Mozambique representative, Mr Bartholomeo Mtika, popularly known by the Kitope community as Mr Gulugulu, was the leader supervising all activities in the camp.

The Kitope community contributed a lot to the struggle for the independence of Mozambique . This is due to the fact that the ASP was very strong in Kitope . Many of its residents were Makonde people . They were active members of the ASP; they participated actively in the preparations of the revolution which, as noted previously, were done in this area . Eventually, they teamed up with other activists in carrying out the revolution . When Karume came back from Ghana in 1958, where he attended the All African People Congress, his first destination was Kitope . The ground where he addressed the masses at Kitope has retained the name of Ghana . The ASP, later the CCM branch at Kitope, is known as the Ghana Branch .

At the ASP branch, a liberation committee was formed by the party members to assist FRELIMO in its struggle . The committee included ASP and FRELIMO members (who were also members of ASP) . The work of the established committee was to discuss issues pertaining to the independence of Mozambique and to inform people about the proceedings . Mr Fadhil Juma, who was the Chairperson at Kitope, supervised the activities of the committee . The committee also mobilized provision of moral and material support to the freedom fighters . Committee members mobilized people to contribute to the struggle . People contributed materials such as food, clothes, cooking vessels, donkeys, money, and other items . The committee members collected these materials and gave people receipts . Each person contributed between 100 and 200 Tsh . Other contributions also came from other areas . Those materials were handed over to the FRELIMO office.<sup>155</sup>

Ms . Farashuu Ally and Mr Lucas, an elderly man who migrated to Kitope from Mozambique in the early 1950s, were among the committee members . They explained that many people responded favourably when they were asked to contribute for FRELIMO fighters . The most memorable contribution consisted of donkeys . It is estimated that more than thirty donkeys were contributed . These were needed by FRELIMO fighters to carry heavy luggage, including weapons, to the battle ground . As FRELIMO was engaged in guerrilla warfare, donkeys (after their vocal chords were removed) were better suited than noisy motor transport for transporting materials to the battle field . Other people in Kitope sold donkeys to FRELIMO at a

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(155) Interview with Bi Farashuu Ali, Mr Lucas, and bi Asha Fundi, (Kitope Area) March 2007.



token price as a contribution to the struggle .156 Chinese military surgeons operated on the donkeys to remove their vocal chords, in order to make them voiceless and hence safe for use on the battle field . Then the donkeys, together with other materials, were sent by the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar to Dar es Salaam to be transported to Nachingwea Camp.

The Kitope Camp, however, was found not to be conducive for the youth who were prepared to be sent to the mainland . This is because the area was regularly infested by malaria causing mosquitoes; thus many youth were frequently attacked by malaria . Therefore, the camp was transferred to Dunga .157

## Dunga Camp and Plantation

The camp and farm are located in the southern region of Zanzibar . The camp is about twelve miles from Zanzibar Town . Youth from Kitope Camp and other areas who volunteered to join liberation struggles were collected at Dunga Camp for preliminary training before they were taken to the mainland camps . The camp was under the supervision of a leader, a Makonde called Mr Mwabole . Later, the camp was under the leadership of Jabili Mpinyeke . He was the last FRELIMO Chair before Mozambique gained independence .158 The camp was another contribution of the Zanzibar government to FRELIMO . It was more advanced compared to Dongongwe Camp at Kitope . Larger numbers of youth were collected and the government provided instructors and medical doctors to supervise the whole process of preparing youth and providing them with medical checkups and treatments to make sure that they were fit for the struggle . All the costs were covered by the government . The government also issued an assistance of office furniture for the FRELIMO offices at Dunga . Being of good quality and durable, some of the furniture is still in use . Other furniture has been preserved in FRELIMO stores as souvenirs of the struggle.159

Dunga Camp was placed alongside the ASP youth league offices . It is only one hundred metres from the ASP youth league office to the FRELIMO camp . The government saw the need to camouflage the camp from the enemies of the liberation struggle . The area during the liberations struggles was kept secret so that the foreign enemies, FRELIMO enemies, should not discover the camp . Thus the sign post showed that both offices belonged to the ASP Youth League . This was done deliberately by the government of Zanzibar to hide the camp from being easily detected by the enemies of the liberation struggle of Mozambique, and also to make FRELIMO youth and the ASP youth league work closely in supporting FRELIMO's liberation struggles.160

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(156) Ibid.

(157) Ibid.

(158) Mr Nyuni and Borafya, op. cit.

(159) Capt. Mchingama, op. cit.

(160) Interview with Mr Bernado Constantino Lidimba, Consul General of the Consulate of the Republic of Mozambique, (Zanzibar) April 2007; Capt. Mchingama, Mr Nyuni, and Mr Borafia, op. cit.

Furthermore, the government contributed farm land, approximately three acres, to FRELIMO at Dunga Camp and another farm in the Kitope area . Both farms were contributed by the Zanzibar government to FRELIMO fighters to help the youth to produce food and sell surplus for their immediate needs at the camp as well as to cover some other costs . Crops such as sweet potatoes, cassava, and fruit plants were cultivated by FRELIMO youth and other members; the Zanzibar youth also assisted the FRELIMO youth in agricultural activities . The plantation, which also contained coconut palms, supplied food to almost the whole of Zanzibar Island . Zanzibaris provided a good market for the products, especially during the holy month of Ramadan when the products were much consumed as the majority of Zanzibaris are Moslems .<sup>161</sup> Traders bought cassava, sweet potatoes, and coconuts in large quantities to sell them in town .

On Pemba, there was also a farm at Ngezi where the Makonde FRELIMO fighters cultivated similar crops and sold them to the people of Pemba . Though people needed these products for their subsistence needs, they were also aware that by buying those products they were contributing to the liberation struggle of Mozambique . The plantations still exist and are in use . They are still owned by the Mozambican community resident in Zanzibar .

A Makonde dance, popularly known as *sindimba*, was introduced in the camp . This was among the strategies of mobilizing funds for the liberation struggle . Both men and women danced . All the dancing preparations took place in the camp . The *sindimba* dance was done in form of role play; in the middle of dancing they dramatized different Zanzibari cultures, for instance *mwarabu na mkewe* (Arab man and his wife), *Mvuyi* (fisherman), and many others . The most interesting thing was that the Zanzibar youth, male and female, also joined the *sindimba* dancing group; they were well trained and therefore danced as if they were born and brought up in Mozambique . During different occasions such as public, religious holidays, and wedding ceremonies, *sindimba* dancing groups entertained the people of Zanzibar . Also they built *ukumbi wa makuti* (local halls) at Mnazi Mmoja and Maisara ground at Stone Town area and people paid entrance fees . Many people were attracted to the dance . They could not stay at home while a *sindimba* group was performing nearby . This provided FRELIMO with funds to support the liberation struggle .<sup>162</sup> The Dunga offices still exist and are in use . However, the offices now are not for FRELIMO only, but for all Mozambicans living in Zanzibar even though others are not members of FRELIMO . The FRELIMO members have their office in the building and those who are not members have a room in the building . A tower has been built as a memorial to the struggle; every year, on the Independence Day of Mozambique (25 June), on the launching day of the liberation struggles in Mozambique (25 September), and also during Mozambican women's day (7 April), all the Mozambican people living

(161) Interview with Mr Ernest Mmamu, a Makonde residing and working at the Dunga Camp, (Dunga) March 2007.

(162) Interview with Mr Ernest Mmamu, op.cit.

in Zanzibar, with their Zanzibari comrades, come together at the tower and place flowers at the tower in remembrance of the liberation struggle and of those who lost their lives in the struggle . On such occasions, different activities including the *sindimba* dance are performed.<sup>163</sup>

## Other Socio-Economic Dimensions

Tanzania also provided education opportunities, health care, and other essential social services, in order to advance the cause of the liberation struggle . Although some of these services were provided in the military training camps and settlements for social and economic development, some of the cadres were also granted opportunities to study in the regular institutions and colleges with Tanzanians. Colonel Kedy Rose Mopero, who arrived in Tanzania in 1977 as a member of the PAC, told us, “Tanzania contributed to my education . I schooled here, I did my tertiary at *Ustawi wa Jamii* . I was among the first South Africans who pioneered to the opening of the Institute of Social Work (*Taasisi ya Ustawi wa Jamii*); that was in 1980, and I graduated in 1983.”<sup>164</sup> This PAC cadre, currently serving as a Military Advisor in the South African High Commission in Dar es Salaam, explained:

I was recruited into the PAC as a “Child soldier” at the age of 16 . I played an active role in the SOWETO students’ uprisings in June 1976 . I was a courier between the PAC leaders and the students and other cells, both inside South Africa and outside, i.e. Botswana . I was imprisoned at Matsapa Prison in Swaziland for crossing the border illegally . In spite of assurances from both the UNHCR and the racist regime, I chose to proceed to Dar es Salaam rather than be repatriated to South Africa . On arriving in Dar es Salaam, we were delivered to the PAC Houses . I personally stayed in Upanga Area, in a Street called Senegal, next to the Fire Station . That was my first place of residence in Tanzania.

We were assured of our safety as the Government of Tanzania managed to rally the support of the masses on the ground . We were a security risk and yet the Government leased houses to us without fearing attacks . They were willing and ready even to accept some of us in their schools .

I did my tertiary education at the National Institute for Social Welfare . I was among the first South Africans who pioneered the opening of the Institute . That was in 1980 and I graduated in 1983 . In a way, that contributed to the liberation struggle . I used the skills I learnt at the Institute in Zimbabwe and later in South Africa .<sup>165</sup>

Mrs Zainab Bakilana was in charge of PAC and ANC students in Tanzania who were being sponsored by the African American Institute, through the Southern African Training Programme, between 1984 and 1994 . She told us that many students from South Africa passed through this programme . There was a close liaison between her office, the offices of the liberation movements, and USAID . The qualifying students were sent to the United States, Ghana, Nigeria, or Ethiopia according to their choice

(163) Capt. Mchingama, op.cit.

(164) Interview with Colonel Rose Jalle Mopero, op.cit.

(165) Interview with Col. Rose Jalle, op.cit.

of studies . The majority of the students were admitted to Tanzanian Colleges and Institutes, namely, the College of Business Education, the Co-operative College of Moshi, and Mzumbe Institute .166

Tanzania started offering scholarships to Mozambican refugees in various fields from 1962 . Political education was provided for both FRELIMO cadres and freedom fighters to sensitize them on the course and meaning of the liberation struggle .167 The Tanzanian Government allowed FRELIMO to build several educational centres in the country. They built Bagamoyo Secondary School, headed by Graca Machel, and the Mozambican Institute at Kurasini in Dar es Salaam, which offered secondary education specifically for Mozambican youth . In 1963, the Institute, which also trained health staff for liberated areas, had 130 students .168 FRELIMO built a teachers' training centre at Tunduru . This effort was in preparation for their own social needs in a liberated Mozambique .

Another aspect was financial assistance to the liberation movements . The government mobilized resources to help the armed struggle . The magnitude of the contribution in monetary terms is difficult to document as it was part of the TPDF national defence and security recurrent budget . Besides direct material and financial contributions to liberation movements, Tanzania did not default in its mandatory financial contributions to the OAU Liberation Committee . Between 1964/1965 and 1967/1968, the country contributed a total of Sterling Pound 81,093 .169 Between 1977/1978 and 1986/1987, Tanzania's total contributions were USD \$351,879 .170 Annual contributions were:

**Table 7: Cash Contributions by Tanzania to the OAU Liberation Committee**

Year	Contributions in Sterling Pounds	Contributions in US Dollars	Totals
1964/1965	£ 20,000		
1965/1966	£ 22,000		
1966/1967	£ 24,000		
1967/1968	£ 15,093		
1964 to 1968			£ 81,093
1977/1978		\$ 15,098	
1980/1981		\$ 73,603	

(166) Interview with Zainab Bakilana, (Dar es Salaam) 19 December 2008.

(167) Interviews with Kingunge Ngombale Mwiru, op.cit; Lt. Gen. G. Sayore (Rtd), (Dar es Salaam) 10 May 2007. Among other duties, Hon. Ngombale Mwiru served as the Principal of TANU's and later CCM's Kivukoni Ideological College (presently *Mwalimu J.K. Nyerere Memorial College*) and Chief Education Officer of the National Service, while Lt. Gen. Sayore served as a Military Instructor at Farm 17 Military Camp.

(168) Panaf. *Eduardo Mondlane*. London: Panaf Book Ltd, 1972: See p.37.

(169) OAU Liberation Committee. Report to the 12th Session. Conakry, Guinea: 9 January 1968: See Annex I for "Detailed Statement of Arrears of Contribution to the Special Fund of the OAU Liberation Committee as at 31st."

(170) OAU Liberation Committee. Report to the 56th Session. Abuja, Nigeria: 24-25 May 1991.

1981/1982		\$ 70,607	
1983/1984		\$ 60,602	
Settlement of Arrears		\$ 50,353	
1985/1986		\$ 103,477	
1986/1987		\$ 28,492	
1977 to 1987			\$351,879

In addition to contributions via the TPDF and the OAU, Tanzanians set up a fundraising committee in order to mobilise financial and other material contributions from the general public for the liberation struggle. Known as the TANU and later the CCM Committee for the Liberation of Africa, its members included:

- Executive Secretary of TANU, Secretary General of CCM
- Principal Secretary, PMO and 2nd VP
- Commander of the Defence Forces (CDF)
- Executive Secretary, OAU Liberation Committee
- Director of Intelligence<sup>171</sup>

The Committee was normally chaired by a Cabinet Minister . For example, since its inception in 1972 until 29 June 1973, it was chaired by Hon . I.M . Bhoke Munaka, Minister of State in the Prime Minister's and Second Vice President's Office . In its first meeting, the Committee approved and promised to provide financial and material support to the ZANU/ZAPU Joint Military Command Agreement signed at Mbeya on 23 May 1972 by J.Z . Moyo (Chairman of ZAPU) and H.W. Chitepo (Chairman of ZANU) . The signing ceremony was witnessed by G .S . Magombe, Executive Secretary of the OAU Liberation Committee . Consequently, the Committee approved the ZAPU request for financial assistance as detailed below:

**Table 8: ZAPU Request for Financial Assistance**

#	Item	Amount
i .	Rental charges	16,290.00
ii .	Vehicle Maintenance	2,098.85
iii .	Telephone and Telegram	9,098.80
iv .	Transport and fare	2,487.10
vi .	Debts	1,841.05
v .	Licence and insurance	1,896.30
	<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>33,712.10</b>

Other liberation movements whose requests for financial assistance were approved included FROLIZI (20,000.00Tsh) and the MPLA (253,902.10Tsh).<sup>172</sup> In

(171) GSO Records, PMC/P.30/25.

(172) Ibid.

its third meeting held on 12 March 1973, it approved an assistance of £ 10,000 to SWAPO . It should be noted that these contributions were over and beyond regular contributions to the OAU Liberation Committee . In its fifth meeting held on 19 July 1973, the Committee considered: Requests for war equipment, food, and funds from ZANU and SWAPO, and a request for English language lessons for FRELIMO's Health Cadres.

In relation to the MPLA, requests discussed and agreed upon by the Committee, are noted in a Minute to the Principal Secretary, Vice President's Office, from the State House, dated 25 January 1970, as follows:

1. Today at 12:30, the President and Vice President met an MPLA delegation led by its President, Dr A. Neto.
2. It was agreed:
  - a) MPLA should be assisted with war equipment .
  - b) Provided with a separate training camp, if possible at Chunya .
  - c) Provided with construction equipment .
  - d) Provided with cash money .
3. The President to set up a special fund for liberation and also to request friendly countries to contribute to it.
4. Similar to FRELIMO an annual budget be prepared for MPLA .
5. Every possible assistance be provided to Angolans in their war for liberation .

While by 1991 some of the OAU Member States had outstanding debts accumulated over several years, Tanzania and a few other countries had no such debts (Annex I) . When the guerrilla warfare started in 1964, many Mozambican freedom fighters died and many others sustained injuries . Those who were injured had nowhere to go except Tanzania . Tanzanians sympathised with them and nursed them back to life . Tanzanians were encouraged to donate blood in order to save the lives of freedom fighters .<sup>173</sup> Mtwara Region, for example, gave FRELIMO land at Ligula near the regional hospital to construct a hospital for the sick and injured freedom fighters . The Government of Tanzania supplied FRELIMO health centres with medical equipment, medicines, beds, and doctors .<sup>174</sup> Although they built their own health centres, Mozambicans who were living in rural areas were treated in government hospitals and health centres . After independence, FRELIMO handed over its health centres and hospitals to the government of Tanzania . Ligula hospital in Mtwara is a case in point .

The maternity wing at Ligula Regional Hospital has been named "FRELIMO Ward."

In order to assist the Liberation Movements in Health Training, Tanzania set up the Morogoro Multinational Health Training Programme . The project started in 1977 and

(173) Interview with Ambassador Christopher Liundi, (Dar es Salaam) 30 October 2008.

(174) Interview with Suleiman Tuliza, (Majengo, Mtwara) 12 October 2006.

wound up on 15 February 1985 . It was funded by the UNDP and the WHO through the OAU Liberation Committee and in cooperation with the Tanzanian Ministry of Health . It attained its objectives by training 187 Zimbabweans, 242 Namibians, and 91 South Africans, totalling 520 people.<sup>175</sup>

Tanzania willingly offered transport facilities to Mozambican freedom fighters . All material support received from friendly nations entered through Tanzanian harbours and airports from where they were transported to the centres of operation . For example, many weapons were transported by road up to Mbeya; others were transported by sea to Mtwara Port, then by road to Nachingwea . Tanzania also constructed the road from Kitaya along Ruvuma River up to Newala to facilitate movement of both guerrilla fighters and weapons to the frontline.<sup>176</sup> Brig. Gen (Rtd) Mbita explained that the former Home Affairs' Minister of Tanzania, Job Lusinde, arranged for arms to be transported up to the Tunduma border post, where they were received by Zambian and Liberation Movements' leaders . Among such leaders were President Kaunda himself, his Home Affairs' Minister, Aron Milner, Joshua Nkomo, and Gen . Msika from ZAPU . It was only after the indigenization of the Zambian Armed Forces that these political leaders ceded this task to the Zambian Army.<sup>177</sup>

Similarly, the impetus for the construction by the Government of the People's Republic of China of the TAZARA Railway Line from Dar es Salaam to Kapiri Mposhi in Zambia, from 1970 to 1975; as well as the construction of the Dar es Salaam to Tunduma Highway and the TAZAMA oil pipeline from the Dar es Salaam port to Zambia was largely derived from the political objective of supporting the liberation struggle in southern Africa.<sup>178</sup>

Tanzania also assumed the important role of issuing travel documents to the liberation fighters . In one of its reports, the OAU Liberation Committee observed:

The problem of issuing travelling documents to the liberation fighters has of late, become an acute one. It will be recalled that since the establishment of the committee, the government of Tanzania has borne the greatest share of this responsibility and has been issuing travelling documents to freedom fighters either on going out for military training or for academic studies . This has resulted in a massive concentration of freedom fighters in Tanzania.<sup>179</sup>

Samora Machel, the President of Mozambique's representation, gives a holistic picture of Tanzania's contribution:

(175) Report of the Executive Secretary to the 43rd Session of the OAU Liberation Committee. Accra, Ghana: February 1985. Besides Dr Kassiga from Tanzania, other instructors at the Institute included Dr Shabalala, a former Minister of Health under President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa. Interview with Brig. Gen. (Rtd) Mbita and Mama Anna Abdalla, op.cit.

(176) Interview with Mussa Mzee, (Chuno-Kianga, Mtwara) 28 October 2007.

(177) Interview with Brig. Gen. (Rtd) Hashim Mbita, op. cit.

(178) While Western countries dismissed TAZARA as a useless and an unviable project, the US government deliberately funded the construction of the Dar es Salaam to Tunduma Highway in order to discourage the idea of the construction of TAZARA. Interview with Prof. T. Mbvette, (Dar es Salaam) 17 November 2008.

(179) OAU Liberation Committee. Report to the 10th Session. Kinshasa, Congo: January 1967; Interview with Raphael Kubaga, former Director of Immigration, (Dar es Salaam) March 2007. Similarly, See PMC/P.30/20/834, dated 20 September 1977.

victory of consequent struggle, the re-establishment of peace in Mozambique took place in the year 1974, a year proclaimed by TANU as the year of liberation, a year of great mobilization of the masses in solidarity towards our struggle and that of our brotherly people in Southern Africa.

The Mozambican people learned from Tanzania the great lesson of fraternity and internationalism. In your country we never felt as foreigners and everywhere we enveloped ourselves in the warmth of solidarity.

In spite of your poverty, in spite of difficulties, you have always been ready to tighten your belt in response to the needs of war in Mozambique.

In your villages the people would pick out maize, some cassava, a goat, a hen to offer to Mozambique.

Four million shillings, four million sacrifices were handed to us at your party's celebration in 1974.

In the hospitals the people would queue to donate blood to Mozambique. Tanzanian blood saved many Mozambican lives.

To say thank you to TANU, to yourself, to your people and government is too little. But we shall say this: we learned from your example and FRELIMO's leadership. Mozambique will always be for Tanzania led by TANU a sure ally for the consolidation and development of the Revolution which belongs to us all...180

## International Community Support

The second aspect of the contribution of Tanzania to the liberation struggle of southern Africa involved the mobilization of the international community to support the struggle. This role had three aspects. Firstly, it involved the securing of arms, as well as financial, moral, and material support for the liberation movements. The countries which supplied arms to the liberation movements were the USSR, China, India, Egypt under Abdul Nasser, and Algeria under Ben Bella. The arms were allowed to come in free of customs duty; the TPDF undertook the task of moving them from the Dar es Salaam port to the borders, before they were handed over to the respective liberation movements.<sup>181</sup> Initially, it was difficult to pass or hand over the arms to Zambia, because the Zambian army was headed by British Officers. However, after the re-organisation of the Zambia Army in 1970, the arms could be passed or handed over safely and Zambia became a trusted and loyal supporter of the liberation struggle.<sup>182</sup> The second aspect was to sensitize and mobilize the international community to support the liberation struggle. This effort was undertaken especially by President Nyerere in international fora, such as with the United Nations Organisation (UNO),

(180) Machel, Samora. Report to the 24th Session of the OAU Liberation Committee. Dar es Salaam, TZ, 1975.

(181) Interviews with Msuya, op. cit; Mbita, op. cit.

(182) Interviews with Gen. Sarakikya (Rtd), op.cit; Lt. Gen. Sayore (Rtd), op.cit. As a result of sharing borders with Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, and Angola, Zambia was more vulnerable to attacks than Tanzania. The First Commander of the Zambian Defence Forces, Major Kingsley Chinkuli spent some time in Tanzania as a Guest of the CDF, Gen. Sarakikya. He studied closely the role of the TPDF in the liberation struggle. The TPDF was allowed by the Government of Zambia to ferry supplies through its territory, up to the border with Angola. Interview with Brig. Gen. Mbita, op. cit.. As Smith was intimidating Zambia, Mozambique diverted attention from it.



the Commonwealth, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the Arab League, and the Organisation of African Unity .183

Thirdly, President Nyerere worked closely with the OAU Liberation Committee, which was based in Tanzania, and with the Frontline States, whose meetings he chaired until he retired in 1985 . In supporting the liberation struggle, he worked tirelessly to resolve conflicts between and among the liberation movements . The efforts made by Tanzania in all these areas were significant; they resulted in the recognition of liberation movements as legitimate representatives of oppressed people, rather than as terrorist organizations . On this basis, the UN accorded those liberation movements that were recognised by the OAU, Observer Status in the General Assembly.184

## The OAU Liberation Committee

Besides hosting the Committee, the OAU mandated Tanzania's Head of State to appoint its Executive Secretaries, then notify the OAU for formal endorsement .185 The first two Executive Secretaries, Sebastian Chale, 1963-1968 and George Magombe, 1968-1972, were career diplomats . Regarding Ambassador Chale, it is noted,

The Chairman informed members that there was good progress with the setting up of the Secretariat at Dar es Salaam . He declared that Tanganyika Government had appointed Mr Sebastian Chale, former Counsellor at the Tanganyika Mission to the UIN as the Provisional Executive Secretary186

Most probably, their appointment reflected the era of the liberation struggle in which diplomatic negotiations assumed an upper hand as a means to political change in southern Africa.

However in 1972, President Nyerere appointed a TPDF Officer, Major Hashim I . Mbita, as the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee .187 Unlike his predecessors, who were career diplomats, Major Mbita focused on the armed struggle as the most effective means for political change in southern Africa . He made a tour of the liberated areas in Mozambique less than two months after his appointment . That was followed by a tour of Guinea Bissau through Guinea Conakry.188 Furthermore, he familiarized himself with the activities of his Office with regard to the liberation movements' role and the relationship between these movements and the Liberation

(183) Interviews with Dr Salim Ahmed Salim, (Dar es Salaam) 31 January 2007 and 7 February 2007; Justice Warioba, *op. cit.*; Kileo, *op. cit.*; Mbita, *op. cit.*

(184) *Ibid.*

(185) *Ibid.*

(186) *Ibid.*

(187) Prior to this appointment, he had served as the President's Press Secretary and the Executive Secretary of TANU. Although at one stage President Nyerere had planned to appoint him as the country's Envoy in London, he suddenly changed his mind and sent him instead for basic military training in a TPDF camp. On completing the military course in the United Kingdom, he was appointed as a Political Education Officer in the TPDF with the rank of a Major, before being appointed as TANU Executive Secretary. Interview with Brig. Gen (Rtd) Mbita, *op. cit.*

(188) *Ibid.*

Committee, the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government, the independent African States, and friendly countries and organizations outside Africa .

In all these areas, the Secretariat found the need for effecting significant changes . These concerns were reported to the 21st Ordinary Session of the Committee held in Accra, Ghana, in January 1973 .<sup>189</sup> The Report emphasized that the ability of the Executive Secretariat to inform both the African and the world public on the activities of the liberation movements was an important facet of its functioning . Although the liberation struggle had been on for over ten years, it was pointed out that very little was known about it in Africa and the world at large. Besides contributions by governments to the struggle, the Report stressed that people in independent African states could play an important role in the liberation struggle, both morally and materially. However, to play this role effectively, they needed to be informed and educated regarding every stage of the struggle and its requirements.

Furthermore, the Report called for efficiency and discipline at the Executive Secretariat . It was observed that the Secretariat needed to become more executive, leaving the committee and higher organs of the OAU to concentrate on formulation of policies for the Secretariat to execute . Finally, the Committee was invited to note that the Secretariat needed to function as a “War Office” of the OAU . These proposals were refined into what the Meeting adopted as the “Accra Declaration.”

The *Accra Declaration on the New Strategy for the Liberation of Africa* (1973) adopted resolutions intended to consolidate and further the gains of the liberation struggle in order to move decisively towards the final elimination of colonialism and racism from the continent . Resolutions adopted specified the roles to be assumed under the following rubrics: African States, Liberation Movements, the Executive Secretariat, and International Action . For example, under International Action, the Committee resolved that direct approaches be made to states as well as institutions in order to obtain maximum concrete assistance, especially arms and equipment . To obtain such assistance, the Committee decided to dispatch missions to the socialist countries assisting the liberation struggle, including China and the USSR, for the purpose of soliciting greater material assistance for the liberation movements and thanking them for the assistance they had given thus far . Similarly, the non-aligned countries were approached as a follow-up of a decision taken by the Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Georgetown, Guyana in August 1972, pledging to support the liberation movements . Missions were also sent to other sympathetic countries, in particular, the Scandinavian countries, in search of humanitarian and financial assistance.

The impact of the *Accra Declaration* was quite dramatic . In his second report tabled at the 22nd session of the Committee in Mogadishu, Somalia, in October 1973, the Executive Secretary noted:

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(189) Mbita, Major Hashim I., Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee. Report to the 21st Ordinary Session of the OAU Liberation Committee. Accra, Ghana, 8-13 January 1973.

The period under review has been characterized by events ranging from the assassination of Cde Amilcar Cabral, intensification of the armed struggle in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Guinea Bissau; and general international solidarity with the liberation struggle as witnessed at the Oslo Conference, 10th Anniversary of the OAU and at the Non-Aligned Conference in Algiers .190

Meanwhile, in a bid to popularise the cause of the liberation struggle in independent African States, the Secretariat continued with its familiarization programme . Members of the Secretariat were honoured to be received by the heads of state of Somalia, Nigeria, and Zaire . The Arab Republic of Egypt, Ghana, and Zambia were also visited . In each country, fruitful discussions on matters related to the liberation struggle were held with relevant government officials . Towards the end of March 1973, the Executive Secretariat held an informal meeting with directors of the United Nations Specialized Agencies in Geneva with the aim of finding out how best the agencies, in cooperation with the OAU, could implement General Assembly Resolution 2704 (xxv), granting assistance to liberation movements . The meeting had very positive results . Two specialized agencies, the FAO and WHO, responded; they sent missions to Dares Salaam to conduct consultation with liberation movements, the Government of Tanzania, and the Executive Secretariat of the Liberation Committee . Henceforth, liberation movements started to receive assistance from UN Agencies such as the UNDP, FAO, UNESCO, WHO, and ILO .191

The post *Accra Declaration* period also saw tremendous growth of interest in the affairs of the liberation struggle by the world community . Several international meetings were held with the goal of helping victims of colonialism, apartheid, and economic exploitation . At the invitation of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia (SWAPY), a team from the Secretariat visited Belgrade at the beginning of April 1973.

With the support rendered, the liberation struggle scored spectacular victories, starting with the PAIGC declaration of independence in Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands in 1974 . This event was followed by the demise of colonial rule in other Portuguese colonies in 1975, the end of illegal white minority rule in Zimbabwe in 1980 and the termination of apartheid South Africa illegal mandate in Namibia in 1990 . The culmination of the liberation struggle came with the collapse of the apartheid state and subsequent democratisation of South Africa in 1994.

(190) Mbita, H.I., Executive Secretary. Report to the 22nd Session of the Committee. Mogadishu, Somalia: October 1973.

(191) As already explained, this financial and humanitarian assistance was provided mostly through the settlements for economic and social development set up by the different liberation movements.

## Conflict Resolution

The most challenging task that Tanzania and the other countries supporting the liberation struggles faced was that of reconciling splinter groups within and among the liberation movements. This was also a formidable challenge to the OAU Liberation Committee.<sup>192</sup> The limited written accounts of exile liberation movements in southern Africa demonstrate the divisive nature of ethnicity within the liberation movements. Besides ideological divisions, ethnic tensions were manifested within ZANU before and after the death of its leader, Herbert Chitepo, in 1974. This was also true of ZAPU and other liberation movements in Zimbabwe. Within the ANC and PAC of South Africa, the issue of Xhosa or predominantly Nguni (Xhosa and Zulu) leadership created tension in the camps, especially during the 1980s. Liberation movements in Angola and Namibia faced similar problems.<sup>193</sup>

Mozambique provides a good example of a country where Tanzania successfully reconciled splinter groups. Nationalist organizations from Mozambique such as MANU, UDENAMO, and UNAMI were invited to attend a meeting convened by President Nyerere in Dar es Salaam. At that meeting, Nyerere urged the Mozambican people to forget their differences and form a united front. He stressed:

No country can attain freedom without uniting all freedom fighters in a unified movement. Faction can only lead to confusion among the people and among those willing to help the struggle for liberation, thus weakening the whole liberation movement in that country.<sup>194</sup>

His appeal bore fruits when these nationalist organizations decided to bring unity of all patriotic forces of Mozambique by means of forming a united front, “*Frente da Libertacao de Mocambique*” (FRELIMO), with headquarters in Dar es Salaam.<sup>195</sup>

Dr Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane was elected President, Rev. Uria Simango, the Vice-President, while David Mabunde became the General Secretary. In June 1962, FRELIMO was registered under the Societies Ordinance, Cap 337, by the Tanganyika Ministry of Home Affairs.<sup>196</sup> FRELIMO was allowed to open branches anywhere in Tanzania. A case in point is the FRELIMO Newala branch registered in June 1962.<sup>197</sup> However, between 1967 and 1969, FRELIMO experienced ethnic and racial tensions.<sup>198</sup> The problem was exacerbated after the assassination of Dr Eduardo Mondlane, its founder and President, when the contest for leadership arose. The leadership crisis

(192) Interviews with Dr Salim, op. cit.; Justice Warioba, op. cit.; Brig. Gen. Mbita (Rtd), op. cit., Hon. Dr Malecela, op. cit.

(193) Interviews with Sayore, op. cit.; Mbita, op. cit.; Bgoya, op. cit.; and Warioba, op. cit.

(194) Esack, op. cit. Similarly, interview with Hon. Kingunge Ngombale Mwiru, op. cit.

(195) TNA/490: Association-Registration, Frente de Libertacao de Mozambique (FRELIMO).

(196) TNA/490: Association-Registration, A 6/1, 194.

(197) Ibid.

(198) Interview with Walter Bgoya, op. cit.

was resolved with the intervention of President Nyerere and the election of Samora Machel as President of FRELIMO .199

## The Case of Angola

Angola did not have one movement, but four: MPLA, FNLA, UNITA, and FLEC . This presented the OAU and the Frontline States with an urgency to create a united front among the first three movements as the fourth one was concerned with the Cabinda enclave only. Tanzania worked closely with the OAU Liberation Committee and the Frontline States to promote unity among the three liberation movements . After a meeting held in Lubumbashi and attended by Nyerere, Kaunda, Mobutu, and Holden Roberto, the leader of the FNLA, Nyerere invited Holden Roberto to Tanzania and arrived with him in Dar es Salaam . Tanzania's Foreign Minister, John Malecela, said the three Presidents had discussed good neighbourliness, the liberation struggle, and African Unity .200 In a subsequent meeting, held in the Tanzanian city of Mwanza, the three Presidents were joined by Dr Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA, and FNLA's Holden Roberto . The two leaders briefed the Presidents on the struggle, but no details about unity were given . Nyerere's conciliatory line towards Mobutu and Holden Roberto was a diplomatic move to keep the two in line rather than an approval of their political line on Angola . Tanzania, as the headquarters of the OAU Liberation Committee, and a staunch believer in African unity, could not afford to take sides .201

With the support of the OAU, the MPLA, FNLA, UNITA, and Portugal as the colonial power, signed an accord in December 1974 to establish a common platform for a transitional government . Prior to independence in November 1975, Western powers, particularly the United States, France, and others increased arms supplies to the FNLA through Mobutu's Zaire . Tanzania's position on this action was clear . During a state visit to Belgium and the Netherlands in September 1975, President Nyerere warned the West to stop meddling in Angola. The West, he noted, "was trying to gain control of Angola and to make it a puppet state which they can exploit for their own benefit . . . War in Angola is no longer a conflict between Angolans." Without foreign intervention, he argued, "Angolans would, with the help of Africa, be able to solve their own problems more quickly and with much less suffering."202

The South African invasion of Angola and its all-out support for UNITA and FNLA, and the tacit approval and involvement of the United States in that aggression, provided favourable political conditions for Nyerere to throw a challenge to those

(199) LC/1/108: "Security Information", F.43, 5th November 1969. For the Agreement between the Portuguese State and FRELIMO on the Independence of Mozambique, see LC/1/138: "FRELIMO", 1974.

(200) Interview with Hon. Dr Malecela, op.cit.

(201) GSO records show that Tanzania recognized and rendered support to the three movements. COC/A.2/1/30 dated 26 September 1973 shows that Kuyalvamoko Nemaftuta was introduced as the First Representative of the FNLA in Tanzania. This measure was necessary in order to strengthen the Unity Agreement between MPLA and FNLA signed in Kinshasa on 13 December 1972. Interview with Mbita, op. cit.

(202) Nyerere, J.K., as quoted in the *Daily News*, 14 December 1975.

OAU member states who wavered over which liberation movement to support in the Angola conflict . Tanzania disassociated itself with the FNLA and UNITA and threw its entire weight behind the MPLA .<sup>203</sup> Nyerere called on all member states, including the Frontline States, to bury their differences . “Despite our differences,” he added, “it should be possible for many African countries to speak with one voice against the involvement of South Africa. Even those countries which were hesitating in their condemnation of foreign intervention can now take a position .” He stressed that FNLA and UNITA did not deserve support because of their collusion with the enemy . His support for the MPLA was unequivocal: “We would not hesitate to pass arms to the MPLA to fight South Africa . It would still be proper for the Government of Angola to ask for help . It did not matter where that help came from so long as it was directed at defeating South Africa.”<sup>204</sup>

Jenerali Ulimwengu, who attended the OAU Special Meeting on Angola in Addis Ababa in January 1976, described some of its defining moments:

Murtala Mohamed, who had just taken power in Lagos, made a statement in the meeting that whoever is going to attack the People’s Republic of Angola, should know that he is attacking Nigeria. He played a very big role in at least declaring openly that Nigeria was on the side of the People’s Republic of Angola. At that time, Nyerere was a supporter of the People’s Republic of Angola . He had already taken his stand and campaigned in Europe and Asia. Before coming to Addis Ababa, I remember he looked like for three days he had never changed his clothes. He was not sleeping. Definitely his Ambassador to the UN, Salim Ahmed Salim, had not changed his, because he arrived in jeans . He lost his bag and did not have time to go shopping . He had travelled for three days . So these people were not sleeping at all.<sup>205</sup>

The eventual defeat of Portuguese colonialism and the South African invasion of Angola by the People’s Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) with the support of Cuban internationalist forces at the battle of Cuito Cuanhavalle greatly encouraged the intensification of the armed struggle against white minority rule in Zimbabwe, the apartheid regime in South Africa, and its illegal occupation of Namibia .

(203) As pointed out by Nyerere in the 1950s, the South African apartheid regime was the enemy of African dignity and humanity. After independence, the Government of Tanzania inserted a clause in the national passports allowing the holders to visit all countries in the world except South Africa. Naturally, Tanzania took South Africa’s aggression against an independent African State as aggression against the entire African continent. No compromise with it was justified. However, between November and December 1975, the Government of Tanzania held to the thesis of a Government of National Unity in Angola. See interview with Jenerali Ulimwengu, (Dar es Salaam) December 2007, who offered a highly illuminating account on the proceedings of the OAU Summit Meeting on Angola in Addis Ababa, in February 1976. He attended the Meeting as a Representative of the Pan African Youth Movement.

(204) Ibid.

(205) Ibid.

## The Dar es Salaam Declaration

With the defeat of Portuguese colonialism in 1975, President Nyerere convened an extraordinary session of the OAU Council of Ministers in Dar es Salaam . It was an historic meeting in that it identified Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Namibia as priorities . It issued the *Dar es Salaam Declaration* by which it demanded the withdrawal of South African military and economic support for the Smith regime . It called on South Africa to abide by the United Nations Security Council resolutions to end its occupation of Namibia . It called for the intensification of support to the liberation movements of Zimbabwe and Namibia.<sup>206</sup>

In an analysis of the *Dar es Salaam Declaration*, Nyerere reiterated the political line he adopted as early as the 1950s of identifying apartheid South Africa as “the effective authority” in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Namibia, and South Africa itself . Although Britain was the colonial power in Rhodesia, he cautioned:

The only external influence which could have any real effect is held in South Africa . Thus Africa’s confrontation in southern Africa now is basically with South Africa . That is, South Africa as a colonial power in Namibia and – to all intents and purposes – in Rhodesia; and as a racist regime in South Africa itself.

Regarding the essence of the Dar es Salaam Declaration, Nyerere noted:

The Dar es Salaam Declaration is not about so called Dialogue or Detente with South Africa . . . It is about the liberation of Southern Africa: its purpose is to make sure in our own minds about how we should proceed now, after the successes of the freedom fighters in Angola and Mozambique.<sup>207</sup>

As before, Nyerere declared that Africa was ready to talk with South Africa about decolonisation, if the latter was ready . Isael Elinewinga, a former Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, narrated to us how President Nyerere sent him to Salisbury to explore with Ian Smith prospects for a negotiated settlement of the political crisis in Southern Rhodesia . Smith remarked to him that President Nyerere was too clever by half.<sup>208</sup> But he warned against complacency . Africa and the liberation movements must strengthen their armed forces in order to talk “from a position of strength.”<sup>209</sup>

## The Liberation of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa

With his Frontline and other OAU colleagues, Nyerere worked tirelessly to ensure unity among the liberation movements in Zimbabwe . The Smith regime, like South Africa in Namibia, sought to reach accommodation with puppet movements in order to blunt the effectiveness of the liberation movement . Unity was, therefore, a priority.

(206) OAU Liberation Committee. Report to the 26th Session. Maputo, Mozambique: OAU, January 1976: See p.228; Report to the 27th Session. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: OAU, May 1976: See p.16.

(207) *Africa Magazine*. London: 1975, p.20.

(208) Interview with Isael Elinewinga, (Moshi) 10 April 2007.

(209) *Africa Magazine*, op.cit. OAU Liberation Committee. Session Reports. op. cit.

Although Zimbabwean liberation movements had been invited to settle and train their cadres in Tanzania as early as the 1960s, continuous efforts were made to unite their operations.<sup>210</sup> At the Fourth TANU Meeting on the Liberation of Africa held on 27 April 1972, Agenda No 5 was on the ZAPU/ZANU Joint Military Command.<sup>211</sup> The military successes achieved by Zimbabwean freedom fighters, as a result of effective rear base support by the Frontline States, particularly Mozambique, forced Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, to declare the need for the liberation struggle to move from the battle field to the negotiation table.<sup>212</sup> Tanzania spearheaded the creation of the Patriotic Front comprised of ZANU and ZAPU in order to strengthen the position of the nationalist forces against the white settlers led by Ian Smith.<sup>213</sup> Similarly, in Namibia, Tanzania supported SWAPO against the South African supported Turnhalle Alliance. It was an essential measure for the genuine victory of the Namibian masses.<sup>214</sup> Ambassador Kileo recalls:

...actually, it was not supposed to be Zimbabwe getting independence first; it was supposed to be Namibia. It was going to be Namibia and that is why I mentioned President Carter. I don't know what would have happened to the fortunes of Namibia if Carter had remained president for a second term. The coming to power of President Reagan changed many things. In 1978, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 435 which called for granting for independence to Namibia.<sup>215</sup>

On coming to power, the Republican Government of President Reagan linked the Independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. It took almost a decade of skilful negotiations between the Frontline States and the Western Five Contact Group on the one hand and intensified armed struggle by SWAPO in Namibia and by the MPLA with the support of the Cuban Internationalist Forces in Angola on the other, to reach a settlement on this impasse.<sup>216</sup> Nyerere defended the right of the MPLA to seek military assistance from anywhere and that Africa “must welcome” such assistance to fight against South Africa. He highly appreciated Soviet and Cuban assistance to the MPLA.<sup>217</sup> Nyerere defended Cuban internationalist assistance and, on a visit to the United States in 1977, he objected to US insistence that Cuban troops should withdraw from Angola: “We do not want them to leave until we are sure that both the Western countries and South Africa are not entertaining

(210) Interviews with Mbita, op. cit.; Kileo, op. cit.; Mwamunyange, op. cit.; Warioba, op. cit.; Sayore, op. cit.; Kimario, op. cit.

(211) GSO Records: SHC/P.100/18/56.

(212) Interviews with Mbita, op. cit.; Sayore, op. cit.; Warioba, op. cit.; Kileo, op. cit.

(213) Ibid.

(214) Interviews with Kimario, op. cit.; Mwamunyange, op. cit.; Mbita, op. cit.; and Kileo, op. cit.

(215) Interview with Ambassador Charles Kileo, op. cit. The same sentiments were expressed by Justice Warioba, op. cit.

(216) Interview with Ambassador Kileo, op. cit. Annex II Speech by Fidel Castro on the significance of the battle of Cuito Cuanavale. Commemoration at the UDSM in March 2008.

(217) *Guardian*. 13 January 1976.



the idea of overthrowing the government of the MPLA .”<sup>218</sup> In an article, President Nyerere wrote:<sup>219</sup>

South Africa wants a client state in Angola now that it has no Portuguese ally in that country . It wants it so as to strengthen its hold on Namibia for South Africa itself has no border with Angola . And it wants it so as to weaken Africa’s united approach to its opposition to its internal racialism and exploitation .

Much as this was a powerful argument which no self-respecting head of state could challenge, it was still challenged by those who were more preoccupied with its corollary that the Soviet Union was the principal enemy and that the MPLA was a tool of Soviet expansion . They demanded the setting up of a government of national unity in Angola regardless of the South African aggression and US complicity in it. Furthermore, due to the Sino-Soviet conflict, the People’s Republic of China held a similar position . In a message to Idi Amin, the then Chairman of the OAU, China praised his efforts “in promoting the unity of the three organisations in Angola, maintaining the African unity and dignity of the OAU, and opposing the interference of the Soviet Union in Angola and in African issues .”<sup>220</sup> Zambia “acknowledged” Angola as a sovereign state; it did not recognise its government under the MPLA .<sup>221</sup> On the contrary, the other Frontline States (i.e. Mozambique and Tanzania) supported the MPLA unconditionally.

Meanwhile, Tanzania continued to remind Africa about what was at stake in Angola . A *Radio Tanzania* commentary of 18 November 1975,<sup>222</sup> stressed that the western powers were interested in installing a puppet regime in Angola in order to exploit its resources:

Angola is so rich in natural resources . A great deal of capitalist high-handedness to pave the way for the kind of administration that sings the capitalist tune was to be expected . The MPLA, which now rules the former Portuguese colony, is the only truly national liberation movement . The FNLA and UNITA are capitalist puppets .

When Cuba provided military support to the MPLA in order to safeguard Angola’s sovereignty and independence, the US President, Gerald Ford, sent a letter to the African Heads of State declaring that it would not “stand idly by” if Soviet and Cuban support for the MPLA continued . He sent Assistant Secretary of State William Schaufele to emphasize his position . Schaufele visited countries whose governments toed the US line by supporting the anti-MPLA alliance . Ford’s letter was very offensive . While on a visit to India, Nyerere described Ford’s letter as “arrogant and uncalled for .” He stressed that whenever any country was attacked, it reserved the right to ask for foreign aid, including troops .<sup>223</sup> As the rift among OAU member states was

(218) *International Herald Tribune*. 8 August 1977.

(219) *Guardian*. 13 January 1976.

(220) *Daily News*. 19 January 1976.

(221) *The Times of London*. 19 February 1976.

(222) Interview with Paul Sozigwa, (Dar es Salaam) 29 May 2008.

(223) *Daily News*. 19 January 1976.

widening, Tanzania and other states which supported the MPLA, maintained their position. This was a u-turn from the old thesis of a united front for the three Angolan movements, which hitherto Tanzania promoted earnestly. Nyerere argued that the crisis in Angola was the continuation of the liberation struggle which began in 1961. The struggle continued because:

Those who supported Portugal have sought out and found others to act in their interests. Some of these others are Angolans who are confused, some are Angolans who are traitors to the reality of independence, and some are Angolan supporters of racialism - both black and white. The MPLA is the movement which bore the brunt of the anti-colonial struggle. UNITA did little fighting sometimes, although at others it fought the MPLA. The FNLA existed in exile. It did little more.<sup>224</sup>

Nyerere warned the Americans that they were “simply not thinking” and that their intervention in Angola was “self-defeating and dangerous for world peace.” He reminded them to remember the lessons of Vietnam: “It is still within America’s power to get out of Angola, to save itself from another Vietnam.”<sup>225</sup>

As a political strategist, Nyerere understood the tactical importance of Angolan independence in the ultimate liberation of the whole of southern Africa. Indeed, the defeat of the apartheid South African troops by Cuban, Angolan, and SWAPO troops paved the way for the liberation of Namibia and South Africa itself. Giving in to Western demands on Angola would have given South Africa greater leeway to *bantustanise* the region. Tanzania was committed to defeating such a scheme because, besides obstructing the liberation process, it posed great danger to Tanzania’s own independence. Nyerere always maintained that:

Tanzania’s independence is linked with the independence of the other Frontline States. We have never in the past had our people participate directly in the liberation wars. But aggression against an independent state is a very different thing. I am saying Tanzanian troops will be used if the independence of Mozambique, Zambia, etc., is threatened.<sup>226</sup>

That was a reaffirmation of supporting the liberation movement even more because Angola and Mozambique had gained independence and had become rear bases for the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Namibia. With the other Frontline States, they were therefore targets for destabilisation by the racist regimes. On this basis, Tanzania and Zimbabwe deployed their troops in Mozambique to defend the FRELIMO Government against destabilization by apartheid South African sponsored RENAMO (Mozambique National Resistance).<sup>227</sup>

(224) *Guardian*. 13 January 1976.

(225) *Daily News*. 29 September 1976.

(226) *Daily News*. 29 September 1976.

(227) Interviews with Sayore, op. cit.; Kotta, op. cit.; Gen. Sayore mounted an artillery attack against Ian Smith forces in retaliation for the massacre of Zimbabwean refugees in Mozambique. In its coverage, the BBC wrongly reported that TPDF soldiers had employed guided missiles to hit the Rhodesian city of Mutare. A roll of honour showing names and ranks of Tanzanian soldiers who died on the frontline in Mozambique and Zimbabwe is available at the Army Archives (Annex III).

## Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the roles and contributions of Tanzania in the struggle to liberate southern Africa from colonial domination and racial oppression. The main source has been oral interviews, supplemented by archival and contemporary sources. These sources have highlighted the role that the masses and the leadership in Tanzania assumed in supporting the liberation struggle of southern Africa. Tanzania supported the recourse to armed struggle as a means of achieving the political changes in southern Africa where peaceful negotiations failed. We have demonstrated the strength of the support in several key areas that facilitated the success of the struggle. Tanzania gave full military support in the provision of arms and military training in camps set aside for the liberation movements, and placed its soldiers in the frontline to fight the enemy side by side with the forces of the liberation movements in Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The country set up settlements for refugees and provided economic, social and educational support for their development. Tanzania hosted and managed the OAU Liberation Committee and mobilized support and solidarity to the cause of liberation from within and without.

The support for liberation movements was inextricably linked to Tanzania's security and freedom. The sacrifices Tanzania readily made in terms of human and material resources were largely premised on this motive.

Although the contribution of Tanzania in the liberation struggle is widely acknowledged, the role that the country played is often subsumed under the charismatic image of the country's founding president, *Mwalimu* Julius Kambarage Nyerere. President Samora Machel of Mozambique noted in a Speech in 1985, "...to speak of Nyerere is to speak of the liberation of Africa. He is a symbol that cannot be substituted. He will remain the source of inspiration in the struggle for justice, equality and human dignity for Africa, Asia, Latin America and the entire World."<sup>228</sup> On 20 October 1999, the National Assembly of South Africa in Cape Town passed a motion in honour of *Mwalimu* Nyerere, who had passed away six days earlier. Opening the motion, the Deputy President, Jacob Zuma observed:

The Continent has lost one of its greatest sons and an outstanding leader in the true sense of the word. He was *Mwalimu*, the teacher, who taught the African Continent about peace, democracy and unity; *Mwalimu* the freedom fighter, who became one of the leading commanders of the liberation of Africa....<sup>229</sup>

However, Nyerere himself was of the view that the contribution was made by Tanzania as a nation, as reflected in his last public speech as Head of State on 4 November 1985:

<sup>(228)</sup> Machel, Samora. Speech on the Occasion of the Retirement of *Mwalimu* Julius K. Nyerere. Dar es Salaam: 14 November 1985.

<sup>(229)</sup> Zuma, Jacob. Speech to the National Assembly. Cape Town, South Africa: 20 October 1999.

Our Nation is also famous internationally for its firm support for the liberation struggles in Africa . You have supported the Government and Party policies of helping FRELIMO, the MPLA of Angola, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, SWAPO of Namibia, and the Liberation Movements of South Africa . And you have given help directly; in particular I am remembering the blood donations which were made for the Freedom Fighters of Mozambique, but there have also been other gifts voluntarily contributed by Tanzanian individuals and groups as an expression of solidarity with their brothers who are still fighting for freedom .

This solidarity still continues, so that in Angola recently, I was able to say that Tanzania will continue to be committed to the Liberation of Africa, politically and economically . For this is not my policy; it is not even just the policy of Chama Cha Mapinduzi . It is a policy to which our whole people are committed . Being able to state that truth made me very proud.<sup>230</sup>

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(230) Nyerere, J.K. Farewell Speech given on 4 November 1985. Dar es Salaam: Government Press, 1986.

## Abbreviations

ANC:	African National Congress of South Africa and of Zimbabwe ASP: Afro-Shirazi Party (Zanzibar)
CCM:	Party of the Revolution (Chama Cha Mapinduzi, Tanzania)
COREMO:	Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique
FAPLA:	People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola
FLCS:	Front for the Liberation of the Somali Coast (Front de Libération de la Côte des Somalis, Djibouti)
FLEC:	Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (Angola)
FNLA:	National Front for the Liberation of Angola (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola)
FRELIMO:	Mozambique Liberation Front (Frente da Libertação de Moçambique)
FROLIZI:	Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe
GSO:	General Security Office KANU: Kenya African National Union
MANU:	Mozambique African National Union (popularly Makonde Union, later FRELIMO)
MCP:	Malawi Congress Party
MK:	Spear of the Nation (Umkhonto We Sizwe, Military Wing of ANC South Africa)
MOLINACO:	Mouvement pour la Libération des Comores (Comoros)
MPLA:	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola
OAU:	Organisation of African Unity
PAC:	Pan African Congress of South Africa
PAFMECA (later PAFMECSA):	Pan-African Freedom Movement of Eastern, Central and Southern Africa
PAIGC:	African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde)
RC:	Regional Commissioner RENAMO: Mozambique National Resistance
SAYRCO:	South African Youth Revolutionary Council
SDU:	Special Duties Unit
SOMAFCO:	Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College
SWAPO:	South West African People's Organization
TANU:	Tanganyika African National Union TCRS: Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service TPDF: Tanzania People's Defence Force
UDENAMO:	Mozambique National Democratic Union
UNAMI:	National African Union of Independent Mozambique
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR:	United Nations High Commission for Refugees

UNICEF:	United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund
UNIP:	United National Independence Party (Zambia)
UNITA:	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UPC:	Uganda People’s Congress
UPRONA:	Union for National Progress (Burundi)
ZANU:	Zimbabwe African National Union ZAPU: Zimbabwe African People’s Union ZIPA: Zimbabwe People’s Army
ZLA:	Zanzibar Liberation Army
ZLC:	Zimbabwe Liberation Council

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# 6.2

# Tanzania

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## Abdallah, Mrs. Anna

[Dar es Salaam; 30 May 2008]

*Mrs. Anna Abdallah was very much involved in the Southern Liberation Struggles when she was Regional Commissioner of Morogoro from 1975. During that period, freedom fighters from South Africa used to enter in large numbers into the country and were in need of areas where to set up their settlements, training camps, and carry out development and economic activities. Mrs. Abdallah, in her capacity as Regional Commissioner managed to do all that in accordance with principles accepted by all those involved in furthering ties of cooperation among freedom fighters and citizens living around them. Those areas including Mazimbu and Dakawa were valorized by those foreigners and to day those spaces were handed over to the Government and are currently used as institutes of various nature. Mrs. Abdallah held different high posts within the United Government of Tanzania including the position of Minister of Health and the National Chairperson of the Union of Women in Tanzania.*

Thank you. First and foremost, I am pleased that finally this issue has been successful. Leave alone we who contributed very little. In a general way Tanzania as a country has done a great job in the Southern African Liberation Struggles and in the history of Tanzania. As regards our neighbours, in reality most people of this generation tend to forget about this fact. Let us leave alone the issue of Southern Africa. Let us remember that when we acquired independence, the founder of this nation was ready to delay this event until such a time all of us acquired independence together. This is something that had never happened anywhere. But the willingness of Tanzania to become the cradle of liberation was overwhelming and known.

It is good if this endeavour has been carried out, it is worth mentioning that we did a tremendous job, because there were risks involved, I don't know how it is said in Kiswahili. Considering the Southern part of this country, for example Regions of Lindi, Mtwara and Ruvuma, don't think that people there are lagging behind in terms of development because they don't like to work. The whole of that area was a battle field. Hence it was not possible to build roads, it was an area of camps of refugees coming from Mozambique. There were only settlements for refugees. Today we hear about those camps because refugees from Burundi went to settle there. For a long time we had experienced the settlement of refugees' camps coming from Mozambique.

To get in those camps one needed a permit especially white people. A white man sighted in the area was suspected to be Portuguese. Even by plane still one needed a permit. Until when independence was acquired in the Southern part of Africa, hence the Southern regions of Tanzania became free and started indulging into development and economic activities. It was impossible to build roads with the risk of seeing them destroyed at any time.

My dears, the way you are doing justice to this history is really good. We don't need to be showered with pride even if they don't like it but at least we want people across the world to not forget Tanzania, Tanganyika by then, the way it sacrificed itself to the point of endangering its own existence during the liberation struggle of the Southern part of Africa.

Regarding this issue, I came to know about it because I was there, we were there. We used to spend up to a whole week traveling to Lindi but now things have improved. Five to six hours are sufficient to get in Lindi. Today there is a lot of development but during those days the area was home to big refugee camps. Towards the end, health centres were built which today help citizens. There is only one secondary school in Tunduru which used to be a big refugee camp. There is what people completely forget; we have a culture of welcoming refugees. At least today's refugees don't have any grudges against us and our critics don't ask why now we welcome refugees. But those days, refugees coming from the Southern part of Africa crossing borders were followed to be killed. We had a strip of ten kilometers I think, from our border to Mozambique in which people were not allowed to settle. They were removed from there. That area was only used by our soldiers – there were roads we used to call security roads – still these roads exist up today but I think we have forgotten them; I believe there is a need of reviving them and we intend to do so because it was possible to depart from Mtwara up to Tunduru using the border areas.

Today people live in peace and we have forgotten all about wars. People from Tanzania cross the border without any hindrances, we have built socialism. These are achievements that people just see, but they really don't know where we came from. People got injured and others died. Someone going to a well to fetch water and steps on a mine. Trenches were a common sight. Leaving that aside, regarding my working experience, in 1975 I was designated as Regional Commissioner of Morogoro. I was the first woman to be nominated as Regional Commissioner. I was posted there and did not know that Morogoro was the cradle for the Liberation Struggle. May be, had I know before I would have had mixed feelings. In your endeavour as Regional Commissioner, there is a small committee called Peace and Security Committee of which you are the Chairperson. Therefore, when I was nominated, I got sworn in and later on proceeded to Morogoro. Once there, the first thing I did was to meet this small committee of Peace and Security for briefing taking into account the presence of freedom fighters from South Africa, Zimbabwe and I think even fighters from Namibia and many more. I was really surprised. Every group had their own specific place. Zimbabweans were in Kingolwira; they were all together, those for ZANU-PF and those for ZAPU-PF of Mr. Nkomo who were at logger heads among themselves. They used to fight a lot.

On the other hand, there were South Africans who I think were divided into two groups. But later on they merged and became one. There were many more scattered in different areas of the region.

Then came Mr. Hashim Mbita, Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee who came to inform us that the Government had decided to set up a camp for the ANC freedom fighters. During those days we used to receive young, child and elderly refugees. I asked him to give us time. I convened a meeting of the Peace and Security Committee. We identified Mazumbu, an area where there was a sisal plantation which was "abandoned".

The labourers who used to

work in that plantation decided to settle there pretending the place was theirs. They had divided the field among themselves purporting that owner had fled, therefore the area was theirs. The area had become a village and most unfortunately as politics had it, the village was registered and the dwellers had authority over it. But the area was owned by someone with a title deed and the labourers had invaded it. The Committee advised that the area was most convenient to settle ANC people. The first challenge we faced was to remove Tanzanians in an area they considered to be theirs so that we hand it over to foreigners. Luckily enough, during those days of one party system things were easy, otherwise how would it have been today! Citizens went to court accusing that we expropriated their land. I used to go their and tell them those people were foreigners and one day they will leave the country. Every time the question they would ask was when are they going to leave. Frankly speaking even myself I was not sure that one day refugees from South Africa would go back home. Some arrived injured or in bad shape. There was also an Institute, I think, to train Doctors. The current Minister of Health of South Africa was in Morogoro. By then, I think he was a Medical Assistant and was a Doctor lecturing at the institute. He was called Tshabalala Msimiangi. Many current Ministers also used to teach there. They used to teach not only ANC people but also other refugees from Namibia, Zimbabwe and other countries. The way I understood, they used to go out and tell us that they were going to do some “services” in areas where there was liberation struggles that involved really fighting ‘physically’. People used to get injured and the medical staff would go to the battle field to treat them thanks to the existence of the Institute. I think, premises of the Institute are now being used by the Institute of Lands; but they are still there. Therefore, there was that aspect, but there was also, I think, other camps training freedom fighters how to fight especially fighting for liberation as part of the struggle to return back home.

Meanwhile in Mazimbu I succeeded getting the land and we relocated the citizens.

I begged them in earnest, we talked with them, we gave them another alternative area surrounding Morogoro. Among those entitled to get compensation there were others who were just invaders but also got land. After the arrangement, they all left. Refugees, with the assistance of the Liberation Committee started building the area. As for the Hospital of Mazimbu, I remember the last time we met, we had decided to put it under the supervision of the University and as a matter of fact later on the area was entrusted into the University. I think the Region was still using it but I am not sure. That Hospital was built by an organization of freedom fighters in collaboration with Sandinavian Countries, I think, these countries are Norway and Sweden. And the other houses were refurbished. They even built a “workshop” there. They started with a workshop to make furniture; they indulged into big agricultural projects but a major chunk of the land was left out and we started distributing it to citizens. They were good animal breeders and used to distribute seeds to citizens living in their vicinity. They helped citizens in giving them grade bull breeders. We used to work in collaboration and they were aware of the existence of an administration structure. The Liberation Committee used to come and visit them every now and then.

After that, young people boys and girls started coming. In my capacity as Regional Commissioner I started sensing the danger of mixing young people together. We started witnessing problems of pregnancies, young people as old as thirteen, fourteen getting pregnant. Those responsible for such acts were not coming from outside but were within the camp! Imagine, people came all the way leaving their families behind to be mixed with young girls. We made consultations on the way to put an end to the situation. We decided to start a camp for adults. Right now in the area there are schools in Wami and Dakawa. There is also a Secondary School and a Vocational Institute. Those are vestiges of the Liberation struggles for Southern Africa. Therefore, we moved there all the Agricultural Institutes. All adult refugees who came after were taken to Dakawa. The place became a centre for young people, a Day Care Centre was built in order to take care of children that will be born there.

That situation disturbed me a lot. Those were people who ran away from their homes to come and get children here! During that period we were not talking very much about women harassment. I was not feeling shy to speak, may be because I was not hailing from there! I told them that what was happening was not good. For the sake of remediating the situation we created a camp in Wami. We started a Vocational Centre, catering for all skills; agriculture, timber and so on and so forth. Sponsors came in handy and brought electricity, for the area was in the bush. We managed to get money to take electricity and made roads from the right hand side where there was a correctional centre for young people. On the left hand side, I think, there were maize plantations. Refugees were given that portion too.

Today, 'Infrastructure' is very good, they even dig wells. As I am saying now, there is a Government's 'high School' and a Vocational Institute.

But of all the things, in Mazimbu there is a big Centre of the ANC history. Up to the present moment there is a cemetery there and the place is well built. There is also a Higher Institute which I believe was handed over to them. There are trees; myself I planted some trees and other people did the same. I think you also planted one. In the year 2005, I went to visit the area. Trees had grown taller and bigger and borne the name of the person who planted them. The area symbolizes a very rich history.

One thing that made Ambassador Mbita proud was that I used to ponder when would I leave but each time I brushed that thought off. The day independence was acquired in South Africa, freedom fighters came to celebrate the closure of the camp. I think it is Mbeki who came. Came also Tambo. He looked for me but I was in the villages and told them that I could not be there in time. I am grateful for that even Oliver Tambo asked "Where is Mrs. Anna Abdalla? We want to see her." By then I had already moved to this centre. They distributed presents and I was given one. Mine was a cow.

I hail from an non-pastoralist area but have indulged into a system of animal husbandry which does not involve slaughtering. That is what I want to do. I got my first cow as a gift from freedom fighters from South Africa. Now I have many cows and feel proud about that. Their origin is Mazimbu. I continue rearing and sharpening my knowledge, I intend to develop this endeavor and have more animals.

When I go to South Africa, I hide myself very much, for if they saw me it could create commotion because they would acclaim and invite me. I remember one day I participated, I think, in a SADC meeting, then came one Minister who said: “ I understand that Mrs. Anna Abdalla is here, let me tell you about her”. I was seated in the Conference like any other fellow participants. He started recounting and did it earnestly. When he finished, fellow participants asked “ Where is she? Where is she? We want to see her.” I said to myself, ah! things are now getting nasty! But with Mr. Msimiangi, we were both of us Ministers of Health for five years and met very often. Whenever we met, it was joyful moments with interminable conversation. We were like brother and sister. People tend to forget what happened but I for one, will not blame them because most of them were young people and we don’t have the culture of writing history. Even here in Tanzania, people died and in Mozambique people died too. And those Tanzanians who died in Mozambique their graves were relocated to Mtwara, that is where is their cemetery . I visited Mtwara and that area had become like park. Maybe when graves will be relocated but now people forget that there are Tanzanians who were involved in the Liberation Struggles.

When you go to Mozambique, you will find people who tell you that they were born in refugee camps in Tanzania and they hold high positions. Likewise if you go to Angola, you will meet people who speak Kiswahili. We also trained “ Immigration Officers” and that is why when you get at entry points you meet people who speak Kiswahili. When you ask them, they tell you that they learnt it in Tanzania.

Let me just say that this issue of analyzing history, we don’t have that culture even during the Father of the Nation’s days. Imagine, if we were left without his directives, would we have participated in the Struggle for Southern Africa Liberation. But we did what we did without expecting anything in return from those we liberated; we did that with the intention of liberating our fellow Africans.

## Bakilana, Zainab

[Dar es Salaam; 19 December 2008]

*Zainab Bakilana is one of the Tanzanians who contributed to the liberation struggle in the area of education for freedom fighters, in her capacity of representative of the African American Institute as it was known by then in Tanzania. After graduating her Degree course at the University of Dar es Salaam, Zainab taught in different schools for some years. She joined the Department of broadcasting and after some time worked in book publication at the Tanzania Publishing House, as editor. In 1985 she joined the 'African American Institute as their representative in Tanzania with the responsibility of managing their programmes including the "The Southern African Training Programme (SATP)". During fifteen years, Zainab assisted ANC, PAC and other students from Southern Africa as adviser, guardian and scouter for scholarships for them inside and outside the country but also in making a follow up about their lives while studying. She did all this in collaboration with the concerned liberation movements and sponsors. Zainab narrated in a summary her activities during that period, as part of Tanzanian contribution towards the liberation of Southern Afrika.*

Let me start by introducing myself. I was born in a village of Kabanga, Ngara District, Kagera Region. For my primary school education, I went to Kamachumu primary school in Bukoba. After that, I went to Rwamishenye for my Middle school education. After Rwamishenye, I proceeded to Bwiru Girls where I studied until completing Form Four before joining Jangwani Girls where I finished Form Six. After Form Six, I joined the University of Dar es Salaam. I think it was my first time to see you Dr. Temu, as a History Lecturer. After graduating from Dar University I became a teacher for quite some years before joining Radio Tanzania, Dar es Salaam. A lot of things emanated from there.

I joined book publishing business as editor at the "Tanzania Publishing House" and I think it is during that period that people from the African American Institute, AAI as they like to call themselves, saw me when they were looking for someone to represent them in the country. Hence, in 1985, I joined the "African American Institute". In my capacity as representative of the "African American Institute", I was entrusted with the responsibility of running their office in the country and managing the implementation of their programmes. Programmes were a bit many, but the one concerning my being here was known as *The Southern Africa Training Programme* or SATP. It was called the Southern Africa Training Programme because it did not involve students or people from South Africa as we know it geographically but people from Namibia had their share in the programme. The programme aimed principally at helping Liberation Movements from Southern Africa in the preparation or development of people who would later on take up posts in the Liberated Southern Africa. It was about preparing the future of these people from Southern Africa, and SATP used to look for schools especially outside the country. Most people used to be taken to schools in countries called "3<sup>rd</sup> Countries", I don't know why they called them that way, may be the reason could be that first they came from their countries, here was their second home and the country of destination was the third one.

They used to come here and join others who were in refugee camps. From here they would be taken for further studies. Most of them were sent to America, others to some African Countries such as Ghana, Nigeria and Ethiopia. They were taken to different institutes according to their own demands or requests made by their political parties.

SATP was managed by funds coming from the American Government. Henceforth, each year they used to disburse money commensurate to the number of students admitted in Universities. In the event funds were not sufficient, some American Universities would volunteer to foot some of the costs involved in the studies and SATP, as a programme, would pay for the remaining costs. For some students, payment was effected to local universities. There were a lot of students at Moshi Cooperative College, a lot of students at IDM Mzumbe and others were admitted at CBE Business School. Unfortunately, it was not easy to admit them in national Universities for some reasons, especially due to the weak base of their primary school education. Although it was not easy to admit them in our national universities but where they went their performance was good. SATP used to pay 'full tuition and board' for them with money as up keeping allowance. Those were office matters. When I was recruited, I was told that I would come across students of different ages, and in reality of all ages; some were just adults, some were almost of my age and others very young even some teenagers were among them who probably had just completed their primary school education. The person who was interviewing me told me, "One thing that we will want you to do here is not just to look for schools and place these children. As you know there are a lot of children still remembering their parents and the bad things they went through. Henceforth, they will need mentorship from you and keep on telling them that everything will be alright. In nutshell that what I was doing. I was an advisor and a teacher to them but above all I was an advisor and a friend.

Another thing, is when looking for students, SATP used to give advantage to the ANC may be due to the fact that they were a larger group and the number of their people wanting to go for further studies was higher. We had to work with their leaders.

For instance when it was about to choose who should go and to study what, this was not decided by us. ANC leaders would bring names of students and pinpoint that that one will do for example Social Work, that other one will do Accountancy and we would follow their instructions. On this, we had no say.

As I said the 'African American Institute' had no money; their funds used to come from the American Government through USAID. Therefore, we knew that the source of its income was the 'State Department.'

About all the students who got sent abroad for further studies none of them was allowed to come and contact us directly. Hence, they had to be designated by their party. If the party was PAC, we would demand that someone from that party brings us a letter introducing the interested person. The party representative should sign the letter and mention that the person was allowed to travel and also indicate what subject he was going to read. We made sure that everything was followed to the letter. Personally, I would transmit a letter informing that such party was asking that their person go to study 'Social Work' and would go to such and such University. My colleague who was in New York would make a follow up to ensure that the person went to the determined University and read the course he was asked to study. That was the practice in all the parties. ANC were stricter; they demanded that we agree what the interested person was going to read and where and copies of his progress report be forwarded to them. Semester reports used to be sent to the concerned parties and to me. Once I got them, I would ask the parties whether they had received copies of same. In the event of no receipt, I would forward the reports to them. I never heard them complaining about any students refusing to come back; I believe even students were "strict" about the issue. As it is common to most people, obviously there are those who stayed behind pretending to continue studying additional subjects. Maybe that was not the right

reason, some wanted after their B.A. to continue and get “Masters”. This was something of utmost importance for party leaders for they wanted to make sure that students who had gone for further studies, learned and came back. On those grounds, they would have a lot of people with sufficient skills, capable of handling things in the camps and in their offices. They could also deploy some of them in their offices outside the country. We never had a problem of people disappearing, and if there were such cases, it was something in the region of ten percent. And that is acceptable.

Those who studied at Muhimbili and in other institutes had some problems. Capability wise they were good, but they lacked a good and strong base. Like all students across the world, they did not like failing exams.

A few of them studied at Muhimbili. The reason is that during that period, Namibia was much more advanced than South Africa in terms of liberation struggle and refugees returned back with two doctors. One of them was the Chief “Chemist” and another one was a “dentist”. They started their studies in Ghana and came here to complete their Degree course and proceeded to Namibia. There are some young people from South Africa around four of them whom I know very well, completed their studies at the Cooperative College of Moshi and went back to South Africa. For a short period we kept contact but later on communication seized. These ones and many more, I am pretty sure that they returned back home. And those who came from Muzumbe and from the Cooperative College of Moshi, they also returned in the plane which ferried a lot of them back to their country. On the other side, the unfortunate part is that I came to learn that some died. They died indeed! Many of them returned and some, when they finished their studies worked in their office, others were taken to the Zambian’s liaison office. I know about one who was a nurse in their office of England. I also know a few people who now work in Public service. Like that one who joined the army and continued serving the army; without any doubt he was, during that period, in the army but used to tell us that he was just roaming around. He returned back and now he is in the army. Another one whom I know well, joined the Navy and he is in Durban. This one who joined the Navy used to lecture at the College of Business. It was a rare decision to allow him to work at that College; the reason behind being that he was very intelligent. I came to know him during a conversation we had, I happened to tell him that “I have a problem; my son is studying at the Cooperative College and I would like him to get additional tuitions”. He said, “Oooh I can do that”.

During the years 2000, a lot South African Companies started entering the Tanzanian market, and I remember about one of them dealing in Real Estate called me asking about one student. I wrote them that there was nothing wrong with him and that had finished his studies. Hence, I hope that he returned back home and managed to secure employment in a company in his country, but at the same time there could be other students.

There is another thing I heard about. Last week, when I was in South Africa, I heard someone complaining that young people who came to Tanzania were denied employment. The way I remember it is that freedom fighters are not common refugees. So, for them to secure employment there was a lot of procedures to be followed. For instance it was necessary that the party that brought them to join the “diaspora” accept the idea, otherwise they had go I don’t know where to change their “status” before getting employment. May be the person who was saying this never went into hiding, because had he been a “refugee”, he would have known that the Tanzanian Government could not give employment to a freedom fighter without a permit from their principals. If someone came in through the UNHCR, that was a different case. But for a freedom fighter, they were not allowed to work and there are reasons for that.



Reasons are that 'freedom fighters' were brought to study in accordance to the needs of the "movement", so it would not have proper for the Government harvest what somebody else had sowed for own reasons. Therefore, unless their movement says "we have so and so, and for the time being we don't know how to use them if there is any chance of employing them please go ahead". It is after getting such a permission that you could employ them. Otherwise, they were given an opportunity to come and study because their parties wanted to use them for their needs. As I said earlier on, after studying here, if there happened to be a camp let us say in Angola, they would be sent in Angola, if there was a camp in Uganda they would be taken to Uganda. And when there was a need of sending "representatives" to their overseas' offices for instance for their office in India "Deployment" would be effected by their party commensurate to the needs. Henceforth, the contract was not to train and employ ; but the premise was to mold "manpower".

Concerning the source of funds to educate these students, a big chunk of it was provided by the American Government. The ANC and PAC were aware of that. They knew it just as goes the Kiswahili proverb "sooth your enemy in order to benefit". Americans knew very well that freedom fighters did not like them but even though they accepted to help their people who used the acquired knowledge to liberate themselves. I have never been told by anyone nor did I ask anyone, but I believe that it was something usual to use the monies received from the Americans as a way of making themselves known, and it was only normal for us to use them in order to achieve what we wanted. This came out when considering the truth, at least according to my opinion, that ANC representatives were not afraid of their sponsors. Those people were careful and knew what they were doing by accepting and using the money. I believe, it is exactly just for like any other kind of money we use for "scholarships". A lot of people as well as Tanzanian leaders studied under a programme called by then "*African Training for Leadership*", which trained leaders. A lot of people and University Professors studied under this programme and I believe they knew very well what was the purpose of the funds used.

Personally I did not know the reasons, but the "politics behind it" was that there were people "lobbying" Americans for assistance. In order to satisfy them, their Government decided to set aside a fund used for people Americans feared not because they hated them but because they feared them. And the freedom fighters were "intelligent enough" to say, "Okay, that is your money, we shall use it for our benefit". This could be seen in different ways.

I was also involved in the preparations of students once they had secured scholarships by getting them traveling documents in the event they had to travel very far. I had to make arrangement for visas and very often than not I used to quarrel with a certain lady at the "United States Embassy" because they used to say "Aren't these people terrorists?". And I used to reply, "No. I don't deal with terrorists. These are freedom fighters." Then she would ask again "What is the difference"? I then told her "You tell them. It is your money, so why are you funding terrorists?" "They were still being called terrorists" but even though they would travel and come back. Those were my thoughts. They were my thoughts because nobody ever told me that I could come across that kind of scenario but as regards being told that freedom fighters were considered as terrorists, I surely got it from one officer from the United States of America Embassy to whom I said that they could not be called terrorists because these are people who wanted their freedom.

May be the other reasons why freedom fighters were called terrorists was the prevalent "analysis" of those days, during the Eithies' period when the "Afro American Lobby" was at its "very high level", especially after the assassination of Martin Luther King. The American Government was under pressure to identify itself in a way or the other with "other areas of struggle" especially concerning

those of Africa in order to low internal pressure; therefore “they had to spend money on them”. It was necessary to do so. People who used to come from the Southern part of Africa were freedom fighters, an unwanted species. If sponsors had wished to send them scholarships in South Africa, that would not have worked because the Boers could not accorded them that opportunity. Among black people who used to leave South Africa, most of them used to come from “Liberation Movements, invariably ANC or PAC.” For Americans, in order to say that they were helping it was necessary to extend their assistance through “liberation movements.” Now there were some “extremist individuals” like the lady who said “these terrorists”, but the “State Department” knew what they were doing and also knew that they would be questions requiring answers from Blacks who had started entering into the American Senate, and if they were to raise questions into Senate as to why the Government was helping the Apartheid Government and did not assist those oppressed. The answer would be “we educate them”.

But Americans including British were not all that stupid. During the 1980’s and early 1990’s up to the end, they were already aware that South Africa will at all cost be free and those who will be at the helm are the “freedom fighters”. How would they then engage the will be new leaders without assisting them? For this reason “they did something”.

Life span of the SATP was very short. I just joined it in the middle. Before getting that job, the programme was in existence for quite some time in Zimbabwe, it was even run in Namibia. So it was a longtime programme. The list of leaders who went through that programme is very long.

Tanzania helped a lot. Leave alone the asylum extended to refugees, Tanzania provided scholarships in many institutes of higher learning within the country. Tanzania provided also opportunities to educate liberation movements’ people as well as welcoming freedom fighters. A lot of scholarships were made available to the extent of sending almost thirty students annually to the Cooperative College of Moshi. Besides, these students were made to pay the same tuition fees as local students. Therefore, there was no discrimination as whom should pay more. During holidays, when it was about carrying out practical assignments, they were given the same opportunity like Tanzanians, they were considered like any other Tanzanian students and their practical assignments were done here in Tanzania. That should be counted as assistance. The same thing was done with IDM Mzumbwe and in other Institutes across the country. To be a counselor that included almost everything. A lot of people used to ask me how I managed to work with those people? “They were supposed to be rough” and very hard to work with! I managed to work with them because I understood their plight. For adults refugees, it was easy to talk to them and know what were their problems. But for the little ones, they were overwhelmed by anger. I had children who were involved in the “Soweto Uprisings”. These were very small children to the extent of getting puzzled as to why their parents let them come to Tanzania? These children lived under the the guidance of adult refugees who loved them and treated them as “compatriots”, but there were other refugees whose behavior left a lot be desired; therefore the children were put under “strict discipline”. Adults adapted easily to the new life but children were dominated by anger and were sad. Whenever I talked to them it was very difficult to pass the message across. Even though I tried my level best; not a single day I reported an ANC child to their principals for involvement into a fracas at school and tell them this child of yours is unbearable. I did not do that because I knew what would follow. So, I tried to deal with them as if they were my own. I could not take to Police undisciplined and rough children. I never did that. I tried to talk to them, we collaborated very well and went on that way until such a time they would volunteer to come to me and tell you their problems.

Henceforth, I was an advisor to them and used to tell them that life was not easy even ourselves had our own problems. In the schools where they were, they had a handsome stipend. The situation was tough but not to that extent. Dealing with these children, major difficulties would arise when one tried to identify themselves with their problems. The best way was to make one step back and say “Hey, I am not supposed to behave this way. What I have to do is to guide them and not to substitute myself to them and start feeling sorry”.

Truly, it was though. One major thing I managed to do is that I used to work non stop during four hours per day from eight in the morning up twelve but would decide to leave the office at six in the evening so that people could come in at any time. It was “no appointment, just come in”. If someone had problems, I would tell them to come, and dealt with their problems as much as I could. And even for those who were in disagreement with their parties, I would take them somewhere else to get assistance; something which probably was not within my jurisdiction.

There were others who come and married in Tanzania; these were many. Others went back with Tanzanian girls and there were women married to Tanzanians. I wish I could see them again. Some of them used different names from their current ones. I used to wonder how come I worked with students who had gone to learn film production; South Africa is very much advanced in terms of radio and TV production, but I have never ever come across a name I would recognize? And these are “blacks” and others are people of forty years of age by now.

One day, I received a call from the South African Embassy. An army man was at the Embassy and wanted to see me. Unfortunately I was not around.

Concerning the SATP programme, I quit the job but I don’t know whether it is still continuing. I would not be surprised if they continued with it because now they are able to work from within South Africa, especially if they still are in need of assistance in terms of training. I would not be surprised if the programme was still on. There are nowadays those who call themselves Africa American Institute and who have a “Website” which I think, contain history about SATP. For instance information about the inception of SATP, whether it has been closed, because since I left the Office, a lot people left too.

Truant students were also part of the group. Oh! Yeah, how possible was it to not have such people? When you have people aged between fifteen up to forty, truants will always be there and I don’t know how they used to deal with them. Among freedom fighters, there were those who were “absolutely genuine”, there were those who were “opportunists” and there were those who were “planted for subversive purposes” may be by the Boers’ Government. Boers used to send such people to all groups and most of them ended being apprehended at “various levels”.

The generation I dealt with was a generation that had acquired a certain level of education; these were young people from Soweto and other settlements nearby and it was not easy for them to join Institutes of higher learning such as Business Colleges. The gape was so huge and that made their “placement problematic”. That is the reason why most of them were directed towards “Humanities or Social Work Studies” and few joined Medical Universities. But for those who embraced professions such accountancy, I had to get them supplementary tuitions because of mathematics. On the other hand, there were some who liked maths, but that is where used to rise problems. If you told someone coming from South Africa that they spoke English “of some sort” and informed them they did not qualify to join an Agriculture Institute because they did not study science, they would hardly believe you. For them Science was Hygiene and general science; how to cleanly wash clothes. Certainly, the Boers were preparing them to become house boys or things of that sort. Now, when you told them that “You need to have some chemistry or physics”, they would ask you “What is chemistry? What is biology? They did not know! It was very tough and I believe those who went to Mrs. Ligate school were much better because they

started primary up to secondary school education. After a “full fledged primary school education”, students joined regular secondary schools. Those who were taken to other schools were a bit aged but even though they faced problems because their education was very, very elementary.

I am glad because I believe, almost everyone who worked with these “freedom fighters” or “terrorists” as they were called learned something. Personally, I learned quite a lot concerning human beings and always I say, I am not a politician but we saw a lot of politics. As His Excellency, the Ambassador used to say “you can see all the hypocrisy come out” and we used to see it direct.

“Thank you”.

## Bgoya, Walter

[Dar es Salaam; August 2008]

*Walter Bgoya has been an activist for quite some time, his history begins from the time he was a student at Kansas University, where he experienced live racial discrimination which he could not tolerate. After completing his studies, he was employed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he worked closely with Mwalimu Nyerere who was at the origin of many things concerning liberation struggle. On the other hand, even out of office, he could meet freedom fighters from various countries and further the ties which enabled him participate in their many activities and also to reinforce friendship with some freedom fighter leaders. During that period, he participated as a delegate from Tanzania in OAU meetings where the liberation struggle aspect took centre stage and thus increasing his willingness in participating in all the activities geared towards fighting for independence, especially in the Southern part of Africa. After quitting public service, he continued with liberation struggle activism, and freedom fighters who knew him continued to seek his advice and using his experience. At the Tanzania Publishing House where he was, he was part of a number of famous people conversant with liberation struggle activism through getting together and talking even planning strategies geared towards advancing their activities. They also managed to print books concerning liberation struggle and social development. At the moment of this interview, Mr. Bgoya is the Executive Director of Mkuki na Nyota Publishers Ltd.*

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I am WalterBgoya. I was born in Ngara, Kagera Region towards the end of 1942. I studied in Christian mission primary schools and then to government schools for secondary education. At the end of 1960 I was offered a scholarship by the African American Institute to study at the University of Kansas. In July 1961, I left for the US, five months before independence on 9 December 1961.

Going to America was exciting and the picture that had been built over the years of propaganda about life in that country was such that, apart from material things, it was a great disappointment. Racial discrimination was rife and even though I came from a country that was still under colonialism, I had not experienced the humiliation and indignities of racism. The university was, itself generally progressive, and there was a lot of room for discussions, debates and student activism.

Because of the influence of political developments in Tanganyika, the political rallies organised by TANU and addressed by Mwalimu Nyerere and other leaders, especially Bibi Titi Mohamed, and the excitement of the impending independence, I refused to accept the treatment that would greet you when looking for service at restaurants, or for an apartment

. The State of Kansas is at the very centre of the United States of America. And during the civil war pitting the North against the South, half of that state belonged to the Confederate

States of the South that wanted slavery to continue, and the other half which was for abolition. It was a state characterized by diversity of people. You could come across very good people and very racist ones as well.

Civil Rights struggles by African American students were being waged in the South, but on the whole, at least at the University of Kansas it would take until 1964 for black students to get organised in a strong movement to demand their rights. I became an activist shortly after settling in at the university. I joined university students government and played a leading role in the mobilisation of the biggest demonstration that has gone into the annals of the history of the struggle against racial discrimination in the State of Kansas, and Universities across the US.

Subsequent to that demonstration, I was targeted by racist and right wing elements in and around the university and I feared for my life with the Ku Klux Klan burning a cross at the door of my apartment. I took to spending nights at different places because of fear of possible harm. We learned during that period that we had to unite with all those students, black and white, who were in support of our cause. We had many white students, teachers and professors who joined us, with pickets raised and ready to protect ourselves from right wing elements who wanted to disrupt the demonstration.

I graduated in 1965 in June and came back to Tanzania in August. I went straight to my village in Ngara where I stayed for a few months before coming to Dar es salaam to look for a job. I started working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in February 1966, in the Research Department of the Ministry, under the famous Judge Early Seaton of *the Meru Lands Case* and carried out research on various foreign policy related issues. The first major one was on Tanzanian border with Malawi. Later I was transferred to the African Desk and it was there that my involvement with national liberation support began.

As Foreign Service Officer on the Africa Desk I was assigned tasks that involved writing papers (background and position papers) on various issues as well as drafting speeches for leaders attending conferences of the OAU – Council of Ministers and Heads of State – as well as United Nations General assembly, especially those that were related to the Committee of 24 (the decolonisation committee). As Dar es salaam was the head quarters of the OAU Liberation Committee, and all matters related to liberation of all countries still under colonialism were channeled through it. I was privileged to be the desk officer handling liberation committee affairs. I attended all meetings of the Committee between 1967 – 1969 and through those meetings I got to meet most of the leaders of the liberation movements. George Magombe was the Executive Secretary of the Committee and I worked closely with him.

Although it is true that all African people supported the liberation struggle and gave material and other support to the liberation movements, some governments were reluctant

to give financial support, using different excuses; some of them reflecting ideological differences, and relations with their former colonisers. Cold War dynamics were also at play and the fact that all military support came from the Soviet Union and China, those countries with affinity to the West were inclined to take the popular bogey of communism to explain their reluctance to support armed struggle. Some countries, Senegal and Guinea (Conakry), for example, had very strong political differences which often erupted in strong verbal exchanges in the liberation committee meetings, and those could be traced to the influence of France over Senegal and the historical position taken by Sekou Toure in the 1958 referendum for total independence from France; when all the other countries voted to remain. Guinea always accused Senegal and Ivory Coast of being lackeys of France while the others accused Guinea of supporting opposition groups in their countries. African countries such as Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Zambia, Ethiopia, Guinea, Somalia and of course Tanzania, gave liberation movements all the assistance within their means in the form of training of liberation fighters and logistical support.

At this point I would like to say something on the question of my knowledge and understanding of the African liberation movements and their struggles. It needs repeating that as a government official, I worked according to policy and direction from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Principal Secretary was responsible for assigning duties to foreign service officials. In that sense there was nothing particularly personal about my work. However, one could take a bureaucratic approach and do the minimum; write letters and papers but do little beyond that. At the same time, and this is rarely stated, even in Tanzania, there were bureaucrats in different ministries who on the surface gave support to the liberation movements but who in some ways, subtle and not so subtle, put difficulties in their way. There was a view which was held by some officials that support of national liberation was a waste of resources which could be better spent solving Tanzania problems. There were others who feared that South Africa and the Portuguese could invade Tanzania causing what to them was uncalled for suffering. The fact that most of the freedom fighters did not speak English or Swahili, and because they did not always fit in the images that some of these bureaucrats expected (many freedom fighters kept beards and wore clothes that came from different countries and styles) created suspicion and distrust. It was not unusual to hear accusations of freedom fighters being CIA agents; there was a lot of western propaganda against some leaders of the liberation movements and ironically to call them CIA agents was the best way to discredit them.

There were also certain wrong assumptions about freedom fighters, for example, about their education. The leaders of FRELIMO, MPLA, ANC, SWAPO and others were very well educated and very sophisticated in their analyses of international situation and even of local politics if they trusted you enough to talk freely. Furthermore, they had very extensive contacts with people from

all over the world and through them they learned a great deal. And of course they read a lot.

From 1966 to the 1968 before being posted to Addis Ababa, I lived in Kurasini. FRELIMO's Mozambique Institute was based there. It was there that they produced their publication *Mozambican Revolution*. Janet Mondlane was the Director of the Institute and Betty King at whose house in Msasani in 1969, Mondlane was assassinated, also lived in Kurasini. It was at her house that I got introduced to both Janet and Betty by Bill Sutherland, a well known African American who had been involved in support of African independence struggle and was greatly involved in PAFMECA. I also met Jorge Rebello who was editing the *Mozambique Revolution* and occasionally helped him in translating some of their documents into Swahili and also proof reading their English newsletter..

In 1968, there arose a major problem within FRELIMO involving secondary school students who did not want to be taught by Portuguese teachers. Two opposing positions emerged; part of the leadership (the Uria Simango faction) sided with the students, and the main FRELIMO leadership under president Mondlane regarded the conflict as machinations by anti-Portuguese racism, being exploited by Uria Simango using tribalism to foment rebellion against FRELIMO'S Marxist ideology. The student rebellion threatened peace and the Tanzania government intervened to ensure that the situation would not get out of hand to lead to violent confrontation.

The Tanzania government set up a committee to investigate the cause of the problem and I was appointed its secretary. The experience I gained, of listening to the different parties, especially regarding the race question in the Southern African liberation movements was to help understanding critical political issues, not least about relations between leaders and ordinary cadres in the liberation movements. The top leadership within FRELIMO had several mixed marriage (mulatto) cadres, which was used to sow distrust among the ordinary black members. Another cause of dissatisfaction was the use of the Portuguese language in education. The students argued that Portuguese was not a useful language and since only a relatively small percentage spoke it, why not adopt English which was more internationally spoken and, therefore, useful for a future independent Mozambique.

For FRELIMO leadership there was no question of adopting any other language. Portuguese was the official and national language; no doubt considering Mozambique's affinity with other Portuguese colonies but also the larger lusophone world, which includes Brazil, the largest Portuguese speaking community outside Portugal. That crisis set the stage for a major shake up in the leadership of FRELIMO and the conduct of the war.

### **The question of sovereignty of the liberation movements**

One important and often challenging situation was how to deal with liberation movements as equals. Tanzania, in one sense was a benefactor, and as always in such situations the "giver" may be tempted to treat the "receiver" not as an equal. It has been observed by many that Tanzania, was very different. Liberation movements were respected and decisions which had to be taken after consultations, reflected agreement of both parties. But there must have been decisions which the Tanzania government would make, based on its own political and security concerns which might not be to a liberation movement's apparent interests or which it would consider hostile. Three examples come to my mind.



### **Tanzania's position on ANC and PAC issues**

The OAU and Tanzania always called on liberation movements to unite because “in unity lies strength.” Furthermore, because inter – liberation movement conflicts played in the hands of the enemy and could lead to liquidation of leaders, sabotage of infrastructure and bring about political chaos. Unity was always the number one demand that OAU made to all liberation movements. Confrontation and endless debates among movements could derail the fight against the enemy and prolong colonial oppression. So, why did Tanzania give support to the Pan- Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), against the presentations of the African National Congress, the oldest and most mature party in South Africa?

I shall not go into great details because the issue was complex and there were no arguments that could have established “a correct” and “incorrect” position. Mwalimu position was that the history of struggle in South Africa and the emergence of different perspectives on how to interpret the nature of the South African political landscape and how to fight against it, was not such that Tanzania could justifiably take sides and declare that only ANC was fighting for South Africa’s liberation. It was not for Tanzania to judge who was fighting for liberation and who was not. Furthermore, Tanzania like the OAU called on both parties to work together since their objective was the same – liberation.

The African National Congress did not accept that position and considered it wrong, dangerous and hostile to the ANC. It is also important to remember that in addition to the East – West cold war, there was also the Soviet – China split which was reflected in pro– Soviet Marxist parties – ANC, MPLA, PAIGC, ZAPU, SWAPO being termed “authentic liberation movements” – as against pro – Chinese PAC, ZANU and UNITA. Apart from UNITA, which Tanzania never supported, the government steered clear of this categorization of the liberation movements preferring to work with all of them within the context of OAU. However, the ANC / PAC issue was never resolved despite the fact that Tanzania never wavered in its political and diplomatic support to the ANC.

### **The Lusaka Manifesto**

On 16 March 1969 the frontline Heads of state meeting in Lusaka launched the Manifesto on Southern Africa. The manifesto put forward, in its basic message, the following propositions: One, that Africa preferred to negotiate rather than shed blood as means towards liberation. Two, that armed struggle was the last resort when, over the years, the apartheid government rejected any idea that there could ever be majority rule in South Africa. Three, that even at that late hour, if the South African government abandoned the policy of apartheid, adopted the Universal Declaration of Human rights and accepted the principle of majority rule, then the heads of state would convince the liberation movements to lay down their arms and allow the process of seeking a peaceful solution to start. Four, and this was for me the most important proviso; if this call was not heeded, then the heads of state would have no alternative but to continue to support armed struggle and to intensify the war of liberation.

Although the argument seemed clear and logical, liberation movements, in particular, the ANC and PAC took exception to it. Their arguments were (a) that they were not consulted (b) that the support of the frontline states and all other supporters was warmly welcome, but they had no right to speak on their behalf; only they can speak for themselves (c) decisions about strategy and tactics of the struggle, whether it be armed struggle or peaceful means are prerogatives of the liberation movements, and not of their supporters whoever they may be. In short, the liberation movements were demanding sovereignty over all decisions about their struggle, just as the Heads of State of the region who wrote the Lusaka Manifesto had sovereign rights over their affairs.

Although the liberation movements did not reject and condemn the Manifesto

outright, not wanting to show a rift in their relations with the Frontline States and the OAU, there was deep-seated resentment for not having been involved in making such an important policy decision, and in their opinion, weakening the armed struggle by entrenching the status quo.

To make their position clear on the question of what method the struggle in South Africa should take, Oliver Tambo called on the ANC militants and all ANC supporters to intensify the armed struggle at a conference in Morogoro, not much after the Lusaka Manifesto was announced.

### **The Mogadiscio Declaration**

In 1971 when it was clear the South African Apartheid regime had rejected the Lusaka Manifesto, the OAU Heads of State meeting in Mogadiscio, Somalia, decided to issue the Mogadiscio Declaration. Tanzania was nominated to be part of a drafting committee and the then Secretary-General of the OAU, Diallo Telli, asked me to make the first draft and present it to the rest of the committee for discussion. The draft was submitted to the Heads of State and Mwalimu Nyerere proposed only one change; removal of the word “imperialism” in one line, where he thought it was superfluous. Otherwise, the draft went through and was unanimously adopted by the Heads of State.

As foreseen by Mwalimu, the Lusaka Manifesto was rejected. The Mogadiscio Declaration was, therefore, a call for support of the armed struggle given that the call by the Frontline states, the apartheid government had rejected the OAU and UN.

It is not for lack of modesty that I record this; it is only to show the extent of my own appreciation and understanding of the tactical nature of the Lusaka Manifesto, which was also how Mwalimu argued it. I did not think that Mwalimu had the intention of usurping the sovereignty of the liberation movements; but one needs to also see the tactical nature of the document. I suspect that Mwalimu figured that if he involved the liberation movements the case made in the manifesto would not be acceptable to them. Since there was a common strategy – armed struggle – and given that South Africa apartheid regime would not accept the Lusaka Manifesto, far from doing any harm, only good would come out of it. The case for armed struggle would be even stronger than before. Public opinion in the West, which had been made to believe that armed struggle was towards a communist take, rejection of the offer of peaceful negotiation would be a political and diplomatic victory. If the “terrorists” chose peaceful negotiations, that argument would no longer hold and it would be easier to win them over.

One could argue that there was a chance of South Africa accepting the manifesto. What could have happened then? The question did not arise because Mwalimu Nyerere’s intuition (political astuteness) was right; that is the kind of calculated risk that a leader takes from time to time.

### **Conclusion**

All of the experiences I got from supporting the liberation movements, first as a job I had to do being a Foreign Ministry official, to the association with leaders of the liberation movements and officials of the liberation committee and OAU, were a result of the inspiration, observation, learning and following Mwalimu’s extraordinary leadership and commitment to the liberation of all African people from colonialism and imperialism. It was a great privilege to have worked in the Foreign Ministry under him and to have had occasions to be in his presence as he discussed matters with other leaders. It was also a great to have met and interacted with the leaders of FRELIMO; Dr Mondlane, Marcellino Dos Santos, Presidents Samora Machel, Joaquim Chissano, Armando Guebuza and numerous other comrades. President Sam Nujoma and other SWAPO comrades; ANC comrades, Willie Kgositsile, Baleka Mbete, Frene Ginwalla, remain close. President Agostinho Neto, whose poetry book, *Sacred Hope* I published in 1974 and which was launched at State House by Mwalimu Nyerere, remains to me one of the greatest of the liberation leaders, a great poet and friend. It was a great honour that

in a small way, and I must emphasise, small way, I made some contribution to the African liberation struggle.

## Gumbo, Mrs. Thecla

[10th Street residence, Tanga City; 8 April 2008]

*Mrs. Thecla Gumbo is a lady who went all the way out to fight for the Independence of Tanganyika, to the point of getting laid off from her teaching job. She and her mother were accused of participating in political activities while working for the Government. As a teacher, Mrs. Thecla silently joined TANU in 1956 in her Tanga region. After losing her job from Government employment, she continued teaching in TANU Offices. Her main duty was to teach children who were discontinued from class IV, women and other adult persons. She got employment at TANU Headquarters, Regional level, then after joined TANU Headquarters at National level, in Dar es Salaam. While in Dar es Salaam, she continued teaching women and other adult people and would also work on part time basis as Radio presenter. Because she had worked for the party for quite some years, she was allowed to participate in the preparation of special radio programs when the country acceded to independence in 1961. After independence, Mrs. Thecla Gumbo, continued dealing with party and Government's matters, studied radio broadcasting which gave her an opportunity of securing leadership jobs with Radio Tanzania. At Radio Tanzania, she participated in the preparation and broadcasting adverts from freedom fighters from various countries who were based in the Tanzania. She was also at the forefront as far as UWT activities were concerned and helped women including refugees living in the country. Mrs. Thecla Gumbo, by virtue of her courage and devotion to her country, she was the first woman in the country to read news on radio. She got to hold high posts within the party and Government, among them were the posts of District Commissioner of Dodoma, another post at the Prime Minister's Office in charge of Women Development. After retirement from Government employment in 1986, she, in 1994, accepted to return back to media activities, dealing with special programs for the Christian Community in Tanzania.*

This is something to make one's proud. I was born on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February 1931, as a lonely girl child from my parents and grew up in various places in my home region of Tanga. Basically, Amboni was my home because my mother was working there when my father was still employed. Hence, I grew up in Amboni. Then after, a school was built. Unfortunately I did not frequent standards I and II because my mother was a teacher. When I went to start Standard I, I could not fit in the class so I was promoted to Class III something my mother also accepted. Her fellows teachers said if in the end it transpired that things were tough for me, they would relegate me to Standar II. Actually, I spent a short stint in primary school Class IV, V and VI. After that I sat for an exam to enter Middle School and got promoted to Class VIII which was the highest level. Upon completing Class VIII at St. Agness mission, I went to Magila, another missionary school called St. Mary's where I studied and completed a teaching course of two years. I went to teach at St. Agnes school. Since my wish and objective was to not end up in a small teaching post, I was asked to teach for one year in order to get a Certificate. It was compulsory to teach for one year to obtain that Certificate. After that I went to Tabora Girl's and later on to Machame Girl's which was the highest in terms of secondary school education. After completing Machame Girl's, my first posting was in Tanga to teach at Girls School, that was around the year Nineteen fifty seven. Then after, I joined TANU Political Party.

TANU Political Party was formed to replace the previously created TAA for the liberation of Africans. I did not work for TAA, I used to hear about it. After the inception of TANU here in Tanga, we had leaders such as Mzee Kijele, the like of Mzee Salehe and Hamissi Reli as well as other old men who were fired by the ideal of acceding to independence from colonialists. Then, we the youth entered into that fray.

By then I was a teacher, and the Government was not in favour of any civil servants joining a political party. I joined a political party out on my own will. My mother knew that I had joined a political party but colonialists who were our employers did not like the idea of civil servants indulging into politics and did not know I had joined one. In the party, I was somehow like a Secretary. Our major responsibility was to sell affiliation cards. Initially, people did not understand but those who did, used to listen carefully about the party and said, yes, this is a party that is going to liberate us. Women were much more responsive than men. I don't know why. We would sell affiliation cards even at cinema halls and to avoid being seen we would wear veils of muslim women. You just wear your veil, you head for cinema halls, and day time cinemas were much popular among women. We came to realize that once we manage to win women, men would follow easily because women would influence their husbands. In the old days, when couples had to separate, if they happened to hail from Kigoma for instance and staying here, they would keep it secret. But during those days we managed to recruit a lot of people because women used to do a lot of lobbying near their husbands. After that we used to meeting in public gatherings but furtively because I, for one, was still a Government civil servant.

It was discovered that I joined TANU when one day I pretended to be sick and got an ED. Instead, I traveled to Pangani to propagate politics in the company of the then leader, the late Mr. Peter Muhando. We stayed in Pangani for three days. You know, the whites when they wanted to know who TANU members were, they would pursue you. They photographed us and took the pictures to their fellow whites in Government. My face was seen in one the pictures. They asked my mother whether I was a member of TANU, she refuted the allegation and said the person in the picture was not her daughter. She said that all she knew was that I was supposed to be at my aunt's house and did not know how I landed in Pangani. They confronted her saying that the person in the photograph was me, teacher Thecla. They consulted, among whites, and told her : "We are laying your daughter off because she has gone against employment ethics". Thus, I got laid off from my teaching job. It did not upset me, neither did I complain nor wheedle.

Henceforth, I stayed home and continued with TANU. I was free, I did not have to hide anymore nor wear veils. I used to go and sell cards wearing veils to hide them. At TANU Office, I was free and neither salary nor allowance was paid; it was sheer voluntarism. At times you were be given some little money collected from selling cards as financial assistance to help you out at home. After some time, my work within the party was to teach children who were expelled from class four. These children were expelled purposely. The reason behind it is that the white man wanted children to achieve higher standard marks. Below that, even if they attained forty nine point five they would not be considered. You had to obtain fifty and above.

The other thing, they did not want to see many Africans frequenting school because those who got a chance of seeing the inside of school, betrayed them. What if many were educated, that would not bring about chaos! My other task was to teach women, to teach children ordinary subjects of primary school education. To some adults we did provide them with some additional material, things like cooking, modern things such as weaving and sewing. Henceforth, women used to come in the afternoon, children in the morning. I was with other teachers and one of them was Sister Mwanakambili Athumani, sister to Mzee Makafu. The other one was Mary Akida and they were also many young girls who would come to assist us.

After a short period, I secured a job at TANU Headquarters, regional level. I got called by the Regional Commissioner, who was by then Mzee Kisenge, who told me that he had received a call from Dar es Salaam that I was need at TANU Headquarters. They said that Mwalimu wanted to see me. I refused not because I was called by Mwalimu but because my mother had just lost her job for allowing her daughter to indulge into politics; so she lost her employment. Luckily enough, she got another teaching job with a Muslim school and left home. Nobody remained at home. That is the reason behind my refusal, and decided to remain here. At the same time, I asked those who transmitted the message to me to show the document mentioning that I was wanted by Mwalimu Nyerere. It is not that I did not know Mwalimu Nyerere, because he used to come and visit our TANU offices. I wanted to see the document. They showed me the document as well as the directives therein. Then, I proceeded to Dar es Salaam. I was not new in town; before that I had visited Dar es Salaam when I was very young to visit my brother used to live there.

I became a politician within TANU Headquarters at Lumumba. We had put desks in the office situated at the back on the right hand side and farther behind there was a place for us women to meet. Children were taught from morning until around ten and from three we would teach women. Speaking about teaching material, we were not teaching them ordinary subjects. We taught them the party's fundamentals so that they could understand where we started from and where we were heading for. I think that is where we started teaching women politics. In reality, women did very well and Bibi Titi was well ahead of the lot. And they were other women who helped and collaborated. Bibi Titi was at the forefront. She had huge influence over women be they young, grown up or old; she would talk to them. Luckily enough, within the party I got a chance to travel to India with Bibi Titi; that was in nineteen fifty four. She was invited by the Congress Party of India, I think from the Women League. I was chosen to accompany her so that I could also gain experience from India. At the same time, I acted as her Interpreter. Bit by bit I helped her. We had gone to India to assist the celebrations of India's independence and respond to an invitation from Indian Women. They welcomed a leader they had heard about her reputation especially her courage and leadership from an African. They started talking about her achievements saying that she could talk to men, women and had no fear for anyone. We stayed in India for one month and returned back. Once back, I continued performing my usual duties. In nineteen fifty nine, still at TANU Headquarters, carrying out my teaching responsibilities, I continued working on part time basis as radio presenter. I would work for TANU in the morning and during the remaining time work as radio presenter. Khadija Said was the first woman from Dar es Salaam to indulge into radio presenting; she started from Kichwele.

At TANU there was no salary, for lunch, sometimes Mwalimu would bring roasted maize which we shared calling us his children. We ate maize and drank water or soda. He used to buy all that for us. We had no money even him had not. But when he managed to get something from his friends he would buy food for us. There was no salary at TANU, it was sheer voluntarism at its highest point because to get food Mwalimu had to get money or anyone with it would buy. It was like socialism. We used to call one another to eat. Thus, Mwalimu would give maize, soda, roasted sweat potatoes and we were happy, satisfied and feeling good because we knew what our objective was.

In nineteen fifty eight, nineteen fifty nine and nineteen sixty the order of the day was sovereignty which we eventually got. We were overwhelmed by joy because our efforts had brought about fruits. As I said earlier, women were much more engaged and major influencers as far as politics and African liberation were concerned. For instance, if we were to consider Bibi Titi and all those we used to collaborate with, these people were shields for us women during independence struggle and Mwalimu believed that we were

the best allies. The Women League, UWT, recruited more people, a lot of political members. The like of Mrs. Tatu Selemani and others, all these people were in women's leadership as well Lucy Lameck and many more.

Besides, our resolve to participate in the African liberation struggle was particularly dictated by the willingness of helping freedom fighters of Southern Africa who were running from their countries because of immense suffering they were subjected to when claiming for independence. We are grateful, for we got our independence peacefully through negotiations and not through the barrel of the gun or blood shedding. But for our fellow brothers and sisters, it was through blood shedding. They saw the only place to run to was Tanzania and it was not called Tanzania by then, it was Tanganyika.

During the meeting of a three tier vote held in Tabora, we lost and conceded defeat. We, Tanganyikans had no problem because when you are looking for something and decide to put it on the table, this simplifies the whole process. Those who have the upper hand will tell you: "Look, we have the upper hand and you the lower hand. What are going to do"? Mwalimu was a very cunning person, he accepted including some of his collaborators even those who were here in Tanga the like of Mwalimu Kijele, Salehe and many more without mentioning those in Dar es Salaam who were also quite a number. In Tanga we had a lot of problems but we tried as much as we could to face them. The Greeks used to get information by paying people. Citizens would take their money and continue with their agenda. That is what they used to do.

Here in Tanga, one of the UTP party leaders was Emmanuel, a Greek, owner of sisal plantations. He was a very tricky person. He would call us especially those distributing cards and say: "What are looking for there, there is no money, there is nothing. I have been watching you run up and down". He would say that just to discourage us. Some of us joined UTP not because they loved that party but for financial gains. Deep inside them, their hearts were with TANU. We, who did not succumb to the malicious calls were the really TANU diehards. Whenever he came to us, we would ask him: "what do want from us? We, we want independence from you, from the colonialists". Others among us, completely refused to follow him. In the end, Emmanuel was all alone because people who went to him pretending to join his party simply lied to him.

Independence time arrived while still working for TANU. Radio Tanzania wanted to prepare TANU Independence programs. I remember they wanted someone from the party to go and help. Mwalimu was the supreme leader of TANU and said: "Where is Thecla? It is a long time since I saw. She can be handy by working with those who came from Radio Tanzania." Then, I went to prepare Independence programs. It took a while before they got broadcast before independence. We completed that task and since I had worked for Radio Tanzania as part-timer and for TANU, the radio programs I used to prepare gave me leverage and was directly recruited by Radio Tanzania. I had no qualifications, I cannot pride myself but I thank TANU for giving me an opportunity to become a radio presenter.

My perseverance paid off; otherwise I would not be getting thousands of Shillings as salary. At TANU I used to deal in office matters, I was a mere Secretary. Mwalimu used to tease me whenever he had letters to be typed asking me to do the work. And I would tell him that I did not have the qualifications yet. Then he would tell me that wherever I faced difficulties I should use long-hand. Actually, he did not mean using short land which I did not know but to use long-hand. That was the situation as you are told. Mwalimu was a loving person, comforting to make us forget that we did not have neither money nor salaries. He loved each and everyone.

At Radio Tanzania, I went through a technician's course. Then after, I got a chance to join Dar es Salaam University. There were white people who had education programs for adults, education for the public and education via radio. I don't know, maybe they were the

ones who chose me. Frankly I didn't know who chose me. Later on, I was asked why I didn't join University. I replied asking them, what was there? They told that I was selected to pursue University studies as part of my contract starting from December. I frequented Dar University for around one and half months. You know, we were adults with children and grand children and many more things. Luckily, I passed the course and I thank God for that. I was at the University around the seventies, and during that period the Chancellor was the late Mzee Chagula. After completing my course, we had three months to dig into politics and by then Mwakawago was Chancellor of Kivukoni Institute.

I returned back to Radio Tanzania where I stay until end of nineteen seventy five. After that, I got transferred to the Prime Minister's Office where I was appointed District Commissioner of Dodoma Municipality. I said no. The Prime Minister was Mzee Kawawa. He gave me a good lecture. He told me not to fear anything; I had cried a lot, it was simply a title, he said. To me it was like a punishment because I did not what was involved in that position. I left radio presenting and now I was brought into politics to sit around a table, meeting the citizenry and yet I didn't know the neatty greatty of my new responsibilities! You were told that, once there, your main collaborators were the following three people; the Member of Parliament, yourself and your Chairman. These were the three hats. The Chairman, the District Secretary and you, should speak with one voice. Hence, I accepted to go to Dodoma and Lawrence Game was the Regional Commissioner by then. He is the one who welcomed me. I stayed in that town until nineteen eighty. In nineteen seventy five, I was in Dodoma with Mzee Kawawa than after I worked with the late Sokoine. It was during Sokonine's time that I left the District Secretary's post and got another job dealing with women development in the Prime Minister's office where there was a Section of educating people and receiving aid for women. I was there until parting our ways with Sokoine.

During that time there were two poles of power; the party and the Government. We had the other hand in the Party business as well. Being in the party was a one way ticket to enter into Government. I was told that the Supreme Leader of the Party was calling me in Dar es Salaam to work as Commissar. I said no. Then Mzee Sigawa said: "Comrades, isn't she the one you asked to work as District Commissioner? If you don't want of her anymore, we want her back at Radio Tanzania." So, I went back to Radio Tanzania to perform my routine cores of radio presenting. I was head of Kiswahili Section and later on, head of trade when this section was introduced. Eli Mboti was the first to work in the trade section when it was opened and I worked under him. It is later that I became head. You know, at the time there was no specialization. You would go this way and then go in opposite direction. If you happened to be a news presenter and mastered the two languages, then you would read the news in those languages. If you knew only one language, you would read the news only in Kiswahili. There was no discrimination as far as people's ability was concerned.

Freedom fighters used to come and prepare their political programs aimed at criticizing their rulers. You know, when you are troubled by politics, the way you behave! When you are dealing with people who don't want neither to leave nor to set you free. You can say anything! They would broadcast in their own languages and in Kiswahili as well. It didn't mean that they were acting contrary to the rules by broadcasting in the languages we could not understand, far from it. They would bring their materials, we sat down together and prepared and recorded them and ultimately broadcast them. That was the kind of liberation struggle carried out in Tanzania by supporting fully and unconditionally the freedom fighters, by putting at their disposal our radio utility, by allowing them to come and claim independence in our country; this was something unprecedented I had never seen anywhere in Africa. Tanzania, we were the only ones to do that. All those freedom fighters from



Zimbabwe, Malawi and Angola were molded in our hands. And I think, that is why the Secretary General of the Liberation Committee was Hashim Mbita preceded by the late Sebastian Chale and George Magombe then after. I think, Hashim Mbita took over in nineteen seventy two and went on until nineteen ninety six, thus marking the end of liberation struggle. During that period, things were really hot. It is during his term that all of the Southern African Countries were liberated. Therefore, it was one of the reasons for him to feel proud, as Hashim Mbita.

At Radio Tanzania, we were all equal as far as work was concerned except for some programs handled by men only. The good thing with Radio Tanzania, they had recruited many women as well. But women were not allowed to read news, I didn't know why. One day, I asked why was it so? They would tease me saying if we were to read news it should then be obituaries announcing the demise of so and so, some state personality that you might know and this would make us cry. If you men, landed into problems, wouldn't you cry? We, women don't cry without a reason. It depends upon the motive. Why should one cry while on duty, when you are mourning or maybe imploring God to make the soul of the deceased rest in peace? One should not start crying and stop reading the news, throw papers in all directions!

Same words started going around that women would cry easily and I happened to be on shift. Women were not allowed to go on morning shift; it was men only. During one meeting, we advocated that women should also come for dawn shift. Some of them refused and I said why do we refuse when we were agitating for equality? They said: "Then will go there alone." I replied: "Put me on a morning shift, I shall go." They eventually put me on the morning shift which I continued performing. We were never given an opportunity to read news. But, one day while on a morning shift, the news presenter, a man as usual, did not show up. Maybe he was impeded by some difficulties and since during that time there were no phone networks to inform rapidly the reasons of his absence. I happened to be on duty and was around. You know, before reading news, one needs half an hour after the news had come out of the news room before reading it. The lapse of thirty minutes is to allow you to go through the news, verify if there is nothing wrong. And if there is, you bring it to the attention of those who prepared it. I would broadcast and play the drum. As you know, some of us had experience and for instance, you brother, you could stand outside chatting and then say that in forty seconds, you would get in the news room on time. I stood at the studio glass entrance door. If someone stood I would see them. My task now was to watch if someone was coming and keep on beating the drum until seven sharp. I watched around, there was nobody. Then, I begged pardon to the listeners telling them that due to unforeseen circumstances, news would be broadcasted later. Actually, this was a strategy to buy time while waiting for the actual presenter to show up and ask him why the delay? When I asked in the news room if someone had come, I was told there was nobody. The bullet I had brought was left on the table. Yeah, if the presenter happened to arrive unexpectedly, he would find it on the table. He never showed up. I then called the control room and told them: "Colleagues, here there is no one to read the news, kindly send someone to come and read it." They replied: "We cannot come to read the news, find someone else to do it." I got someone from the control room, he moved a chair nearer and sat down and I started beating the drum. It was a few minutes passed seven and I said: "It is now two minutes passed seven." The man on my side stood up and left. I told myself this was hell! I begged once again pardon to listeners. Considering that news was very important and most people listened to it, without doubt people started getting jittery about the situation. I said to myself while begging pardon to listeners and thinking; I was going to read the news since the bullet was still there. I looked at it and said aaah! I started beating the drum again. After begging forgiveness, I said: "We will bring you news in a short

while.” I started beating the drum for three minutes and said: It is now three minutes passed seven. This is news from Radio Tanzania, the reader is Thecla Gumbo. I could hear technicians applauding: “Weeeeh eeeh.” That was a hot one! I said to myself: “don’t look at them because they are going to spoil you.” I didn’t mind them. I went on reading up to the end. Leaders were following the news. They all flocked to Radio Tanzania from all directions.

I was asked that after finishing the music I was playing to go and see the Director. Did he want to see me because I had read the news? I thought it was the same story; he wanted to see me because women were not allowed to read news and that attitude was deep anchored into people’s minds. Or did I do a shoddy work? If I didn’t do well, I was going to fight with him. Then I thought, I did what I did to save the day and alleviate their anxiety. It is true, they were anxious because before my reading the news, they would not stop calling me and ask what about the news? Maybe the presenter who was supposed to read it got pinned down or someone had put a gun on his head. Anxiety could be felt everywhere, from Radio Management up to high political leaders. After reading the news, I told those who wanted to see me that I could not go to see them now but later because I was still having a program on air and once I was settled, I would go up to see them. After completing my program I proceeded up and met Mdoe, Mikidadi Mdoe, a tall and huge man likely to instill fear if you were not used to him. Inwardly, I said to myself, today was going to be a terrible day. I greeted him and he asked me: “Are you the one who read the news?” I replied, yes. Then, I told him to not prolong the talk because very soon I was going to have another program I had initiated and after the session I would go back to see him. After the program, I decided not to go thinking what would I reply to that man. Even if I had decided to see him, what would I tell him? That was why I didn’t go. He ordered that after completing the program I should not go home regardless the fact that the morning shift normally ended at nine. He insisted that I should not go home but go to see him instead. After finishing the program, I went up. He welcomed me and offered me Milo. I took the Milo and drank it. He then asked how it went. I told him. He stood up and went to his Secretary’s Office and came back with a letter and handed it over to me saying: “You have done a commendable job because people were anxious. I got calls from the Country’s leadership while you were beating the drum, stopping beating, beating again and stopping. They asked who was the presenter and what was going on? You know, during that period, people were afraid of coup d’Etats. They thought maybe the army had seized the poor lady.

The good thing is that I had saved the situation and left it there. He thanked and congratulated me. I had drunk his Milo but didn’t know where my home tea was. Peacefully, I left the place and went home. Since that day I was entrusted with the responsibility of reading news even other women who were interested enjoyed that privilege. Another thing I told them is that I didn’t need to go through any interviews because I had already proved my capability. After that, I thanked God and continued living with the record of being the first woman to read the news at Radio Tanzania and also the first woman to give to other fellow capable women a chance to read news as well for; not everybody is able to do so because this is something that requires skills and aptitudes.

My trajectory was a queer one; from Radio Tanzania I went to study at the University and came back to Radio Tanzania and then went to Dodoma to become District Commissioner and returned again to Radio Tanzania. A letter came from the Prime Minister’s Office signed by Gertrude Mongella requesting me to go and help organize celebrations of the decade of women slated to be held in Nairobi for which Tanzania was to provide Secretariat Services. I went to Nairobi and would come back to Dar es Salaam and go again; finally Gertrude Mongella said that they wanted me to stay permanently. Henceforth, I went to work at the Prime Minister’s Office until such a time we went to

Nairobi. But when I departed for Nairobi I was already served with a retirement letter and Gertrude told me to not mind it. I asked her how could I go to Nairobi in that situation? She said even if there was that letter; we would go to Nairobi. We went to Nairobi and when we came back I did not return back to Radio Tanzania, I was already working in the Prime Minister's Office dealing with women's affairs. I continued working there until late 1986; then my assignment came to an end and I stopped working once and for all. By then, I was with Mrs. Monica Sozigwa and Mrs. Mansouri. We shared the same office.

I stayed home for a few months, and in nineteen ninety four I was called by the Christian Community of Tanzania to join them in broadcasting one the Christian Religion's program in collaboration with Paster John Kimweri who was in charge. Their office was at Luther House. We used to go in various places during Christian festivities and symposiums, recording programs. I am also grateful for; I discharged this assignment satisfactorily under God's guidance.

The year ninety four, ninety five, I continued with my sporting activities. I loved sports very much. I used to play netball until in the late nineties before elections. Even after this period I continued playing. I still like sports but due to my knee problems I could not carry on with sporting activities. I was able to play netball to the point of amazing you!

The meeting to celebrate the Decade of Women for the year seventy five was held in Mexico. That was the first meeting and the Second one was organized in Copenhagen. I did not participate in the one held in ninety five but the ones held in ninety and ninety five I attended. Emancipation of the woman in Africa was raised and because a Tanzanian was at the forefront, we defended fellow women from Southern Africa and freedom fighting movements participated. These parties had their preventatives; Angola was one of them, Mozambique and Malawi. Almost all the freedom fighters' parties were represented. Peoples with problems were given priority as were women. They had their own place during the meeting proceedings. During these gatherings, there were sessions attended by Government Officials and other parallel sessions, called in other words, private forums which put together private participants. These latter forums were much more interesting because participants could speak their mind out without fear. In Government official meetings, it was much more about taking position. In the parallel sessions, there was a lot of freedom and more often than not, freedom fighters movements liked to participate in them.

I believe that, right from the beginning, Tanzania was the only country ready to delay its independence until such a time other countries had acceded to theirs. Some of these countries are the ones I was talking about. Henceforth, Tanzania participated effectively. You know, everyone is animated by their own will, so we should not criticize those who had their own reasons to not participate in the meetings even if we do not agree with them; that was their choice. In Tanzania, we persisted because we were saddened, we gave in everything, we cherished the idea of helping others and up to the present moment we are still helping them. For instance, luckily we have been chosen, how do you call it, President of the African Union. This augurs good omen as far as cooperation is concerned. Whether they like it or not, they will look for us. For example, we sent troops there. Our soldiers are at the frontline to extend assistance. I believe, we are forging ahead with the same determination. Let us see what the future holds for us.

The contribution made by our Tanga Region was quite substantial because our Father of the Nation, Nyerere and our TANU Office were one and same. There were senior leaders that I respected a lot such as Mzee Kijele. Mwalimu liked very much to collaborate with Tanga TANU leadership in many aspects. Whenever one needed advice, they would go to see the like of Mzee Kijele who was like a pillar for old people in political matters especially in Tanga. People used to say that there was some kind of hesitation in Tanga to

welcome TANU especially taking into account those who joined UTP and others. But it was not like that, you know, when you educate very well someone, it reaches a point where they understand and follow you; that is how it was. It was not only in Tanga, it was everywhere. People were afraid, fearing that they would be attacked by people brandishing machetes and others shot by guns. We were searching for independence and we wanted all Africans to unite. In that way, we would achieve something. Later on, once people are educated and persuaded; then everything goes its way.

Nyerere was the Chairman of TANU Council, and we were communicating saying that we were ready for independence. You know, when you don't have any suspicions about something, you would refuse. It is like when you are used to a place and someone comes and tell you to go elsewhere. I told you that Nyerere asked me to go to Dodoma for a kind of job I was not prepared for. But you are supposed to be knowledgeable of certain things. To accept straight away is not easy. Those who accept such things direct, are courageous. As a human being, you have to ask yourself, to interview yourself and a human being has to ask themselves. You cannot just decide to go like that, you need to ask yourself and ask others so that they understand you well, then after, you act. Henceforth, even those who participated in the liberation struggle, eventually it reached a point whereby they asked themselves whether they should continue looking for people, their fellow countrymen, whether they would succeed in their endeavor and how would they benefit. Ah, ah, ah, there was this question of how they would benefit? In old days, the question was, were we going to succeed? Then you would say, let me just do it to help my brothers and sisters.

We know that sisal plantations were very huge. Most of the people were in sisal plantations; the majority of our people. Therefore, I believe most people, the major group went down to sisal plantations and once they were educated and persuaded, you could get adepts. What a fantastic job that was!

I believe that all of us love our country and we say that Zanzibaris are our brothers and sisters. All of us participated fully in Zanzibar affairs. And we are glad that we succeeded.

I remember the like of Mzee Songambele who were commissars in Zanzibar and many more from TANU. I believe such nominations were made to give a push to workers so that they respect their employment. Maybe by seeing a politician, this could persuade them and understand better the situation. One of the activities of politics is to make someone understand and to be aware of what was going on in their country.

I think like I said, that people, politicians you may take them somewhere to do something and come up with another idea like building a road for instance. It all depends who the person who sent them there is. For example, I refused to go to TANESCO, because I expected to be sent to an area I was aware of. Now they wanted me to go to an Institution I didn't know anything, for instance, I hardly knew what an electricity pole was all about!

Those advocating change have their own objectives, not inherence. Speaking about our inherence, we had weaknesses. We were weak. I am telling you, had it been now that I was appointed Principal Secretary, I would also have, against all odds, taken my share. In the good old days, when you were appointed to a higher position, you would cry, because you would think how you were going to discharge your new responsibilities. We used to work without getting any money. Would you any way call the amount of money we used to receive as salary, enough money? I remember when I was in Dodoma, someone brought a man to me. There were cattle to be transported and no wagons were available. The man was an Arab who came with bundles of notes, but I refused. That was a sign of integrity because if you were given something like six million during the seventies, eighties, that was really good money. Nowadays, the level of integrity has tremendously gone down. But considering today's troubles whereby people denounce one another, they would be afraid because God's fear had vanished, there was no fear for God anymore. It is now that they

have restored God and Government's fear.

The process of liberation is politically complete but economically is not as yet achieved. We are not yet there, because now a new element has cropped up; that is egoism. There is egoism in leaders. Some leaders have no integrity but have egoistic feelings. In the old days there was no egoism, even if there was, it was very much hidden. But today, it has brought up again its ugly face. Let us continue denouncing one another because we don't have integrity.

Free market policies and globalization can be handy in liberation if everyone would work adequately and do away with anything that has to do with lack of integrity, amassing riches and work properly. There are a lot of lies around; someone might tell you very sweet words in which they don't believe. At any rate, I firmly believe that when people have understood what is needed from them after liberation and accession to independence, everything will go its way. We have extended our assistance to our fellow brothers and sisters and now they are independent. Now, let us work together, cooperate, understand one another, cooperate in a good spirit. Let us get fired by the same ideals in order to develop our countries. But if people have to be told what to do, we won't reach our destination quickly. In the current economic situation, everyone has to work, naturally there are some who are high on top. There is a large gap between the haves and the have-nots. If we could stamp out that situation, that would be fine. Basically, what matters is the willingness of the free market concept to build a private sector and not egoism.

If socialism was to come back, it would not be fired by the same willingness and reasons as when Mwalimu started it. The concept may come back but not in the way it was initially intended. It is high time we came up with another concept of socialism that would fit in the current situation.

The situation of Zimbabwe portrays real egoism, because it is me, me and me alone. Those around you don't matter. You are the only one that matters, year in year out. That way, you will achieve nothing. You should groom those who are under you to take over and show them how to go about it. Give them a chance. We, in Tanzania have done everything as far as liberation is concerned. Liberation was our business, we, Tanzanians; we started it and gave others a chance to finalize it.

Now he wants to build Zimbabwe's economy, to put the economy into the hands of the people; an ideal that compelled them to go into the bush to fight and die. But does he teach those citizens? Has he written a book to explain to them? He hasn't taught them anything up to the present moment. He didn't have good principles. You beat someone to take over the economy, you beat someone and put fire on their house, that is not right.

As regards this project funded by the Southern Africa Development Community geared towards collecting experiences and memories of the liberation struggle's history of Southern African countries, I think that first and foremost, we are late. We should have done it much earlier when things were very hot. We finish the assignment when things are still hot; making you run up and down. We are not yet late but we are late in starting, I don't know how much time it is going to take, for instance you have just started now and it is likely to take a bit of time, how many years? This assignment started in 2006, isn't it?

African leadership started many years ago. We dare to say it is complete. Countries that had acceded to independence should work in tandem and liberate one or more countries and once the latter are liberated, independent and self-reliant, then start the process of gathering our own opinions as it used to do in the past. Those who used to think for us and who would issue opinions are no longer alive. We are there to do so but we are old.

Here in Tanga, there is one Mzee Makaro. Mzee Makaro can tell you very good things. And on the women side, there is Mwanakambili Malick. She is around, I think and you can get her at the Court. She is one of the wise persons at the Tribunal of First Instance and there are many like her. But you know, I didn't stay long in Tanga.

I only stay there for six years. For the rest of my time, I was in Dar es Salaam.

Concerning the whole issue of liberation, there are young people who got to know about it through books reading. Those who like to read and carry out research know it. Not all of them because things such as these, cannot be found in schools. Those who completed Form VI studies, some of those who went through higher education are also aware of it because they have read a lot of books and carry out research. But not all of them. I wonder whether you who is interviewing me, you know anything about it. How do you know it? Because it is not taught. Material such as this should be taught from kindergarten. It reaches a point where history is slowly disappearing. In the old days, when you were taught history and geography, you would be first taught history of your own country, geography of your country. Today, your small brother doesn't know where Amboni caves are located and yet, he is in Tanga.

Syllabuses such as these ones should be brought back, not necessarily at once, but important materials should be taught. Children should be taught. I remember last week, for instance, my grandchild asked me what is Richmond? People are talking about Richmond. I told him that I had bought newspapers, he should read to know what was all about Richmond. During our days, when something had happened, children were told each and everything about the event even its meaning. Today, they are not taught, that is the reason why they get misled by hearing from people. This problem of changing syllabuses every now and then by the Government. One aspect is taken here and the other one there; it is total confusion. That is one of the reasons. It is the Government that is in charge of syllabus, it should bring back important aspects.

Wise people who are supposed to be saying this is our country, let us protect it, preserve it and praise it but they are not doing that. They are the first ones to send their children to Europe. You, yourself should not praise this idea, you should put together your children, grandchildren and tell them to love their country.

Today our Government took the decision of abolishing sports in schools. Not only that, it made our children lose sense of direction and integrity because they have nothing to do after classes. For instance, some in primary schools, leave classes around eleven thirty minutes, and others at one up to two. Therefore, up to two, schools are closed, isn't. At two thirty, all schools are closed, and what does a child do after that? They go and join jobless groups. A child will indulge into dancing hip hop music all the time without getting time to read their books nor do sports. There those who like sports, for instance my grandson, since he came here, he keeps on saying he wanted to go to Mkwakwani Stadium. I asked him, what was there at Mkwakwani. He responded there were teams playing. Here we are fighting on TV for wanting that be shown Manchester games instead of showing Yanga and Simba matches. Not Moro United, but Manchester, Arsenal (laughter). You know players from there instead of local ones. This is something good to know what is happening outside but should not constitute as a basis for children to start training.

Personally, I believe as I said, education should be given prominence. People dealing with the syllabus should sit together and reflect on what is there to be done. I am grateful to see that sports has already been brought back in schools. It has to be brought back in an orderly manner and not haphazardly without a sense of direction. We keep on losing every now and then, today I have read in newspapers people advocating that we should leave all together African competitions. We have become a laughing stock, we lose everyday. We keep on saying, once back home, aaah, we will get them, we will beat them!

Fine, let us keep on marketing our country. I for one, believe we like sports. We like sports and our President likes sports from the bottom of his heart. We don't benefit from it, it doesn't bring us fame, I am not talking about financial gains, I mean fame. Sports help market a country. If it doesn't, does it mean aaah, we should limit ourselves to Yanga and Simba, what about other teams, aaah. It is not because we have Yanga and Simba

that other teams do not matter, we forget them completely. Let us start sports in schools. It is no longer a question of starting, the ball is already rolling, we should strive to get teachers who are able to train. It is not just about going and picking people just like that. Why cannot we send people overseas for more training? I, for one, believe that Maximo did a commendable job. But you know, we should strike while the iron is hot. Grown up players are no longer teachable. They are unable to listen to anyone. Let us pick younger people from schools. Let us not discriminate against schools, I know there are other people who discriminate against schools, thinking about Government schools only. They forget that there are private schools capable of availing talented players. You will see that the people I am referring to will help such and such secondary school, primary school and higher institutes of learning and forget other people. They should go around and search for different talents in different places otherwise we will always be in the same situation and the story of a mad man's head will resurface.

I thank you if you think I have done a good job.  
Ameen!

## Jackson, Mod Marian

*Mod Marian Jackson was born in South Africa on 17 January 1930 to a German father and a South African mother. She was trained in medicine, and later as a teacher. She started to be involved in politics when she was sixteen, and later joined the Pan African Congress, PAC. She left South Africa in December 1959, after getting married to Timothy Jackson Kapinga, from Tanganyika. She arrived in Dar es Salaam through the Tunduma border post in February 1960, after passing through Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. As a member of PAC, she was involved in the training of the young South African girls who came to Tanzania as freedom fighters. She took care of them at her home in Kimara, before proper camps were established in various parts of the country. During the liberation struggle she was the Chief Administrator of Human Affairs in South Africa in Exile, and she worked very closely with the Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania (UWT). Mrs. Jackson contributed quite substantially, in her own capacity to the development of the area she leaves in by building a nursery school, a primary school, a carpentry and a sewing school, where a number of Kimara residents had their children trained. She is also a prominent member of her local churches, as she works closely with them to raise funds for various charities. At the time of the interview she is still living in Kimara, where she is well known as Mama Mzungu to the local population and Mama Kimara to the ex-freedom fighters.*

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My name is Mod Marian Jackson that is my baptism name. I'm the 1st of the ten children my father was a German and my mother a South African. When I say South African, you will put a very big question mark because any body that has my colour is neither really white nor a black. There are so many other blacks between this colour and the colour of the last president before independence. I was born in South Africa on 11th January 1930, same day your wife was born, except I was born some years earlier than your late wife. We had a lot of problems because as I grew up, I went to a semi white school, in which we had coloureds and whites, but my friends, I think from the very beginning were more Africans; indigenous Africans. That thing didn't please my parents very much, especially my mother.

I got involved in politics when I was 16. You know I was a very naughty child, so at night after I said, "Goodnight Mother. Goodnight Father." I got out through the window, and went to dances. That particular the night, at 1 o'clock in the night, coming back from the dance I met a policeman struggling with a black man, at the Grand Parade, Cape Town just outside. This African was drunk and it was a very big offence in the forties, fifties and sixties and seventies for an African to be drunk or to have white friends. Anything could be planted for an African so that a white policeman would arrest him and the following day that poor black man would have a very serious case; either he had a knife in his pocket or he had drugs in his pockets. So intervened and because, I was strong I struggled with this policeman until he let go this Blackman, who managed to run away. He arrested me because his helmet fell off his head; this was another very big offense, because they called it a Queens Crown.





at that time. I was arrested that Saturday night, so I had to remain in remand until Monday morning.

I was taken to court and the magistrate told me that I had interfered in an arrest and I also beat the policeman until his helmet fell off. I still laugh at that case after so many years because this Police man was very big and fat and I was very thin and small. So I made up a story. I started crying and told the magistrate, that I was coming from the dance and I met this Policemen and he caught me and pushed me against the car and wanted to rape me and in struggling his helmet fell off so I cried so badly that everybody in the court was very sympathetic to me. I told the magistrate, I couldn't have bitten the policeman. I was set free. But I did not know that the African was in the court with his people, so that if I was fined, they would pay it for me.

Africans were very poor during that time. They could hardly afford a descent meal, and yet they were prepared to get me out of jail if it was necessary, and that forced me to get deeper into politics. While I was allowed to go where I pleased, school where my parents wanted me to go to school, these people, of the same country, apart from their colour, were not be allowed. When we went to the post office, I entered through the front door, but the African would be forced to use the back door. We couldn't sit in the same restaurant. I had friends I wanted to move around with, but I could not because they were black, although they were clever.

One day my mother told me to that I should stay away from Africans, because they were not people that I could be friends with. I think that turned me against my mother, because for a long time after that, I couldn't see eye to eye with my mother.

We had a dancing place in Cape Town, the place called Seven Steps, Hanover Street I think you know District Six you heard about the place when you were there. It was a wonderful place for non-whites, African, Indians. We used to go once a week for dancing, That was the only place we could mix freely inside, or in the Catholic Church. We could go in the Catholic Church, blacks and whites sit next to each other. As years went on I was to be imprisoned from time to time because, as the magistrate told me, I was interfering with some people's affairs. In other words, I was getting into the politics. I was not a member of any organization it was just me and people of my country.

I finished my school, went to university, and finished university. I started working and one day my mother called me and told me that I should get married. This was in 1955. My mother said my younger sister had a boyfriend and she wanted to get married but according to our culture they cannot get married unless I got married first because I am the eldest. I had no boyfriend; my boyfriend was the dancing floor. But my dancing partner was an African from Tanganyika. So one day I asked him if he was married, and he said that he was not, because when he left home he was very young. I asked him whether he had a girl friend, and whether he wanted to get married. I proposed to marry him but he was scared because, one, I was called white and he would be arrested on the very first day, two, he was scared of my parents. I went home and told my father. My father was a liberal he didn't care. I told him I had a boyfriend and I wanted to bring him home my father said okay, so one Sunday in 1955 I took my husband to be home. When my mother saw him she went out to the back yard. So my father told him to come after three months, but he was not allowed to see me for those three months.

My father agreed, but My mother up to the day I was getting married on 10th of March 1956 while people were dressing me my mother said she didn't have a daughter that was getting married at that day. People had to force her to go, at least to church. My husband name was Timothy Kapinga not Jackson but he married me with the name of his father, Timothy Jackson. At the wedding reception of 700 people, I had four relatives; one girl was assigned to me, my cousin, and two friends.

One evening my brother came and told me that our mother was dying because of me; that I was going to be imprisoned forever, because I had brought an African into our family. He told me that the following morning at six o'clock I was going to be arrested. That was in December 1959. He said that he was going to help me. My brother was a police man.

He told me that I had to get out of the city because if I was found anywhere in the city I would be arrested and I would not be able to get out. I had a daughter living with my mother. It was not my daughter it was my husband's daughter from another woman she knew before had disappeared. I went to the government and the child was registered under my name. So I told my mother I was taking my child to visit somebody next door, who was ill. My mother said I could go but she could remain with the child, but I convinced her that I wanted to go with her.

We got into a train in Capetown on 12th December. We were taken off the train, I was taken off the train in Bulawayo on 16th December. We had boarded a train which was going to northern Bulawayo to Brokenhill Northern Rhodesia at that time. The police man came, but I forced them to take my husband and my child also and all my luggage. So they took me and my husband and myself to the immigration which was I hour drive from the railway station. By the time we got back the train was gone and my child was sitting alone. I was given a paper that I was being returned back to South Africa and my husband was given a paper declaring him an illegal immigrant in Northern Rhodesia. I said we were not going back into South Africa. Over my dead body!

On the train back to South Africa, myself, my husband and my daughter, we met somebody he spoke to my husband and told my husband the train was going to stop at Mafeking and the immigration office was in the station. This was on Saturday and I had caused some problems because I refused to get into the train. Eventually we got into the train after twelve, and by the time we got to Mafeking the immigration office was closed. We were helped to cross the railway line. The border was the railway line everything in South Africa.

Where did I end: So we ran to Botswana, Botswana at that time was busy getting their independence in 1959. So we managed to get in and we were received by some people. But we had a problem. Botswana had no shops at that time so you had to go railway line. Many families, husbands if they were Africans, were taken to white farms, and children were taken to orphanages, or other families, or to camps, and the mothers if they were colored like myself, they were sent back. So we couldn't go across the line, but I decided to go to the office of the Seretse Khama. It was simple those days you just walk to the State House as a visitor, no body questions you. It was free. I explained our position to him. We were running out of money so I decided that if the worse come to the worse, I was going to go in to South Africa to find a job across the railway line to the shops and South African police was always on guard.

I decide to find a job, I got a job for 20 shillings a month. It was a lot of money that time but my husband and my child were not allowed to come there to eat or drink so I would take whatever food and give to them. Where we were staying people were not so wealthy. We stayed there for 2 weeks. I wrote a letter to the late President Nyerere and explained to him, where we were, we had no money and we were on our way to Tanganyika, my husband was a Tanganyikan had been away from the country for 27 years. Nyerere at the time was in America but somehow, may be God loves me, he got that letter. He contacted Botswana and told them to provide us with tickets to travel to Dar es Salaam.

One day someone came and told us to get ready and that we were leaving the following day by train. When we got into the train we were met by a policeman. I did know that they had planned something ahead. So we headed to a place called Plumtree which was a border of Botswana and Zimbabwe those days Southern Rhodesia.

On the way to Plumtree my husband was talking to a certain woman who told him that the train was going to arrive at Plumtree at 7.30 in the evening and I must get off the train. The plan was that my daughter should cry that she wanted to go to the toilet. But I was in the compartment by my self, with the immigration officer and the policeman, and an African policeman was standing guard at the door and I didn't know why. It appears that this woman knew what was happening so she told my husband this child should go and cry, "Mama I want to go to the toilet." That woman will be in the toilet and she would tell me what to do. So this nine-year old child cried she wanted to go to toilet. The Policeman said she should go but the child refused, so I took her there and received the instructions.

But now when I got back to the compartment I had to do something to get those policemen to sleep or I had to find the way to get out of there. South Africans are all drunkards, you know that. When I went back to the compartment, I said that since I was going back to prison .I was going to enjoy my last free time. There was a small station in between and when the train stopped, I sent this African policeman to go and buy two bottles of whisky and two glasses. So I started sipping my drink. Pretending to be drunk I told them that I was drunk, and they decided to sleep; while they were asleep I decided to give the African policeman a glass of whisky and told him to relax, since his bosses were sleeping. He decided to go and sit somewhere.

The train stopped, and I had to go out of the train and get under the train lying under the rails and I lay there until the train moved off. I heard the whistles but I remained there. When the train moved off I had to go to the forest and some women came to find me. I stayed 20 minutes under the train! I think that made me harder. We went from there to this woman's village some where in Zimbabwe where we stayed for 2 weeks. We got food and some rest, then I told my husband that I was not staying there any longer and that I was going by road, and he should go by train, or bus, and we were going to meet in Dar es Salaam. He became worried and nervous, as I told him I was going with my daughter, so I left. I managed to get myself a sleeping bag, so in the night we would sleep in the bush, staying away from cars

One night I woke up and I heard people talking. At that time fighting was all over Southern Africa. Africans were scared that if they found a dead body, and they went to the police, the police would say they had killed that person, so they were now preparing to bury a dead body where I was lying. I heard the spades and I sat up. These people ran, but one of them came back, just to discover there was a woman and child. They asked me what I was doing there. Zimbabwe people were very good in English at that time. I told them our story and they gave me directions on how to reach the road that would take me to Broken Hill.

We got to the Broken Hill station, at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, one week later. I was just standing when a man who was pretending to read a newspaper, while he was looking at me, called me by my name, I didn't know any body in that place, but went up to him as I was going up to him, an African man came to us. So now I was between this white man and an African man. I had no confidence in Africans and whites in those days. He told me that he was a policeman. I was more scared.

I was taken to the bus stand I got on the bus, I still had the letters Nyerere sent to Botswana, for me to travel up to Dar es Salaam. So we got into the bus, and we travelled until 36 miles before reaching Tunduma. On the 14th February 1960, this bus had an accident and went right into the bush. The driver and conductor ran away, so we were left on the bus, 7 grownups and 15 children in the middle of no where, not knowing how to reach the immigration on the border, until after two days. A small car was passing, and they saw us because I had forced the people to push this bus so that it could be seen.

We had managed to make uji using dirty water from the holes on the road that people walk through, but we lived and we are still alive. So this little car passed with a white woman and her driver. She saw me, stopped and asked what I was doing there and I said that we had been there for two days. She asked how many of us were there, and we told her. That little car was a Mini-Mock, and it could take at the most, 5 children. When we asked her where we were, she said 36 miles away from the border with Tanganyika.

The minute we entered in Mbeya it started raining. That is the reason I hate Mbeya until today. It rained and continued raining for seven days. We could not go out, and those days we had those suitcases made of cardboard, a bit of water and the suitcase is done. The night we arrived in Mbeya, we were damped on the verandah of a shop and the owner of the shop was making noise about us, because we were shouting and it was raining my daughter was crying, He looked at us! A white face among all those people! He asked, "Mama what are you doing here?" The story was repeated again, and I told him that we had been dumped there, and that we were going to Dar es Salaam. They told us there was no transport. There was no railway bus, and there was no postal services as there was an East African strike in February 1960. So they took us to their home where they took very good care of us for 2 weeks. They really treated us well for those two weeks. One day an Indian offered me a lift and brought us to Dar es Salaam.

When I got to Dar es Salaam, I cried because the last words my mother told me were like, "Where you are going they wear animal skins. When you arrive there they are going to take away all your clothes. They live in huts." I asked myself where my husband was, and for how long had he been waiting for us.

We got off at Kariakoo I don't know where you people were in 1960s. There were these little lamps, these little things, at the old market. They looked like little stars all over the place. There was electricity here and there, and all I could see were Africans. Africans? I thought I loved Africans but at that moment I hated Africans because everybody was speaking Kiswahili. I started crying and my daughter asked me why I was crying and if I had a headache, to which I said, "Yes" And she was speaking to me in my language.

Then a taxi driver came and asked me where I was coming from and we started a long conversation, and when he asked me where I was going, I told him I didn't know. He then told me that the previous year there was a husband and wife who came from South Africa to Dar es Salaam. When I told him I knew them, he offered to take me where they were staying. So he took me to their place, when I got into the room, I saw a picture of Martha and Edward. It was quite near the police station, and the present Kariakoo Market. There was also an open space, which was used for mobile cinema. I stayed in the room with my daughter. When they came back Martha was full of complaints. She said that the place was poor! I don't know how to explain this, because the Africans in South Africa had mud huts,

they put cow dung outside and then they white wash it.

Then I decided to look for a job. I had three professions but I was never satisfied with any of them. My father was a doctor, I should have said that at the beginning, Actually he was a surgeon, and he expected his first born to be a doctor, but every time they brought a patient, I could not stand it when some person was dying in front of me in the hospital. So the doctor called my father and asked him if I was what he wanted to be a doctor! My mother was a school teacher, so I trained as a teacher. But I ran away from home and as if it was not enough, I refused to get married according to my mother's wishes. But I ended up being a bar manager. I have been everything in life so you can't tell me any story. I have been through it all. So when I came here I went to look for a job and the first office I went to was the Ministry of Health. It was on Acacia Avenue, (later Independence Avenue and now Samora Avenue) where they have Egypt Air, up stairs where now the United Nations offices are. So I went there, asked for a job. I explained that I had come from South Africa, about 3 days back. He asked where I wanted to go, and I told him I wanted to go to the Ministry of Health and he said that was the Ministry of Health. So I went inside and Kahama was the Minister, and they told me that they trained their own nurses.

There was an Indian standing at the corner, and he gave me a job in a fish and chips hotel, and said to me he will give me a good job later. I worked there for six months and then I got a job at Princess Hotel, Mnazi Mmoja. It was a wonderful hotel, but that was the end of my job because I questioned why Africans were not allowed to come to that hotel? It was owned by an Indian, and it was only for Indians. That is where my politics started in Dar es Salaam.

I had so many problems. The day I went looking for work, when coming back I didn't remember where I was staying. So I sat down somewhere and I started crying, thinking that my daughter was going to be stolen as my mother said. A beautiful Mercedes Benz stopped, and there was this African with his little daughter, driving this wonderful Mercedes Benz. He asked me if I knew anything about the place, and whether I could identify the house. I said yes, so he took me there.

What happened was, I was supposed to sort of be happy with English so that when I met Maria Nyerere, I would not need interpreter. I used to ask my husband why women were wearing a piece of cloth around here and all that. I tried to catch up with Kiswahili, but it was not easy. It took me many years. Hata hivi sasa Kiswahili bado haingii vizuri, although I stayed in Magomeni for one year. Before the year was finished the Sharpeville Massacres broke out in South Africa, and there were many South Africans coming to exile in Dar es Salaam. Being the first to this place I wanted to show off the little Kiswahili I knew, and take them around. The first office I found was at Windsor Hotel. I knew one room one table in that corner one table in that corner. My husband had no work and I was earning 2000 shillings and that was a lot of money. My husband was given 500 shillings a day for entertainment. In 1961 life became difficult for me and my family, because my husband became jealous. We moved out, and my marriage broke up on 1962 because my husband told me he had been away for so many years, so he had to marry the girl he left behind, and that she was still there waiting for him. I told him if he married that girl we would have to stay in the same house or I was going to marry another man. He said that it was not possible for me to do that, but we would still be together. When I joined the Pan African Congress, I was not an enemy to the ANC I was a member of the PAC, but ANC and PAC were divided by white people. On my travels to Austria I did mention that.

As long as we had someone who was prepared to work the land with us we had no problems with the ANC, besides, the ANC started many years before the PAC was started, so why should we fight. It was the PAC who showed the world what was happening in South Africa; when innocent people died, and the things that happened in those days. It was the PAC that banned the so called “dog pass” No white person carried the pass, you were like a dog carrying a license. That is where the troubles started. I go to South Africa every year since 2004 and I see a lot, but nothing has changed yet. The blacks are still suffering, the whites still own the land, and houses are sold at prices which the blacks cannot afford. The blacks are still jobless, and believe everything is for the whites; they still want to fight the government that is there. They still work with each other underground against the government in office, for me staying in Tanzania is safer.

On why PAC was formed instead of supporting ANC for the independence of South Africa, Mama Jackson had the following explanation:

Now when it comes to politics, the thing we were fighting was one but ideology is different. So it could never happen the two organizations stayed together for state audience like that. They were different organizations, which had their own ideas on how to fight for the freedom of their country. Of course ANC had been there for many years before. It was like having let say the president of Tanzania recently said we are going to introduce, and we are going to allow other companies, electrical companies to come and help us. I see right now TANESCO is alone. So TANESCO does what it likes. ANC was alone for many years. It didn't do much, but we still carried the ID, the African National Congress Book in our pockets. We were embarrassed wherever we went, as we couldn't walk freely. An African could not walk in the middle of the road, but ANC was there; Africans were hanged because of politics, but ANC was there. And the land never belonged to everyone who lived in it until the youth said this land is now the going to be shared. The youth of the ANC is the Pan African Congress (PAC). That is when the first action started, on 21st March 1960 when they burned their IDs, the “dog license” as we used to call it. And that is when people outside South Africa knew what was actually going on inside South Africa. Now here you have our father or grandfather has been there for so many years, and and this young boy comes to teach this grandfather what you did all these years is no longer important. We are going to do it our way. Twenty five people died on that day, and hundreds were numbed until today. So you couldn't get these two parties to remain together for more than that one year there in that little office. They had to express themselves to get the word out the way they had to get out. Now the world said PAC was radical, like the fanatics, the Moslems. It is not true. We just wanted the truth to come out. I had already told the story about an old man who was tied up between two landrovers. But he was not a politician, his son was the politician, and they were looking for his son. I went to South Africa for the first time, in 1975, after leaving the country in 1959.

I was tired of stiff porridge and slippers and Kiswahili so I was going where there wasn't anybody who would call me Mama Mzungu. I went for six months, and I travelled by ship, Chinese Camp. So I had to apply for a visa. I had to look for money to pay for the ship. I had friends from Finland and they gave me money for the ticket. I got into the ship the ship was called Karanja and the commander was called Capt. Bell. We started on 15th November 1975 and we arrived in Durban sometime in December.

Everybody was allowed to get out of the ship except me and they took my Passport. They left the kitchen open. I was going to give my mother a surprise. The CID had gone to make investigation. At half past twelve it had arrived and it was leaving the next day It was my mother, so how did she know I was in the ship? They told me, “Mrs. Jackson we are sorry about what happened.” So I said, “Bring my passport. It is not yours, it is my mine. In my passport it was mentioned. This is going to make a big story.” They asked me if I had 40 Rand, so that they could allow me to get out. Those days Africans were not allowed into whites’ taxi. I had an African wig and kitenge with Nyerere all over it I was told, “Mama, this tax is for whites only” I got in anyway and he switched off his radio, otherwise, he would have lost his job.

Anyhow, I went to visit so my mother, stayed for 24 hours with my mother. I moved every night. My brother told me he had to support the government. In 2004 I met him again. So I came back here. Fortunately I have good friends in Kimara, so when I came back I found my house there. After 1976 I got a stroke, and for two months I suffered, in hospital. Then one day I told my sister to bring me an air tickets, because I wanted to go home. They brought me a ticket but I started missing my friends here in Kimara and came back. I arrived on Thursday, I got up in the morning those who died I told them, “Sorry people, how are you,” I found myself picking up a glass of beer. I was cured without medication, without anything until this December. I just sit like this.

One day I said I am I going to South Africa, and then I decide there is nothing for me there, but there is something in here. I have a big mouth I can go to Prof. Temu’s house they made a cake for me last year January on my birthday we shared a birthday with his wife. If they don’t see me in church they come here, or they telephone, and ask where are you? You know that you have been there. Does it mean that this independence is for me alone? I don’t see any problem and I keep quarreling with people, White Lady we have problems. I would ask them, what kind of problem when you are all time in bars drinking beer? You have problems when you are building houses?” How many people have died of starvation in Tanzania? None. Here if you die of starvation it is because you are lazy. Don’t plant flowers that you cannot eat, and it is better to grow papayas and what have you. Don’t come from the farm, into the city because your son is a manager. My son is a manager, I am going to stay with my children. The first day you will be welcomed, the second day you will be given to go and farm!

I am a part and parcel of this country, and I went all over the world to talk on women’s rights and women’s conditions. I have seen how people live in Tanzania. It is the only free country in Africa. We delayed to make the roads because we were busy educating and building the government. You cannot cheat that in Tanzania that huna ruhusa I can only say that if I die here I will be buried here and my grave will be here, because I love Tanzania from my bottom of my heart.

Regarding my membership of PAC, in 1994, what made the ANC win was Nelson Mandela. Nelson Mandela’s name was used, because I remember one time I went to Australia, many of the whites and blacks spoke, but that dint stop me on telling the truth about ANC and PAC. In March this year I was in South Africa, and it was the son of Sobukwe who actually mentioned that they were going to have a rally for



PAC day commemoration. The ANC always tried, this girl Patricia, I trained her as a Politician; she used to come to Tanzania and Kenya. The ANC representative in Austria was called Maxwell, his surname is very difficult to pronounce. The late Gola Ibrahim was the Finance Minister, because people discovered that there is no longer Nelson Mandela so it is now DA (Democratic Alliance). ANC is very scared because Zuma was a favorite for a next presidency, now this case has torn ANC apart. Once the ANC strong, and they had the money such that they could buy any body, to get the votes, throughout the world.

During the struggle, when we met at parties we were friends. The first and second houses, that was before they had camps because in 1976 on the Soweto Uprising. Some of the people I was staying with were members of the ANC. Most of them are now brigadiers, there is a Colonel and she was educated in this house.

Each part had their own strategies. They never knew about each other. You must remember there was the Inkhatha also.

Here in Tanzania I still have a close relationship with Kate Kamba and Gertrude Mongela. You can tell that our struggles were completely different because in South Africa, we were fighting the white man, while the black women were working as house servants. In other words, that black servant cannot refuse to work for the boss, and instead go to those kinds of meetings. Also her own husband would be working underground or had been put in prison. The black women could not move around easily because of the "dog pass". She took the advantage so that she could get together with other black women. Things became better after the 1958, women's strikes; the women got more strength after that, but it was never easy.

The relationship with Tanzanian Women's Union in terms of moral and financial support, was very good. We were very close and I mean it. Without mentioning African women, South African women suffering apartheid it was always there. I remember I went to see this woman, and when I told her that my name was Mod Jackson I was from PAC I wanted to see her because we were suffering as she was suffering. I was present at two different conferences in Morogoro. The last one was in 2001, when I met our President for the first time. But the Union of Women in Tanzania always gave us the support we needed, whether we were PAC or ANC. The ANC, the PAC always had problems so even when we went to Kenya it was the Umoja wa Wanawake who accommodated us for the seven days we were there.

Tanzania got independence and the ANC gave to Nyerere 20 nurses. They arrived in December, 1961 and I was there to receive them. We went with one Professor who lived across the ferry Prof. Mwaisela, to meet these women and each nurse was given a card for independence celebrations: No. 1 No.2 up to 20, and we had a big party at Diamond Jubilee. We also had our private party across the ferry, and it was very nice. It was not a recruitment it was a present to Mwalimu Nyerere. Mama Shaban, Phina is at Shinyanga, her husband was ex-DC at Bagamoyo, and we are very close. Col. Rose Jerry, she was a member of PAC, actually we don't have that thing any more because I told them we are still working very hard

During the liberation struggle, I was Chief Administrator of Human Affairs in South Africa in Exile. Hence, I had a close contact with the Union of Women in Tanzania (UWT). We were very close and we attended all the UWT meetings. The last one was in Morogoro I think it was in 1989. UWT they really supported us. It taught us everything we needed to know. For instance, Getrude Mongela was our leader, we used her to speak in United Nations on our behalf. And her secretary Kate Kamba, she always came to visit us in our office and we were always allowed to go to her. There was a certain person who was a minister from Moshi, Lucy Lameck. We were very close with Lucy Lameck. I even went to her home in Moshi where I met her late mother. I must say we learnt a lot from them. I don't know if they learnt anything from us. What I can say is that they were very good. Even the late chairperson of UWT, Sofia Kawawa.

We always had a place where we could go to ask help if we were stuck with anything because PAC, as I said before, was financially not strong. Also we had young women who came from Soweto, and they were new in the affairs of the world. I always like to say, they behaved like animals that had been kept in cages, when they came here. We just could not contain them, but eventually they settled.

But many of them got married here by their colleagues or by Tanzanians. And we needed mothers to help to teach us on how to take care of these young girls. There was this comrade, staying in Dar es Salaam, in the city with the mother, and they failed to stay with those girls; so seven of these girls were brought to me and they stayed with me. Actually there is one of them now at the South African Embassy, called Rose Jerry. She is one of those girls whom I looked after, whom I shouted and pulled out of the night club, thinking that I was bad. I woke up when I was told that there was fighting there, with my daughters. Where, in Safari Resort and I had to go there and bring them home.

But I managed them, because I remember in the early days when I came here I used to farm. I was very proud when something came from the farm. So while they were here I said, "From tomorrow we are all getting up and we are going to work the land." They said, "We don't know how to work the land. We are not from the rural areas, we are from the cities." Then I said, "You better start thinking of the rural areas because that is where we get what we eat." And they all went and we worked for about six months. We planted maize. I remember the happiness the day they went to the shamba, because it was up to the church there, to pick maize. They couldn't believe it! They were so happy and just too proud! They gave me some credit, kind of, and they still remembered that for a long time.

It was difficult to live with young girls. Two of them are enough, but forty! There were some who would tell me that they did not eat porridge, or bread without butter. Then I would tell them that was exactly what we were going to eat because those things they did not eat were in their mother's and father's houses; and that here they were in exile and that we were looking for money to buy those things where it was possible. So they were with me for about nine months.

In April 1976, when fighting started in South Africa, many students came to Tanzania. I received about a hundred and fifty seven students. There were more than that but I had a hundred and fifty male and female students staying with me. When they finally left it was so quiet and the house was so empty, because there were no beds; we had just mattresses on the floor, and if it was a nice evening, we made a bon fire, made donauts and sang until morning. Morning, it was either plantation work or going to the office.

We started the camp in Ruvu. Ruvu Mashuguru was a name of the place, which used to be a sugarcane plantation many years back, and was very far from the road. Eventually, our camp moved from my place to that place. Other students went all over the world for further studies, or to continue with studies they didn't finish in the South African schools, because they didn't want to study in the Afrikaans language.

So I started a little nursery school. I drink beer, so in the evening, when I had nothing to

do, I used to go to the bar where I met baba so and so and asked them whether they had children? If they said “Yes.” I asked them how many and how old they were, and I would then ask them to bring them to my nursery school. So on the 1st October 1977, I started my nursery school with ten children in my bed room, on the bed. Some of them were very small. Then a month later they were over thirty, and I had to get out of the house. I didn’t have a classroom. The church had just started that year, and the Lutheran church gave me that small church so that I could teach children inside there, early in the morning. I had a lot of Moslem children and I feared it was not right to force it on the Moslem children to enter a church. So I took the benches and put them outside.

The parents came together and built a little hut outside my fence, where we now park the cars. We had our first classroom there. I have pictures of it somewhere. When the first rains came, the banda went because it was banda ya matope. So we were back to square one, and the parents and I personally wrote letters to places like Holland and German companies in Dar es Salaam. I asked Mr. Bhoke Munanka to be the patron of the school, and through him many people came and we built four classrooms next to my house. There were four rooms in nursery school.

Then in 1985 I went on a tour to Japan, Philippines, Australia, News Zealand and China. So I did not put somebody in my place, but I put a committee, with the late Mr. Msigala, as the chairman. I was away for six months. That’s where the trouble started. I don’t know whether I should mention the problems I had with these people, because of this school. I was even told, through a letter by the then Secretary of CCM, that I shouldn’t build anything onto my house, I shouldn’t put a fence, I shouldn’t lima my shamba, because the house belongs to the school. I asked them, “What school now, because I started this school.” Then I was told about this committee which was formed by Mr. Menza, somebody from Mbeya and was in the insurance business, who lived up there. Some people had formed their own committee, of which he chaired, excluded me and went to the then Barclays Bank, and claimed the money that was there for this school.

The money that was there was the money that I had banked because in 1981 I had a three day fete. Saturday, Sunday, Monday, three days of the Easter period in the place that later came to be Kimara Ushirika Club. It was not ushirika by then and the minister of education at that time I don’t remember his name and another minister came to open this fete and we made something like thirty thousand shillings. It was a lot of money at that time, in 1981. This money was banked; then we had a charity walk from Kilimanjaro Hotel to Kimara, this made another twenty two thousand Tanzanian shillings. I went alone to open the account for the school and bank all the money, as I didn’t have a Committee at that time.

Now, one day I was surprised when somebody came here and told me, “White lady, the bank through the manager is calling you.” So I went and I was told that some people went there and introduced themselves as Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and so and so, of my school. He gave me the names and I said yah I knew the people. But that money had been banked in 1981, the minutes of the meeting that they took to him were for a 1983 meeting, and my name was not there. I said I didn’t mind and if they wanted the money, they could have it; but that money did not belong to the committee, but belonged to the school. There was also some money that was paid by an Indian company in Dar es Salaam I am sorry I can’t remember the name any more. But this company was in Pugu Road and is still there. The bank manager called the bank advocate, or whatever he was, and the advocate refused to release the money unless I signed their documents. I said I was not going to sign anything when I was alone there. Those people should have come to me, because I gave them the school to run. We were supposed to sit together and talk on how we could build that school because I had an idea of a primary school. But I had discovered that I was excluded.

Then there was in the Kinondoni-Magomeni office, a certain army officer, he was senior at that time, he was not the Area Commissioner. But he was senior somehow, because he came to hold a meeting in Kimara in respect of this school. They held the meeting at Mavurunza School. They called all the students, all the people from the market. They called me. When I went there I found about ten to twenty people, who backed me up. They had called this meeting specifically to ask me who I was to close that account. I said I was the one who started the school in my bedroom. I should have reared pigs instead of their children! Then I asked them if that was why they called me, because they were supposed to be running the school. So this lieutenant, I think he was a lieutenant, he talked a lot of bad things against me. I was not happy after that. Eventually after some years this man was arrested because he had so many houses. He was a CCM somebody senior in Kinondoni.

Okay, then we split. I used to have teachers trained in Tanga. I was sending them there. So these people took these teachers. I said okay, if I started then I shall continue. They didn't take the building, but they took some of the children. How many children did they take? Okay, I lost a battle and not the war. We continued. We never closed because what happened is that they started the second school with the same name assisted by the Rotary Club. It was on the other side of the road at a petrol station. I believe they have sold that house now. That is where they had their school.

I had the classrooms here, so I just continued with those children that were here. Now concerning my school, I was in the church, and I didn't have a Committee. At their school, everybody was there. Now, there was this tug of war about the name. I was not bothered, it was called Kimara Nursery School. So I was not bothered who used it. Then eventually I changed it to Greens Nursery School. And this nursery school continued from 1985 to 2001 when I closed it and said now I am old. The parents still ask me about it. But now I can't do it because I don't have eyes any more. That is one of the things to show that we can't work together when there is money involved.

The disputed money was rotting in the bank. Nobody took it because they didn't want to come and talk to me, so that we could go together to get that money. The other reason why they did that was, there was a lot of help coming from Germany and Holland, because there were a lot of friends of mine. I even opened a typing school in my house because I got typewriters. There was a garage there, but now people are living in it. I opened a typing school. This typing school became too big instead of having ten people I had about hundred with only ten machines. So one hour get out, one hour get out and I was getting too tired. While the nursery school still in operation, I started a school for carpentry and sewing, which was only for women. They were taught how to make tables and chairs, and all the tools came from Germany. And there was a fundi to teach them. I think men came later. The people here were telling me, "No White Lady, not women only." So men came later. Also people started their own sewing businesses after leaving here. I gave them certificates I had registered the school and the certificates were signed. I was that type of person. I love starting something. When I get tired of it, like now, somebody else must take it up.

So what I did with this school was, I called a meeting of the parents and told them, "You parents of Kimara, I want you to take this school." They said, "But Mama Mzungu, please will you remain here?" I answered, "Yes, I will remain here. But not as head or owner of the school. Just on the side."

Then the primary school was born. There was a committee. And again with the primary school there was the same problem because when Hon. Warioba was the Minister of Justice, he came here to lay the foundation stone of the primary school and said, "Those living near the school should leave. The area belongs to the school." This is without knowing the history of this place. Then they built a house for teachers. These cheap houses from a company called

Blue. They made the children bring so much money telling them that the President would come and open that house. The President never came because I went to the President, the one before the present one, to complain, that I was feeling like I was in South Africa again. I had come here as a refugee, I became a citizen I built my own house and now I am told the house is not mine it belonged to the school that I started.

That was on the 6th of June 1991, and on 10th of June the police came with the Chairman, Secretary, Chairman of CCM with Area Commissioner, the Headmaster and the Minister of Education. The Area Commissioner was given my documents that I had to run around to look for. I asked them to please come and measure my area; but it was never done and I had been here since 1964, that was 1991, and I couldn't run any more. So the Area Commissioner was told that the place had to be measured and a title deed issued to me. It was on 10th of June 1991. After that I don't know what happened. Then suddenly I was told to take cement to City Council, Oysterbay near St. Peters Church but on this side of the road, behind the petrol station. The City Council land office used to be there before. So I took the cement there. They made these stones and they came with them, sometime in July. They brought eight stones, but they put four stones in position, then the man known as Mr. Kiwelu took the remaining four stones, put them in his vehicle and told the young boys that I had put outside there that, "This lady cannot get her title deed, because she has no money." He was going to drive off when I went to the car and I removed those stones. I still have them. I told him that it was my property, my money! And he went away and never came back.

In 1992 I went for the follow up. I went to the President I couldn't see the President. I remained at the gate. I never went far. In, I think it was two thousand and something, I heard that the city council's office was relocated to Mwananyamala. So I went with my tenant, he is also now late, to that office to find out what happened because until today I have not as yet received my Title Deed or anything. Then this man said I could not get my Title deed because I abused the Area Commissioner causing her transferring, Eeee! So, it was because of this case of mine! This woman had received a letter, I got the copies of these letters, from the Secretary of the President at the State House, that she had to do this, that, and the other, and nothing was done. This woman was transferred to the Masai region. She was married to somebody.

There was this man who was the head of the City Council, called Bwana Baruti. He was also removed from Dar es Salaam to Arusha. I didn't know this, and I didn't abuse anybody. What I did, we called a meeting here and when, myself, the late boy that was in this house wanted to ask questions, they said that the Area Commissioner was very busy and she was in a hurry, because she was going to another meeting. They left, they were over thirteen people. I was left feeling sorry for myself, and the only place I could get comfort was in a bar. So I went in the bar and there was this long table, and there were these people from the meeting. Goat's meat, beer and what have you! They couldn't listen to our questions because they were in a hurry to drink the beer that they were being given by the people who were trying to get me out of the school. So I told this to the President. I said, "I tried to ask some questions, the Area Commissioner refused to answer me. I was told she was very busy and when I went to a bar I found them sitting. I am sorry, but you can ask them if its true or not." Whereas all what I had said to the President, he sent out his feelers. As far as the school is concerned, who came first? This lady or the school? And this Area Commissioner convened a meeting there and the house was built on somebody's plantation not yet bought, just like that. This is not my fault if she was transferred.

So that is the story of the school. But the school is there to date. This school and another one down there if you stand up you can see it, it generated another school in remote Mavurunza. The school is still there and it is still sometimes known, if you asked any children where they are schooling? The answer will be, I study at Mama Mzungu's school.

Mama Mzungu does not have a school, but the school is there. And everybody knows, that is why the Area Commissioner was told that, my place must never be entered by anybody. They went to question people in Kimara, as who built this school. I personally, I am happy that it happened the way it did because it made me very strong.

I had to fight by myself to live here as a woman. This is the third year since this place was fenced. The place was open. I was beaten up inside my house because of this school. I was imprisoned, I slept in Magomeni police station cell because of this church. Somebody bought the place and I said this place belongs to the Church. He went to accuse me of stealing sand. The day of the case, the magistrate asked where was the sand? You didn't come with exhibit. This person built how many houses with this quantity of sand? So the case was dismissed.

You see, in South Africa I fought the Boers, here in Tanzania I am fighting my neighbours. But they love me to these days. I don't have enemies here. Last year I wanted to sell my place and go back to South Africa and leave Tanzania. But, everybody, starting with our Kimara African Church, and neighbours came here and asked me if I want to go and die earlier in South Africa. And really I would have died earlier because I can't work in an open space like this in South Africa. It is not possible. Ask Professor he once lived in South Africa. We are so enclosed that you don't even know your neighbour.

I am back, across the road there is an outstation, so they put me in a committee to start a library and we are opening it on Monday. A Library for Kimara- Korogwe people; actually it is for everybody who wants to come and read. I am telling them I can't work anymore because I don't have eyes the same as you. They told me that I could just work with my mind and mouth. I am so good with my mouth.

When I was in charge of the women section of PAC, I built a hospital for women and children in Masuguru in our camp with the help from Germany. The money came from Germany. That place has now been taken over, I think by the Tanzania Police. It was given to the Tanzania Police because ANC facilities in Morogoro had been handed over to the Tanzania People's Defense Army. I don't think we could live in a country for ten years and do nothing for that country which had taken such good care of us. We had so much happy moments here. I remember so many happy days. From the time I came, when I set my foot in Tanganyika, in January 1960, to date, I have received help from a lot of people. So in my own little way I have tried to help. Hence, this is a little bit of what I did here.

I changed ideas last year, I was supposed to pay up and give away the sofas, TVs and whatever. So I asked them, "Come and take your money in December. I will pay everybody their money back by January. I am through now. I am going to South Africa." Then I thought, "I have my sisters and brothers there, in laws, brothers and sisters in law. Okay I will go, I am the eldest, they take me to shops, they take me everywhere, I get a ride. Here I use my own legs. But I am much happier here than I am there." I decide that I was not going anywhere.

I am going to try again next year in November. I am going to go again. and stay for six months if I can manage, because I was there for two months, I stayed in place that almost made me cry. I literally cried for the whole day in my brother's compound, because I wanted to come back to Tanzania. Therefore, my dear friends. Professor I can call him my young brother because in January I am going to be 78 years old, and I was 29 when I left South Africa. I was 30 years old, in January 1960, in Tanganyika. So that is how many years? Forty eight years I have been here, and you can see it is not really easy to leave.

Yesterday I told them that there was no nursery school across the road there and that the library area was too big. So on Sunday, in the church, they must announce that we are looking for a nursery school teacher. I was a teacher and I left teaching because of UPE. I asked what was UPE in Tanzania, Universal Primary Education in Tanzania what was it? And I was told a child would go to school towards the end of the year and get promoted to next class. And I asked, "Children, five, ten, fifteen of them just go to the next class, even if you don't understand a thing? But that child will go with that blank head to standard seven. And that is where this child is going to end because he has not been helped, all along." The policy in South Africa, at the time I was staying there as a teacher, was that you train for five years, the last two years you are taught child psychology. You look at a child you see what kind of a house a child comes from. May be the child is scared. Coming from a house where the father is always shouting and mama is quiet; the child becomes abusive. You could see where a child came from, so you handle a child accordingly. Here I discovered, in the school I where I taught, in the Salvatorian Convent, that we were very strict, because most of the teachers there were from South African convents, and it was a new school, where most of the students were government officials' children. Even in the 1964 mutiny we were there.

At an ordinary school, like say ya Manzese or even Kimara, how do you allow that child to go on? That child doesn't know anything and hasn't grasped anything. The teacher has no time to check on them. In my case I would always check on the children; that is why the parents put them in school. Help a child that is slow. That is what I did in my nursery school. By the time my children left to go to primary school they could read up to standard three books. As a result, I got a letter from the city council telling me not to teach children like that. I couldn't sit and play with children the whole day. Their parents are paying for them to be educated so that when they go to a primary school they should be able to cope. So, that is why I left teaching in 1964. After building my house, and having nothing to do, the next thing that came to my mind was to start a school. Those days the idea was just to put a lot benches and you start your school; as the government was not strict in the registration. But my school was registered by the government, and I was given the certificate of management. Therefore, that is as much as I can say and I am now open to your questions.

On how it was possible for Mama Mzungu to manage all of her activities, she explained as follows: I like to give examples of that lady. She is married, she has children, she has her husband in her home. Let us ask ourselves how she does it. Sitting here in Mama Mzungu place doing these jobs. How does she do her husband's job at home? You see when you decide to do something you sort it out, and it works out itself. It evolves itself automatically, and you find out that do what you want to do. There was time for this, and there was time for that. Not forgetting that I was also working in the Church. For instance our Catholic Church at Msewe built a church in Kwembe and I was a secretary for St. Vincent. I go with padre on the day he goes to make mass at Kwembe and then he leaves me there, he doesn't wait for me. So I conduct my meetings, look for the poor people who don't have homes, whether they are Christians or Moslems, and church people take me to visit them, then I come back. Now how do I get money because, personally I don't have money. I didn't get salary when I was working with the PAC office. But I was looking for money to take care of the poor people and I got it. How I got it, I have one belief. That is God provides, He makes everything possible. So when I was in politics in PAC, and I was taken to Ruvu. Ruvu was very far. The road was very bad. We could not go and come back on the same day. You go and sleep there. There were mosquitoes the size of a donkey! It is in remote Ruvu, in the interior. Besides, there was no electricity and sometimes we had sick people there. We had a landrover that worked one day and following day it did not work. Sometimes you are asked, "Mother come to the camp. We have a woman who has to give birth this month." You have to

go to get them out of the place. Even male ones, we used to have funerals and we had to go and bury the dead there. But that did not mean that I could forget the other jobs. Okay death comes suddenly, but he doesn't die and you bury him there and then. That is the nice thing about death; you take at least two or three days to make sure he is dead. And you people must not bury me that same day because I might wake up in the coffin. Yeah you must take at least four days wait for me. We women we seem to have more strength than men, but we seem not to appreciate ourselves. I was in the bus two days ago and some students were arguing, asking questions and then one of them just shook my brain. When he said, "Even myself I did not go very far in studies." I said to him, "Why do you let yourself down who asked you if you went to school or not." In the bus, you know everybody laughed. I said, "You don't catch your own tail, let somebody else do that. Mtu mwingine akueleze wewe hujasoma. Then you can answer him. But you don't say it yourself." You know a lot of people, before I got out of the bus, said, "Thank you Mother. Today we have got something new to think about." I am not going to tell somebody, I can't do that you see. I believe that God gave us everything free; the hammer, the torch, the engine and whatever. It is how we use it. Sasa if you have been given, something and it is broken, then it is simple. I can take some glue or something and I can fit it together. I have two examples of Mariam, a picture fell off the wall and I asked why the picture was on the table. She responded that it needed to be taken to a carpenter to be fixed. So I took it with my own bad eyes I looked at it and discovered that the frame was loose. I asked her to bring a hammer, I knocked it all together, and it was alright. I gave it back to her. I said I don't have eyes you have eyes. Therefore, at your place everything must be taken to a carpenter when you can do it yourself! So we make time for everything, because we were given one day, it was morning, afternoon and evening. If you want to make use of your night you are welcome, do it at your own time. But night usually is for sleeping. But a lot people work, so that they finish their work. I must finish to night. You university people you make time. There must be time. But make time. It is very important for you, for the country and for everybody else around you.

Yeah, those nurses. I told you they didn't come as refugees. I told you here. I told you those didn't come from political parties ila ANC iliwadaka na kumpa President Nyerere baada ya uhuru wa Tanganyika. The twenty one nurses were taken from their jobs. Passports were given to them and nauli was paid for them, but they were not politicians. But Mama Madenge developed in to a politician because of the husband. Her husband was at one time Area Commissioner for Arusha, then Bagamoyo. Yeah, so she developed politics.

As for Mama Shabani I don't know if they were told not to involve themselves in politics while they were civil servants., I am not sure, I can't answer that question. But usually civil servants are not allowed to take part in politics. So you have seen her?

Rose Jerry is in the South African Embassy. She came specifically for three years to work in the embassy. She came last year. She was one of those who lived here. When she arrived she asked everybody where she could contact Mama Kimara. Because that is where she was taught politics .She visits me when she gets time. But I see her when I go there or she phones. She is the one who did my visa for me. I sat in the office she took the passport and went, did a visa. Otherwise I would have had to wait for three four days for the visa. I am sure she will speak to you. You saw her? She was in PAC, I don't know now. They integrated, but at heart I am still PAC.

When I came here these young people who came to live with me were all from PAC, but eventually there were others who came from ANC and joined PAC. There was this cross over business. We had a big crowd, but we also had boys that came from ANC and joined PAC. There were no camps at that time, big enough to take all the students, that is one. Number two, we didn't want to put them with old cadres that had been here since 1961.



The government has organizations. And organizations like Christian Council of Tanganyika, Tanzania Christian Council, and Lutheran Church. were all dealing with refugees because that was before United Nations took part in the refugee business. Christian Council took the responsibility from the 1960s.

I did not have to report their arrival. When they got into the country, the Minister of Foreign Affairs or Home Affairs, or whoever, was there to receive them. They were all registered at the Ministry of Home Affairs, I think, and all were issued with IDs as refugees. They all had refugee status. And then after that when everything was cleared, of course, all was done on the same day. So then we had to find a place and at that time I only had housing at Kimara.

I remember Mr. Mmari, the one running a shop here at the Church; one of our comrades who died in his house was ex-ANC and, they stayed in his house I think for two years. By then before those two years, we got houses in Kona hapo and Baruti and we had a house here of Mkini. Here, just behind Yuda. We were quite a few. We had one who was staying with Mkini, somebody stabbed him with a knife in a bar and the whole intestine was out; and I was somewhere in the house, they came running to me. I told them that I was not going out, but they should go and tie up his stomach with a kanga and take him to the hospital. I didn't want to see it. Mkini is still alive, and he is still here in Kimara. He is here but also he is also in Mwenge where his ex-wife had a house. There were a lot of houses in Kimara housing PAC. The whole of Kimara knew PAC because we ruled in Kimara.

I was the one who lived here in Kimara first because I had the first house here. And from the time the organizations started their offices I was always there. Even before I came here I lived in Keko. So I had comrades who were living with me in Keko. Before I lived in Keko I lived in Kurasini. And I had comrades, young comrades living with me in Kurasini. So ever since they started I was there as I came here before them and this was some how giving them confidence that they had a mama here. The sequence is Kurasini, Keko, Kimara. Because here it was not, in my house here, it was not only PAC members. It was members of all organizations. UNIP, from Sudan, from Ethiopia, from all over. Yes, members from all their organizations lived with me.

This was because, before the PAC became very strong we were under Tanzania Christian Council. So Tanzania Christian Council paid rent for me in Kurasini and Keko. So when I got this place, Tanzania Christian Council came here. I had a place first built by trees. So trees were already tightened up by strings and what not. So I didn't have money to buy iron sheet. And Christian Council did not know that. I was taking the rent they were paying me to build here and then Keko I had put people in the house and I was getting rent from there. So I needed to use my brains there. So I got a lot of rent from the people who were renting with my furniture and everything. And Christian Council was paying monthly so I was using this place.

When it came to putting iron sheet, these were too expensive, so I went and asked for help. They were shocked. Two Europeans and two Africans came from the Christian Council to see about what I had told them. One of them was the late Suleiman Kalulu. They said what I was showing them was not a house. They asked, "What are these sticks for?" Then the two African members explained to them how some houses in Tanzania, especially in Kariakoo, were built. They were reluctant to help me, but then these brothers managed to convince them that I had lost a lot of money already on that structure, and if they did not help me, I was going to lose everything.

## Jambwari, Mzee Mohamed; Monica Mate; Joseph Mussa; and Gaudence Vicent Abdallah

[Morogoro; May 2007]

*Mzee Mohamed Jambwari, Monica Mate, Joseph Mussa, were workers at the Mazimbu Centre, Morogoro, which was the major centre for South African freedom fighters. They narrate the way they collaborated, by then, with freedom fighters and the close relationships that existed between Tanzanian workers, freedom fighters and the Tanzanian Governments. In their narratives, it also becomes evident that the existed collaboration governed much of their relationships more than the pay which was very low comparing to the nature of work they used to discharge. But also on the other hand, these Tanzanian workers gained a lot in terms of studies in various skills, such as nursing, house construction, store keeping, medicine, teaching and so on and so forth. The knowledge acquired liberated them economically and socially. Gaudence Vicent Abdallah used to work in the store where he was an expert. He did not differ in his narrative from what his fellow workers said, he got a chance of learning sewing and continued to use the skills in Mazimbu.*

### Mzee Mohamed Jambwari

I am Mohamed Jambwari, hailing from Mlali. I came to Morogoro and lived in Mji Mpya. After living in Mji Mpya, I started getting acquainted with our brothers Freedom Fighters. They were staying in Kihonda and their Radio Call was in Mafisa. There was one Comrade, a specialist in Radio, whose name was Mtaki. Let us put it this way, Fish and Idi were also Radio call experts. Their office was in Morogoro, and in Masika that is where their radio was. Their store was in Bigwa and the small one was in Kihonda. They had houses in Morogoro around Homa, Savoy Hotel, Mafisa, Kihonda and even stayed in Mtoni.

Then, in 1979 while in Mazimbu, I came to know about their history when I was in Morogoro Town before their coming to Mazimbu. During that period, I was in Mazimbu working for Arnatoglo, earning a salary of 30 shillings and used to transport sisal without a permit. In the year nineteen sixty, we acceded to autonomy; capitalists started to get worried. They used to say: “these Africans have already managed to get autonomy, very soon they will accede to independence but we shall stay here, aaah! We won’t be able to go away with our money”. They started erecting bill boards announcing sale of their plantations. The Anartoglo plantation was bought by one Fazal Kasam. He was Indian. Fazal Kasam bought the plantation in 1964. He only knew to harvest; weeding was none of his business and in the advent of a fire outbreak, it would burn haphazardly. He had debts, and the Bank seized the plantation. It went on like that until when came one Hindu called Bijo who took over the plantation through an exploration contract.

When it was time to nationalize, I remember it was one Saturday while waiting for our pay. At six, we saw Field Force Police coming while we were drying sisal. They alighted from their vehicle with a big bang and we started shivering. We started asking ourselves what wrong had we done? We stayed for almost half an hour asking ourselves whether we were going to be beaten. But we kept on working. After a while, they ordered us to put off the machines. We put off the machines. They started telling us not to worry that we should work without any fears. The plantations had become ours, all the property were now ours, we Africans. Everyone should stay in their section. We managed the plantation and after almost one week, they brought a Manager from Tanga. His name was Juma Swedi. He

was from the Nyambwezi tribe and was appointed as our Manager. His residence was in Mwembeni. We managed the plantation together and later on came another Manager. The former manager was transferred to Kibaigwa. With him, we continued and was in his turn transferred to Madoto. They brought us another Manager, this one was called Mnemba. We also worked with him and towards the last period he convened a meeting. He told us that the following day morning we were not going to work but rather we would be having a meeting.

And at two, when we entered the office, he told us that the plantation had been put into the hands of freedom fighters. So, what was there to be done, everyone was to choose what plantation to join because all the plantations were repossessed by the Government. If one wished to go to Tanga, Ngerengere, Kilosa; one had just to chose. If one was not willing, they were likely to loose all their entitlements. Henceforth, I, Mohamed Jambwali, chose to join Kilosa Kimamba Fibres, because rice farming was flourishing in that area.

What made me remain behind is my knowledge of the plantation. When the ANC and Oliver Tambo came here, they were six of them. Oliver Tambo told Mrs. Anna Abdallah: "All the workers are leaving, but who knows the environment of this place? Manager Mnembe replied: "There is one Mzee Jambwali, he knows this place. He is a long time resident of this area, hence, he knows all the sisal plantation in and out, from start to end." Then Mrs. Anna Abdallah asked for me; then I was called. When I entered the office, Mrs. Anna Abdallah said to me: "Good morning Father." I replied back " Good morning Mrs." Mrs. Abdalla continued saying: "So Father, concerning the issue of transfer, you, you cannot go. Stay behind with our brothers freedom fighters." I accepted. The manager told them that I was not a learnt person but I was born with empirical knowledge. After that, they left. Railway handcars, sisal pulping mills, all the things belonging to the plantation including keys, were handed over to me. They used to send vehicles to fetch railway handcars when there was need of two or three of them in Kilosa and the Manager would write to me. The driver would come for them.

Freedom fighters used to pay me three hundred shillings per month. I noticed that there was a bit of money, working with freedom fighters. Management told me that for my salary I should go there. When it was month end, I would go and collect my salary from there. We went on like that until one Denis told me, look, we have been entrusted with this place. Now, for burial purpose if someone died, where are going to bury them? I told him, let us go. I took them to a cemetery where were buried Tanzanians. I showed them and told them, you see this forest, here lie Tanzanians of Nyamwezi and Sukuma tribes. Because the colonialists divided us: Yao people in their camp, Lugurus in theirs; Makondes in theirs. I showed him the cemetery and told him we should erect a wall to separate them so that they don't mix. We decided to do so when we will start burying people. After some time a certain gentleman passed away. After this death, Denis asked me where to bury him. I directed him straight away and showed him where to bury the dead, and we started burial proceedings. Later on died a journalist working for Oliver Tambo; he died in Germany, but before dying he asked to be buried in Mazimbu where are buried his fellow Africans. He was white, but didn't want to be buried in Europe but wanted to be buried in Mazimbu. His body was brought and buried here.

Then started coming bodies for burial of people involved in car accidents, children were also buried here, until the day they departed from here. For the first convoy, they traveled safely, but during the second one a major accident happened involving a lorry and a small bus. Fourteen children died including the driver; all of them lost their lives. That is death in vehicle accidents. What they did, they took the bodies to be buried in South Africa. The bodies were taken to the old Airport and transported. Denis left me with a photograph of the fourteenn deceased. I still have the photograph till today. Convoys continued up to the

last one.

After that the Ministry took over the plantation and after taking over, it was later officially handed over by Oliver Tambo to Mwinyi. Oliver Tambo was sick, he could not even finish his speech. The speech was concluded by one Comrade called Mkwawa, a tall fellow. He is the one who read his last speech. In the speech, Tambo told President Mwinyi, “We were given this Old man and we lived very well with him, he never stole anything from us until this day, we are handing over everything and leaving but what we ask you is to keep him here and give him something to do”. Then President Mwinyi thanked me and said: “Father, the work you discharged was very well done, you made the whole of Tanzania proud. Since you worked with them for a long period but never got attempted to steal anything, you did set a good example”. So, I continued with them till they all left and handed over the camp.

Then Dr. Fungo was brought and became the Head of Mazimbu. So, we continued with him, until such a time they invited Mwalimu Nyerere and gave him a Degree which he accepted. They agreed to be given the facility. After staying for almost two months, Dkt. Fungo from the Ministry called us for a meeting, and bid us farewell and the new in charge of the camp was going to be Mosha. He is the one who was going to be our Head there. When we asked him about our fate, he said everything was going to be handled there because it was the Government that was in charge. We continued working with Mosha, Head of the camp. We worked with him and later on he paid us our money, he paid us our entitlements and we continued working with them. We continued working and when our time to retire was up, we did retire.

I am here till now because of SUA’s Muslims. They asked me: “Old man why is there no Mosque inside the camp, what should we do?” Me in the company of Dr. Fungo told them that the Mosque that was here was demolished by freedom fighters, the best we could do was to transform one class into a Mosque. Then Dr. Fungo decided that we should take the last classroom and make it a Mosque. He told me that I was the one to clean it and put water for Muslims. I would get your sustenance from this occupation. Thus, I am still here and when a freedom fighter comes here to visit, I get called. They tell me, old man, a freedom fighter has come, go and show him around. Most of them come on their own, not officially. I take them around and tell them here lies your brother so and so. At the end of the tour, they give me a tip and I put it in my pocket.

## Monica Mate

I am called Monica Mate. The name Mate was my husband's name which I used when studying at one Nursing School. Even on my Certificate, that is the name that appears. My opinion on the liberation struggle of Southern Africa, is that many of us participated in a way or another, by carrying out various productive tasks reaching the climax of our liberation and South Africa acceding to independence. Many courses were offered; there were courses for teachers, doctors, nurses, farmers and technicians of different calibers but all of us collaborated towards a common objective; to build relationships within the framework of the struggle of Southern Africa.

As regards education, a lot of people benefited from it. For instance, someone who only reached class 7, was able to continue studying. If they did not know to read at all, they would start from class one. Among the teachers we had, there was one Mzee Tunga, and the other one was called Mr. Twide Mate, my husband. They would come and teach us. Others were confined to the garage repairing cars, but all of us were fired by the same objective for; we all used these same vehicles. I am a nurse, I work at an Hospital and attend to all public, but the objective was the same, to carry out the struggle. Farmers were busy with agricultural matters, but for all of us the objective was the same, we eat in order to gain strength from the work done by them. But for all of us, the objective was the same. For all the different sections, the objective was the same, to fight for liberation until reaching this sublime objective.

So, we lived in peace and collaboration until our brothers left. For instance, they had planned for me to go and work in South Africa. But unfortunately, when my husband went to South Africa, he died there. He had asked me to stay behind and would come back for me because we could not all leave when they were returning back home. He was from South Africa and had left the country many years ago, he did not even know where he was going to stay. So he left me with my parents. That is the reason why I stayed here, but they had set aside an employment post for me so that we continue carrying out liberation activities while in South Afrika.

That is why I used to work without payment following information I used to get regarding independence struggle; its meaning, until I understood and decided to join their army. So, I joined their army until independence was attained through various and different ways, through contributing to freedom fighters of South Africa.

Surely, they returned to South Africa and after independence, they stayed there. Even some of my friends I was with, all of them went back to South Africa in 1994 and ever since, it is not known where they are. My progression from primary school up to becoming a nurse was good and it constitutes liberation for me. That was progress from SOMAFCO. Freedom did not mean only to fight for independence because one cannot be free if they cannot get medical care when sick.

Selling the food they were growing, they were not selling, instead they were sending it to the front. They used to send a lot of different things such as furniture to different camps and we also used to get at times some for our own use and in some other instances they would sell some of them. But as I said, our objective was the same; to collaborate as far as the liberation struggle for Southern Africa Countries was concerned.

In general, no military training was conducted here, only military staff used to live here and for training purpose they would do it in Tanzanian's military camps such as Kitete or in some other places. Some used to go for training because there was in general a kind of complementarity between military policies and production ones. For instance, students who came from South Africa to Mazimbu and who were interested in pursuing their studies, were sent to the battle fields. A case in point is this man called Solomon. He was a student, but later on he joined the army and got

caught on the battle ground and was hanged. Henceforth, there was some interaction, even here people used to leave for a certain period and after some time they would come back and saying they were very tired meaning they were training; even by merely looking at them, they were completely different from the way they looked like before leaving.

## Joseph Mussa

I am called Joseph Mussa. That is the name I used while working here in Mazimbu. I am going to talk first about Mazimbu the way I found it, gains and losses I incurred because among the victims, I can say that Tanzanians are victims just like the freedom fighters themselves.

I started working here in 1979, digging sisal. During that period, we didn't start as employees, no. We used to come and perform only this assignment. You discharge the assignment, you get paid. Others were given food. Those were principles by then.

In 1980, official activities started in earnest. A foundation was started in Copenhagen and another one in Birmingham. Contractors were taken to Mazimbu for building purpose. During that period, we had not as yet started working officially. They took contractors from town and went to build those houses. Number one, they started dealing with the foundation by taking measurements (Unit one) including other issues. While in Mazimbu, the freedom fighters came to take us because something had happened. There was a bridge that had collapsed, it had rained a lot and the bridge was washed away. It was a wooden bridge belonging to the Sisal Authority. Then it collapsed after heavy rains. We were taken there to work as labourers. We were not yet recruited meaning no one was assigned in a particular section of employment. It is not like someone was recruited and was paid a fixed salary, no. We carried out the bridge building activities under one constructor from Germany.

When the bridge was complete then started proper recruitment. We started being taken first, those of us who did the bridge construction, including those who were on site. We indulged into administrative; signifying that you are recruited. Some were channeled to construction, others to plantation activities, others to supplies and the system started to be on a fortnight (two weeks) basis. During that time, our salary was five hundred and forty shillings. So, we continued working without any agreements, and went on until towards the end of the year nineteen eighty three, when we had finished construction here, we were transferred to another section. For instance, I went to the electricity section, to dig and erect poles.

In 1983, the Union of Workers was created. Actually it was in existence since 1982 and was operational under leaders, the Union used to lead without elections. In 1983 towards 1984, elections were organized. I was elected Chairman of the Union of Workers, to be the spokesman of workers working in the Mazimbu camp.

I was Spokesman of Tanzanian workers, at the same time the notion of fortnight was something created by the ANC. They told us that they had no income and the plantation was given to them as a gift from the United Nations, therefore in order adjust our salaries, they had to talk with the UN and see what they could do. The UN statement came out, stating that we were entitled to a salary, they paid us village salary, and during that period I was elected Chairman. We decided to hold a meeting with them claiming that the salary they paid us was village salary, and our lives was town life. We held the meeting and agreed that the case should be subjected to a study. Regional leaders came and together concluded that Mazimbu was a town and not a village. We tried to rectify the scheme and during the exercise, we were put under the private sector salary regime and not under the Government's one. You know, as far as salary for private people was concerned, attention was given to those with an income and those who had none. Henceforth, we, we had no pension.

We agreed that they should look after us; we had nothing and also we should consider the fact that these were freedom fighters, we should help them financially and in kind. We

continued with them and started behaving like freedom fighters. They took us as their own, even if they did not give us some supply like the way they used to do it for themselves, but come December of every year end, they would try to give something, things such clothes. So, for us we lived with them as brothers. So, that is how I was and that is what was happening.

I shall talk about my own experience and what was happening. When came the year 1985, during that time I had another profession all together and decided to come here due to job scarcity. I came here and told them that I had gone through a Course on Stores, then I was asking for a store's job. Then, they said to me that they had no such opening, they were going to post me elsewhere. So, in 1985, they interviewed me, the truth is that there was good understanding between us. When I say we understood one another I mean to say that we tried to stay with them and they would feel sorry because whatever they asked we accepted.

They would reach a point and feel sorry. They announced that anyone wanting to further their education should come forward and they would offer an opportunity. They chose people from supplies, from electricity, from garage, from kitchens; they said those who were eager to further their professional education; those wanting to learn driving should go, those wanting garage should to, anyone interested in construction, they all should go to learn. Among those who benefited I for one, did benefit because when they had fixed the announcement in the store office, I told them I wanted to work in the store but they should set aside time to work and time to study. So, the two of us were taken from electricity. And one Nelson Damas was also in electricity. They took us to the Construction Institute to learn about electricity matters. When we finished there, we started providing domestic services to houses. We did wiring to houses with numbers three, four, five and six. We did wiring in those houses. These are the benefits I gained, that is why I said that I will talk about gains and history in general.

Coming to the history of my leadership, when we were living with those gentlemen, there are things we used to agree upon and for others, agreement was achieved through pressure and amicable agreement because of the kindness they used to show us. For instance, salary increase, this is something they used to give us voluntarily, it was done following the country leadership's pressure after telling us "look here, these people have an income. When you ask them that your salaries be similar to those of Tanzanians' workers, you will hurt them because they get their money from the United Nations. It is money according to them meant for food, henceforth when they share it with you it is as if they were just paying you some kind of allowance to help you."

They would also try to advise us on certain issues, telling us we were together and considered us as fellow victims in the liberation struggle, therefore when they ask us to do this or that for them, we should not think that they will later abandon us. Once they manage to accede to independence, we will be together, they will not forget us. So, they asked us to work as if we were helping them, and we should accept as if we were feeling sorry for them as long as we understand that when they will achieve their independence we won't be very far from them because we were affected as they were.

Therefore, a lot of things started to get done from that stage. So, we would enter into agreement with them, on mercy basis and through understanding. We carried out those electrical works until the year 1990. Then, information started coming that we should get ready because things were about to take a different turn; anytime from there, those gentlemen would return home. We got information from our Government, and said, fine. Luckily, themselves out of their kindness, called a meeting and said "Dear brothers, we don't know when we will be leaving, how we will leave but we want to bid farewell to you". They called us, we talked and bid farewell to one another. Among the things they told us, it was a wish that went on as follows: Now, we are leaving, but what we want to ask you, please there is nothing we can give you that will satisfy you. We put this to you before anything, because things we have here is just assistance we got, hence you will see the difference. We ask for your kindness.

## Gaudence Vincent Abdallah

I am called Comrade Gaudence Vincet Abdallah. When Freedom fighters came here to fight for independence, I was here in Bigwa handling Store's business. I was in charge of cleaning the store and outside surroundings and at times I would take some of their stuffs to Mazimbu, things such as clothes and food. These freedom fighters came here around the seventies and used to make things as you can see here, they built a depot to store their food and clothes. They used to keep their things here and their activities were carried out in Mazimbu. They would take their things and carry them there, once they were finished, they would take stuffs from there and bring them here or to town; there was another godown. I used to work in the godown mostly during rainy seasons.

When they were making the roof using iron sheets, I was there because I am resident of this place, Bigwa. Fenceforth, I was there but did not participate in making the roof, maybe in placing windows. The owner of this house was a lady called Mama Avelina. She lives in town. She is the one who had leased her house and during that period I got another lady who told her that there was a lady called Manyavunyavu ready to pay house rent of Shillings Four Thousand per month. After renting this house to them and after acceding to independence, they left and released the house to its owner.

There were freedom fighters from South Africa the like of Msumina Manyavunyavu, Masonde, Charles and Zulile. All of them used to live here except Manyavunyavu who lived in Mazimbu. This store was used maybe until the year nineteen eighty nine. After that they left these shackles the way they were. Even if they were not using it as part of the store, they continued carrying out their activities there and when time came, they handed it over to its owner. Because they were not using Masika's office until they left, but before leaving they maintained it, and here nothing like that was done, they just left leaving everything like it was. Hence, the landlady of the house I don't how they settled their accounts. Since those people left, nobody ever came back to tour their former memorial settlement. Actually you are the first one to come and check, no body has ever since come before as you are rightly putting it.

The reason about my getting a job here is that they were freedom fighters here and one of them called Masonde loved very much to visit neighbours. After seeing me he said "My friend let us go there for you to do some menial works because we don't have anyone to do them". He is the one who brought me here to work. Hence, during the time Mr. Masonde was living here, he would come and visit neighbours. Mr. Masonde knew very well to speak Kiswahili. He would understand me and I would understand him as well. They used to say that before coming to the camp, he was living in Magadu.

In Magadu that is where he managed to learn a lot of Kiswahili until such a time he came here in Bigwa in the 1970's, he already knew Kiswahili and could properly talk with neighbours because of the experience he acquired in Magadu. In Magadu, in reality, I don't know of any history of someone who might have lived with him.

When they left this store, I was with another fellow worker called Charles, he told me to go with him to Mazimbu to do sewing because they had already acquired a sewing machine. In reality, it was tough to know how to operate it. In Mazimbu, I was in the sewing section. They used to come with their old garments up to the tailoring mart for repair.

We were a lot of Tanzanians maybe more in numbers than Zambians. Some of us were in carpentry. Tanzanians, we were quite many. I for one, according to the contract I had, which stipulated that at each month end I had to be paid there and then. I was recruited and was enrolled in the NPF scheme, until such a time they left and paid us our terminal benefits and other payments and we separated our ways. That is why we are here. Those were terminal benefits



from them not the kind of benefits given to thank someone about. But to say that the benefits were high, I cannot say that. Our NPF benefits, we got them. Frandly speaking, I cannot say anything maybe to those who had promised to bring us presents or some kind of allowances, so we thought that it would have been nice of them to bring something and help us Tanzanians. Before going to Mazimbu, I got something like twenty seven thousand shillings. Now, as a way of for example, keeping these records, during the period of independence struggle if you would analyse correctly the situation, in a way or another we participated in it. We can say that we truly are victims of the liberation struggle of Southern Africa and in a way or another we participated in it. Our children and other people must know this so that records continue to be kept on areas where they stayed. Personally, I am of the opinion that records should be kept for other people to know what happened. I appeal to the freedom fighters to be with us and fulfill their promise regarding the request we put forward to them about providing us assistance without any conditions attached. They should help us so that we are seen to be existing.

Regarding our fellow freedom fighters. There should be some kind of cooperation between us for instance in house building, roads and hospitals construction and in many other things. Let us talk about my skills which, in a way or another I acquired in Mazimbu. I was a very good student until acquiring my skills which I continue using. If the camp was closed, I request that they take us to continue carrying out our technical skills such as sewing. Our sister here for example. When I joined the camp, I met that first gentleman over there. There was also an old man called Bukwayu. This old man had not as yet mastered Kiswahili and this gentleman was in charge of Tanzanians. When we started training, he welcomed us and taught us and most of directives we used to get them from Mzee Bukwayu. He would explain everything to us in Kiswahili and English but mostly he would speak English and some of the people would translate for us. Senior technicians were this gentleman, Mzee Bukwayu and Sani.

It means that we would like to see them fulfil the promise they made, for instance myself and others are still waiting for the promise, we would like to request them to help us get a chance at Mazimbu to continue practising our skills and if possible we would be grateful to get an office so that we can mobilise ourselves to develop the skills we acquired. We have at least to be proud of being part of freedom fighters. They have gained independence and we got skills from them when they lived with us here. May I explain more about this because I was present when they were making resolutions to leave the place. When they were planning to leave they told us, we discussed with them about things that were of interest to us, and at that moment Tanzanian leaders and their leaders had talks about our future and they insisted that they had no income to finance their campaigns to fight for freedom. They told us that the money they were spending in their campaigns for freedom came from the United Nations. They further said that they were not capable of paying us gratuity because the situation is similar to what is happening to us as Tanzanians who are paid by our country; they had no money. That is what happened and so we prayed that they leave and arrive safely in their country and we hope that they will support us after gaining independence. We have lived with them for a long time and they were so kind to us when they were here. Because they were good people to us we did not see any need to sign agreement with them. It was our hope that they would turn back and remember us. The reason for us to have such hopes is that they promised in front of our national leaders and we believe that their leaders are also aware of that. Now, we did not expect for them to not remember their pledge to us, and for us africans a promise is a debt that has to be paid. We believe that we have the right to remind them that they made some promises to us before leaving our country. We shall ask our South African friends about the progress made in fulfilling their pledge to us. During the meeting I recall that there were high officials including CCM leaders, and the Director was called Mohamed Tickly. There was also a former workers' union leader, who I think has now a retired from public service. He served as a General Secretary of the Trade Union. Unfortunately, many years have

passed, I cannot recall everything but I believe these events that took place in 1990s must be in record books. During those days I remember that the Regional Commissioner was Ms Anna Abdallah but during the 1990s when such meetings were held, the Regional Commissioner was Mzee Mzindakaya, who, however, happened to be absent when we held workers' meeting to deliberate on compensation from the former South African freedom fighters. On our side as workers we were represented by the Regional General Secretary of Workers' Union whose name can be correctly traced in the record books. We also had our internal meeting at Mazimbu that was attended by the General Secretary of Workers' Union and it was convened by the former Mazimbu Resident Director.

The important and remarkable decision that was made during that meeting was the handing back of Mazimbu centre to the Government. Unfortunately, we were not involved at all in the handing over process of the centre but instead in 1992 we were told to go to the office to receive directions on how we could get our rights. In the beginning we did not see any need to discuss about this because they just arrived and we felt that it was not prudent to claim the gratuities at that time. We thought that it was nice if we could allow them to settle down first and later we remind them about our rights. In 2003 we attempted to communicate with the then South African High Commissioner, who requested us to visit him in his office. Unfortunately, we could not go all of us to his office because of the financial constraints, and during that meeting we formed a team that will be representing others in the negotiations with the High Commissioner. Fortunately, in August 2006 we were able to convene another meeting in which all workers attended. During that meeting we discussed the issue of compensation and the committee for that was formed and I was the secretary of the Committee. We wrote a letter and we included the minutes of the 1990 meeting and we sent them to the High Commissioner. The High Commissioner read it and he positively responded to us promising that he would send that letter to South Africa for deliberation.

The High Commissioner told us the answers to our letter will be channelled through the Regional Commissioner. We stayed for the long time from that 2006 without any response and in 2007 we decided to go to the Regional Commissioner to make an enquiry about the feedback. The Regional Commissioner phoned the South African High Commission who admitted to have received the letter and insisted that they were still waiting for the responses from South Africa. They promised that once the reply reaches their office they would channel it to us and in addition to that they asked the Regional Commissioner to write a reminding letter. So, on 9th March 2007 the Regional Commissioner wrote a letter to the South African High Commission and as I talk to you now there is no any response related to that letter. But we are still finding ways to meet the officials of the South African government to know about the status of our claims and if they say that they do not recognise our claims we have to find other means to express our concerns so that they understand that we were also part and parcel of their liberation struggles and we are part of the freedom of South Africa. We faced similar difficulties that they faced during the freedom fighting. We have evidences that our colleagues who went back to South Africa were given beautiful places to live and were included in the pension scheme. Some of us are very old and we cannot support ourselves.

## Jolly, Kedy Rose

*Colonel Kedy Rose (Mopereo) Jolly arrived in Tanzania in 1977 as a member of PAC, She was 16 years old but she had participated actively in the struggles for liberation of South Africa, as a courier between the PAC leaders and other members. She left South Africa to avoid becoming a state witness against freedom fighters who had been arrested. Colonel Rose went to school and completed her college education at College of Social Sciences, in Tanzania. She had her formal military training in the freedom fighters' camps in Tanzania as well as in Uganda. She explains her experiences as well as her life, in Tanzania as a young female freedom fighter. She appreciates that Tanzania made sacrifices, as a country, to support freedom fighting movements and also gives a general impression of the co-existence between the freedom fighters and Tanzanians in the towns, and in the villages surrounding the camps. There is also an attempt to explain the contribution made by the freedom fighters economically and socially to the communities they lived in, and to the country as a whole.*

Thanks Prof. Temu and your team. I would like to tell you that I am really privileged to actually to be asked to take part in this historical data base for SADC, particularly capturing the memories of our past. I will start by telling you who I am. I am Kedy Rose Jolly. My maiden name is Mopereo. Why I am actually giving you my maiden name is because all those years that the memories will be traced back is when I was largely using my maiden name, I was not married by then.

I arrived in Tanzania on 23rd September 1977, having left home sometime in September 1976. I was a member of the PAC, I am still one, and I was among the youngest "child" soldiers. I was recruited by the PAC. I participated actively in the struggle during the student uprising June, 1976. My role was pre-dominantly being a courier between the PAC leaders, the students and other cells, both inside South Africa and outside, that is Botswana. The reason why I left South Africa was that the leaders' lives were now at stake with security of the apartheid regime, and I was naturally a target, and that should I be arrested I would follow suit and be a state witness towards political leaders' activities. So, I had to leave home on the basis of that.

In Swaziland we were kept in Matsapa prison for having crossed the border illegally, when we left South Africa. It later became apparent to us that it was imprisonment per se. The UN High Commission for Refugees claimed that the prison was thought to be a place of safety. The UN High Commission for Refugees at that time was not interested in children of our age as I was 16, to actually join the armed struggle but rather they opted that we should go to school. They gave us all options on the table: That we could actually go back to South Africa and they broker for us with the apartheid regime. The Apartheid regime through their media reports also announced that those who would be returned would not actually face persecution. But because I believed on the course I had already taken, the course of leaving home, sacrificing my childhood to join armed struggle, I did not accept the UN options. I instead informed the PAC that wherever I will be I would continue to pledge my support to the liberation struggle.

We were informed by the PAC that we would be leaving for Tanzania to receive military training as part of furthering the liberation struggle's aims. On that night I could remember vividly, trying to think what Tanzania looks like. Are there people? What is the development there? In my mind I had camps only, that from the airport we would be taken directly to the camps somewhere in the narrow bushes and forests of Tanzania.

Upon the arrival here in Dar-es-Salaam on the dates that I have mentioned, we were met by

the PAC representatives in Tanzania, with our fellow comrades who had arrived before us. Some we knew and some we did not know because they arrived sometimes between the 1960s and 1975. We were given a very big welcome as we were the first youngest group, and the youngest women's group to arrive in Tanzania for the liberation struggle. As I have said that I was mainly here to pledge to the PAC, so we were received by PAC headquarters.

I was shocked by heat wave as soon as we alighted from the airplane. It was unbearably hot. As we stepped out we were met by the big PAC trucks. So, having seen a truck it gave me an impression that, it meant that I was a soldier, because I didn't actually imagine to be fetched in trucks. To my surprise, contrary to my imagination that we would go to camps, straight away, we were delivered to the PAC Houses. I personally stayed in Upanga area, on a street called Senegal, next to the fire station. That was my first place of residence in Tanzania.

In Upanga when I arrived I lived in this tiny little flat which was sparsely furnished with a number of beds in one bedroom. That was not an uncommon site for me to see this overcrowded bedroom, because I was coming from a large family with a small four bedroom house, which meant that we had to share; boys and girls had to share separately. So that side was not really surprising. But the big cockroaches that were flying! The taarab music from the flat opposite to where I lived! Somehow home sickness started looming on me that, "Where am I actually?" And anticipation immediately of going directly to the military camps was beginning to shake, I was beginning not to understand the aim of my arrival to Tanzania. When morning came, we were woken up by the Muslim pre prayer call. We peeped through the windows, others went out to see what actually was happening. We were told that this was one of the major religious groups and this is how they pray or they wake up. Heat took toll on ourselves, very unbearably hot but because we were young we had the liberty to go with short skirts and tops to bear the sun.

We were taken on our way to PAC office where we had pledged the oath of alliance and met with Tanzanian media reporters. By then and UN agencies also came to hear the side of these young liberators who had come to join the PAC. We saw Tanzanians waving, young and old, from the truck that we were transported in. Surprisingly we saw the majority of women wearing black things and we were shocked! We thought, "Does it mean that men of this country were dying in massive numbers?" But later we were told that, those were gowns worn by Muslim women, and not that they were widows. We were slowly able to reconnect what Tanzania was all about. We also signed oaths of allegiance. I signed particularly allegiance with PAC where it spelt out our objectives, the PAC manifesto in terms of liberation struggle and also where we laid out the activities or opportunities that the PAC have; education opportunities, military training opportunities, medical, housing and shelter.

I began wondering whether we were going to stay in the city centre or somewhere else. Then I remember, we were 13 girls, and we were told that we were destined to go for military training in Uganda and that was during the Idd Amin regime, and you will recollect that our imaginations and broader perspectives of Tanzania was still very minimum for us to understand the socio-economic and geo-politics of Tanzania.

The interestingly one we knew Chama Cha Mapinduzi as the ruling Party. We were informed by PAC about Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and his works and his policy of Ujamaa. And these were imparted through us. We had ideological classes every Friday, so we were informed about political agenda of Tanzania. We were informed about Tanzania's position towards liberation struggle. And we came to learn that Tanzania among other neighboring SADC states; Zambia, Mozambique was one of the prominent countries that were willing to shelter us, to provide security and not actually to succumb to the Boers' demands and threats that they would invade Tanzania.

And indeed I personally felt the security because we could move freely, we could move late from Upanga to Ilala, to other residences because we were assured with the presence of

what by then we called “Mgambo” visible in all the streets of Tanzania. That actually also enhanced the trust in the government of Tanzania.

We were also assured of our safety because it appeared that the government of Tanzania, by then, managed to rally the support of the masses on the ground. Why did I say that? This was marked by the willingness of Tanzania to render and lease these houses to us. We were a threat and giving us their property it meant it was a risk. It could be bombarded; it could be attacked; they were willing and ready even to accept some of us in their schools.

I developed friends, I started learning Kiswahili, I started knowing narrow roads of Tanzania, the good beaches. I started feeling the humanity that Tanzanians were humble. If I have to trace back, I recall just for a few months when we first arrived, we used to be called “wakimbizi” and Mwalimu Nyerere, through the media, he corrected the masses by saying that these are not “wakimbizi”, they are “wapigania uhuru/ wakombozi.” And the masses began to follow and perceive us as they were getting closer to us to refer to us as “wakombozi” as opposed to being “wakimbizi”. That mind set of people, also showed me how far Tanzania can peacefully be politicized counseled about other people, to avoid what you call today, xenophobia. Xenophobia was something that was never looming in the minds of Tanzanians. We were brothers and sisters everywhere we met.

In that respect, what I am trying to say is that Tanzania provided enormously for our safety, our welfare. To some of us, particularly me, who was young, it created an enabling environment for my socialization, because I remember I was young, I was cut off from family ties, where the culture of South Africa needed to be molded in me, and the environment of South Africa could have offered that, but instead, the environment of Tanzania molded my youth.

Tanzania contributed to our housing, and while I am here, I want to clarify that, although Tanzania helped us that much and contributed to our liberation struggle, it was somehow a reciprocal relationship. I will not say myself, because I was not an individual but I can speak on behalf of the liberation movement Party, the PAC. The PAC contributed a lot to Tanzania also in its own way, by actually sharing the resources that were pledged to us with the people of Tanzania in the form of paying rents by actually capacitating Tanzania in the areas of foreign currency, as you know Tanzania at that time was landlocked, landlocked in the sense that it was striving for self-dependence not allowing any international injection in its economy. So those are the major roles that I could actually remember or recollect.

For our side, to add on what Tanzania did to us; it gave us an opportunity to be military trained; it gave us the opportunity to harbour our weaponry. All our weapons that were pledged to us were actually landing in Tanzania. And Tanzania did that open heartedly, open handedly, without fear that these combat weapons were a security risk to them.

I developed wajombas, akina shangazi in my own way among Tanzanians, wakina bibi, through my Tanzanian friends, who introduced me to their families to the point that I actually forgot that I was South African. But unfortunately I could not actually forget what brought me to Tanzania.

Tanzania contributed to my education, I schooled here, I did my tertiary at Ustawi wa Jamii. I was among the first South Africans who pioneered to the opening of the Social Welfare Institute (Taasisi ya Ustawi wa Jamii), that was 1980 and I graduated in 1983. That in a way, contributed to the liberation struggle because I was able to utilize the skills I had obtained from the Ustawi, in our Movements. While I was in Zimbabwe, with the skills that I obtained from Ustawi, I was able to work in Zimbabwe after independence within the government of Zimbabwe. When I returned home in 1995, I was able with the same skills to contribute to the nation building of South Africa as a social worker.

That was really a gift. I don't know whether other people, who lived in Tanzania, from

other countries, during the liberation struggle, were actually afforded the gift that I was awarded by Tanzanians. Tanzania is like my home and when I returned here as Defence Adviser in 2006, I had no hesitation to come to Tanzania because I was returning home. And those memories of during the liberation struggle, are unfolding each day, and as friends lived with me at that time, and some are still alive, and we will continue to talk about them; it is like rewinding the whole cassette.

As a memory that was imparted to me as youth, we always held our commemoration of June 16, at Diamond Jubilee, or next to the headquarters of CCM. We would be there side by side with the youth of Tanzania wearing national flag scarves, and we would be there with our T-shirts written PAC, chanting slogans side by side and singing and they would be singing by us. So you see how we were molded together with the youth of Tanzania and you can see how much they understood the liberation struggle of South Africa.

I will start by telling you that, as we joined PAC, we were told that the struggle is a long journey to freedom. The major factor was that the apartheid regime was very stubborn, and very determined to rule South Africa for themselves and they believed that the freedom should be attained through the barrel of the gun at that time.

In my view there were some divided support from the international donors, for those who supported us, because some of them had interest in South African, they had investments. So they knew by actually fast tracking the liberation of South Africa they would actually, in a way, loose out in that. However, you know that during the change of situations, pressure was amounted on the international community, somehow changed its position, and actually rallied for South Africa being free.

There were some states that were not very much committed towards opening ways for us to pass through their countries to launch liberation struggle within South Africa. So through a long time of persuasion, which was not overnight, because they needed also to be assured with guarantee of the safety of their people. Those are the few factors that I could actually recollect from my memories.

Differences of the two liberation movements in South Africa, ANC and PAC, actually played a part, in slowing down the liberation struggle, because it was like we were fighting two battle fields in one country with different ideological thinking; and subsequently our supporters were coming from different blocks which also had their agenda. So that by itself I totally agree with you and actually the internal strive between liberation movements contributed the delay of liberating South Africa.

During the first phase-in exile, PAC had the popularity and you may recall that Mwalimu Nyerere himself had strong belief in PAC philosophy and he ascribed the OAU also to support it. I think the dwindling support of PAC came as a result of internal strive and the wrangles within its leadership, when it lost its strong leadership outside. You know that in itself delayed our commitment towards liberating South Africa. As a result the support from donors was also dwindling. You know it was obvious that the donors would not bet on the loosing horse.

Why we did not fare well in elections in the first round. PAC in its history it did not have wealth as opposed to our sister organization ANC. We did not have donors that were donating in magnitude. Also we were not actually ready to go back to any peace talks. As you may be aware we were not part of the CODESA, because we still had strong belief that the struggle for South Africa can only be waged through the waging of war. Why we believed that, it was that our country was taken by force, and these were negotiations which could not be seen to have been very clear, and there was not much input from all the stakeholders or other liberation movements, PAC, the internal ones and so forth. The had no idea of lobbying these other liberation movements to put their agendas together on the table.

We had no funds. As you know by that time we were all living in exile, and there was no longer support for PAC from international donors. And of course, who would want to support the liberation movement, that would want to perpetuate strive; because their interest was for their investments to be protected. Our fight was not to share the amenities with the apartheid regime; we wanted to have economic independence.

Sobhuza was not popularized by the media of South Africa. You know the media of South Africa has ultra-democracy, working from the inception of 1994. But there was no mass mobilization, mass education on the PAC or existence of PAC and its policy, what was the PAC estate or manifesto. As a result people knew no PAC except in remote sectors in the areas of Sharpeville where PAC led a massive campaign, in the areas of Kukulutu where PAC started the massive Kukulutu uprising.

Naturally ANC as a ruling party, was to preserve the image of South Africa, to preserve the image of the CODESA talks and also its victory. They could not segment any transformational development and say this is another party we should not favour them or they were not our friends ,so they should be excluded. It is true that they opened our ways to build the quarters of SNGF, cadres of ANC were allocated in numbers, as cadres of PAC were allocated in numbers, and so were other formal Bantustan forces.

Naturally with the transformation of pensions policies, it did cut across all the masses, all liberation movements to small ones and big ones. I still see that also formed the base of reconciliation.

As I said, I personally I was leaving in the city centre. I lived in Upanga, I lived in Kimara. We had others leaving in Ilala with their neighbours, so wherever we visited those areas you would be told of Mama Zainabu, Mama nani and you would hear, “karibu, karibu.” So that was the most vivid way that I could remember. When you arrived at the next door you would not actually be welcomed by the people you visited only, even the neighbours would welcome you, and when you find them eating watakukaribisha, and unanawa mikono nao, and you start eating. Our interest of cooking maharagwe and using mbuzi kukuna nazi, started with our neighbours, because they would call us and they would teach us because we had interest on how to prepare the food.

The Grandmother of next door, because in South Africa it's the grandmother of every body, was not only the grandmother of that particular family. The tradition that we had, was easy to translate to the Tanzanians' bibis, shangazis, because whenever we call them bibi like our friends in Tanzanians they were receptive to that. They never say that I am not your bibi, fathers' mothers. I am not your father's sister. The age in itself, they saw that we were young and we qualified them to be our bibis. We were welcomed to their ngomas particularly I was interested in their ngomas of initiating girls in different tribes because I was associated with all tribes and their ngomas across the board. So I had interest with each of these ngomas because of curiosity. I remember in Kimara you would hear a drum beat and we would be told we are preparing a young girl somewhere or somebody is preparing for wedding. So that is how we were welcomed and we would know that we were allowed to know the process towards marriage, Tanzanian wedding and marriage arrangements and negotiations in between. And that was not strange we found that Africans have the same way of doing this.

As I was growing up at Ustawi, having friends, I saw I had an opportunity, at another level to be introduced to geo-politics opportunities in Tanzania through learning the economy, the foreign policy and the policies of Ujamaa; as today, I feel like South Africa somehow it does its Ujamaa na kujitegemea but in its own way. Those lessons of how people could develop economy, its people how they could accept self-reliance that is what the government of ANC today is trying to impart.

There were two options within both the PAC and ANC; military training and skills development that ran concurrently. In my case I was trained in Uganda prior furthering my education and later I went to the college. There were sectors; those opportunities were given to individual, that you would be trained and would go for further education. And it depended entirely on individual desire, what he eventually wants to be. Other individuals felt that they would rather be soldiers per se, liberators behind the gun, day in and out, and full time. I was a kind of liberator who believed that you can have knowledge of a gun as well as education because South Africa would need reconstruction and development.

Our training in Uganda was for six months in all types of weaponry; predominantly the infantry, the land forces. As it was towards the accomplishment of our training we were interrupted by the Kagera war, we experienced it throughout until the capturing of Entebbe and Kampala. We were actually identified by the Tanzanian soldiers who were in Uganda because they knew where we were, as there was communication between us, Tanzania and PAC.

Unfortunately we did not know, as a group, of the looming war that was coming to Uganda, but you could hear in the media the reports in between. But because we were not listening to what was happening who was wrong, who was doing what between Tanzania to the support of liberation. We just heard when the war was looming around Jinja, that Jinja was captured in our area. And we had to find our way out of the training area to the city centre.

During the eve of the capturing of Entebbe, our Chief Representative told us that Kampala was going to be captured, and we would actually be leaving to Nairobi to get to the Headquarters, but there had been a serious communication breakdown. The UN knew that we were there, in fact when the war was stopped, they came to our side. Tanzanian soldiers knew that we were there.

I think in his view, his commitment was to liberate South Africa irrespective of who was actually going to do it. He had created an enabling environment for both liberation movements to exercise their objectives. Because in his mind, I want to believe that, he knew that either one would actually take the struggle further, and of course with his intellect, he noted the challenges that were faced by both liberation movements.

I wouldn't know if there were efforts to unite the different groups, by Tanzania or Mwalimu Nyerere, by that time because I didn't belong to the Central Committee, where that information would be sent. But I want to believe that Mwalimu in his rightful thinking he must have actually, through the representatives or the Liberation Committee, attempted to bring peace in both PAC and ANC.

I don't recall that it was outwardly spelt out because Mwalimu Nyerere was to take this ground while other members in OAU wanted PAC to be recognized. So actually I don't recall but to put mechanism in place to those who were no longer playing the roles of being liberators, I don't recall what mechanisms Tanzania government wanted to do because in all incidences that involved injustice, killings, they actually exercises the rule of law of Tanzania.

I believed Mwalimu considered PAC up to the end and up to the end of his life. He was just disappointed like any other leader of Africa, about the turnout of politics and I don't recall actually announcing through the media that either party should be set aside, because I don't think he would actually do that. May be I was not exposed to that but I don't think it would have been justified for him to do so because it would have indicated that he was taking sides towards liberation movements of South Africa; which actually could be dangerous to anybody who is a political leader in Africa at that time because it could cause another war. The events show that the past that we were actually battling was not actually the one which



was going to win. So I don't think that you would do it openly, may be within the quarters of Chama cha Mapinduzi.

Mwalimu was aware they were not ethnic fights or between individual personalities. It was an agenda of going home, and what was challenging in the leadership was why whenever we went to South Africa people were arrested somewhere in their hideouts. So there was this mistrust towards the leadership, and that the same thing that was happening to ANC. ANC had a very thoroughly organized liberation committee as opposed to PAC in terms of preservation of information within the ANC. And ANC was confined in one camp like Mazimbu. The rules of ANC were never easily exposed like the rules of PAC.

CCM did not give only a monitoring support. It gave moral support towards the liberation struggle of South Africa. They celebrated with us all commemoration days. There was nothings like "changa pesa," instead we got a lot of what you call mit, or old clothes. So we were actually giving them to our friends or selling them to our friends.

Women's organizations used to morally support us during the women conferences that were held in Tanzania, hosted by either the PAC or ANC. It is unfortunate that we never entered the same stage hosting women issues together side by side with our sister organization, ANC. Even in our commemoration we never did things simultaneously on the same platform, but we did get support from the women of Tanzania in terms of attending our workshops, sharing with us the ideas on what they were doing and how we could contribute to the development of the Tanzanian economy.

Fortunately there was this uniting factor in PAC; there were comrades trained among us, very strong, and as such there were no incidents of raping and there were no incidents of girls being abused. We were sisters and brothers, to the point that whoever had a boyfriend and a boyfriend starts beating her or doing whatever, the boyfriend would be disciplined in our ideological classes. Actually the issue would be handled by the house the boy lived in; the person in charge of the house would bring the issue in the agenda and that would be discussed amicably, and if the relationship needs to be broken, the committee of the house would do so.

I don't have sad memories of a time that I was robbed of my girlhood or of being a victim of women abuse, and so forth. We were comrades, and when we met we called each other comrade; that was the word that we used with passion and intimacy, and we were protected. We cooked side by side with them and they did not say that we were women we must cook or clean their houses. Each and everyone within the PAC houses had a turn, and that also happened in the camps.

I have recently visited the camps and the elders. I visited Chunya recently and went to the place called Matundas. I met one Mzee and he had vivid memories of his friends and he remarked about soccer matches which they used to play together in his village. He recalled the drinking sprees that they made, and the women that they had, and the children they had in those relationships; I had an opportunity to meet a woman who had four children with one of our comrades, when he lived there and she had fond memories.

The question that may be villagers' feelings were abused, or if at all there was other abuse that could have happened, I think it could have happened in the spirit of abuse that happen in any society. It was not something like soldier raping civilians, no. About stealing, in Bagamoyo for example, we mainly relied on wild pigs for meat. They killed these wild pigs and they were supplied to our houses. In Itumbi in Chunya, where the camp sites were in the wild, it was very rare that you would hear from the nearby villagers. Apart from Matundas, there were other villages before reaching Matundas. People had girl friends and boyfriends, and probably beating was like any other society where a boyfriend beats a girlfriend after excessive drinking.

The situation was that, the majority of women were offered to join their spouses during

the repatriation but some declined completely and wanted to remain. Unfortunately those children who remained, were not completely owned by their fathers; probably they might have been conceived out of wedlock. As I speak to you, now there are people who are coming on individual bases to Tanzania reclaim their children.

Socially, the freedom fighters did make contributions. There were our dispensaries built in Bagamoyo and Tumbi and the villagers around the camps were allowed to benefit from them; they were actually allowed to come to the dispensary.

People were giving their girlfriends mitumbas, others actually were supporting their children through mitumbas. The girlfriends would be given mitumbas to sell so that they could get some cash to support their children. That's how these relationships were maintained by these unemployed fathers or boyfriends.

Regarding how the government of Tanzania was receiving foreign currency from PAC, this is how it happened. As you know we received foreign currency, and the all donations could be channeled in the Reserve Bank, through the PAC bank account, or it was issued through the Liberation Committee. The money was spent in shillings in terms of paying rents, paying fees for those who were paying fees, in terms of grocery because our major supplying grocery was Morogoro Stores, and fuels was obtained from garages. It was reciprocal. It was not a matter of taking dollars and changing them under the tree; that never happened. PAC cadres had no access to foreign currency and they had no access to money. We were given rations in kind.

As far as I can vividly remember the PAC had a treasurer and the treasurer could go to the bank and draw money and we would actually be paid. I belonged to the team of welfare and there was one lady who was our senior welfare officer; she used to receive lists from the camps for our needs.

And when there is no money we were told that there was no money and we literally owed shops, until those who were in America, responsible for raising funds for PAC came; because once they came to Dar es Salaam we knew that was the end of hunger. Actually we had arrears and we lost some of our receipts, for example our travelling tickets, we were travelling and being paid later. It was "fly now and pay later". Sykes Travel Agency was doing that for us. He was one of the outstanding persons in Tanzania, who also contributed to the fact that we could fly on credit.

So why I am bringing these issues, I am trying to stretch my memory to recall if at a certain point ANC or PAC had a direct funding from the government, because Tanzania at that stage was struggling with its ailing economy.

## Kahama, George

[May 2007]

*Honourable George Kahama was in the front line and a close ally of Mwalimu Nyerere during the struggle for Tanganyika's independence. Before independence, he was a General Manager of Bukoba Cooperative Union, where he worked closely with TANU by supporting it with various things and encouraging people to relentlessly fight for the country's independence. He was a member of LEGCO, where he had an important to avenue to contribute his views. After independence he was appointed to join the First Independence Cabinet as the Minister for Community Development and Cooperatives and later was a Minister for Internal Affairs. He was responsible in ensuring that there were always good relations between Tanganyikan/Tanzanian with other countries. He helped freedom fighters by giving them various aid and approving the use of Tanzanian passport for them to travel abroad during their liberation struggles.*

First of all let me express my sincere thanks to you that you have finally convened this meeting. When you were appointed for this project we received the notice that we should recollect some details about things that were discussed during those days and what were the purposes of those discussions. Finally we have agreed to meet in my office in this PPF building and you told me in advance about this work and that I might be needed sometimes for inputs, therefore I thank you for your coming. Indeed I am so thankful for this day. Before professors start to speak I don't want to disappoint them, but I am sure if I can have a positive contribution to what you are doing. This is a very huge work and it needs big persons like you.

First, for you professors this is your daily duty, to read books, to observe things, and I cannot compete with you on that. They have the information. For some of us, we rarely read books. You may be disappointed sometimes when you don't get the right answers to your question. Second, concerning this issue of liberation struggle, I was not a front runner. I could discuss that but there were many front runners and if there was any information that I knew, it means I knew it by default, therefore if there will be gaps in my explanations understand that those gaps will be due to that background. On my part I will try to respond by writing what I can remember correctly because out country Tanzania, together with other African countries, we cannot generalize things. You need to conduct enough research to find the truth of what you say, but unfortunately most of the literature about Africa is written by people from outside Africa and they continue writing, and there are very few Africans who have written about their continent. These foreign writers come to our country and stay only one week and come out with a book about Tanzania, and our children go to school and read their books while they wrote them with bias and they carry their own agenda. So, there is a big huge weakness on that.

For the persons who love their country we see that weakness, but who will address that? That is my question. So, the work you are doing will help us to address that problem. When we were in Tabora during the funeral ceremonies of the Late Chief Fundikira, before we started the event we had some discussions. His Excellency President Kikwete said, "Yesterday I attended the Book Launch event of Andy Chande's Autobiography translated in Kiswahili; this what I have been insisting, people should write about their lives". We agreed with him and I told him about the projects we have.

People think that *autobiography* is written by the person himself. On my part, I believe that its is

not necessary that my *autobiography* must be written by myself, I have assigned my child to complete my *biography*. To compile the autobiography you only need knowledge and I will give him my own history and he will write down. So, we are writing a first book that will have more than four hundred pages, and it will be about Tanzanian political history from the time of struggles, economy and relationships of leaders and so on.

The second book I will co-author with Prof Professor Maliyamkono. We are attempting to write a book about *Tanzanian Heros*. Some people think that Nyerere was the only hero as he is revered as the Father of the Nation. We want to correct that misconception and tell people that there were several heros before him including Kongoro, Mkwawa, Chief Mirambo of Unyanyembe and several others even before Mirambo. After reading that book you will understand that there many heros in this country even before Nyerere. People will know that there were heros who fought against Germans and they won. People should know that there were many heroic deeds done by Tanzanians. If our young people read it, even those at the universities, will get to know that Tanzanians were heros and heroism is part of our Tanzanian DNA!

So, my colleagues and I were doing that research so as to produce such a new book to retell the story of Tanzania and Africa in general, and we wanted to have a history of our country written by Tanzanians themselves. Now, when we were discussing this, His Excellency President Kikwete said that it was unfortunate to see people like Chief Abdallah Fundikira are passing away without leaving their autobiographies, and we were together in the First Cabinet. I have his photos. I said to myself that Fundikira and I were twins who were alive from the quintuplets; namely, Jamal, Fundikira, Eliufoo, Bryson and Kahama.

I said to myself that all are passing away and if they did not write their autobiographies I have to fill that gap; and unfortunately, even the Father of the Nation did not write his autobiography but he wrote many books on education for self-reliance, socialist development and many others. Although his works were not compiled but we have his speeches, somebody must write. Writing is not a simple task especially if you wanted to seriously engage in writing sensible issues. If you write mediocre things nobody will read them, may be pupils will read it. If you want to seriously write you must conduct researches and after research you need to have technical writers who will do editing and make you work be in good language flow. It is important to make sure that there is a good flow and just collection of things. There will be a time we will approach the President for his contribution, and should be understood that we are doing all these not for our benefits but for the benefits of our nation.

First of all I will explain how I decided to enter politics and then after entering into politics what was my contribution in national politics and my contribution the 'larger Southern Africa'; and I will also explain the pillars that make people succeed or fail. Let me explain that first and you will why it is difficult to maintain them.

To begin with, I, George Kahama, entered politics by accident. I had no interest in politics; may I was innately connected to politics but outwardly I could not develop interests because by that time there were no active politics and if you don't see active politics you cannot become a politician. How can you become a politician while you don't have a platform for that? We joined the political platform after seeing our colleagues being active through Tanganyika African National Union, as you all know that TANU was born on 7th July 1954.

I did not join TANU in 1954, the year that I came from United Kingdom where I went for studies. After coming back I had to stay for a while until 1956 when I joined TANU, I took my membership card that I have until today. My political journey is very long. It started when we completed my studies at Tabora Upper School; we were the founders and our class was very unique. I will explain the connection between our class and the Father of the Nation when he was at St. Mary's. My classmates at Tabora School who were later appointed in the Cabinet were

Kambona, Kawawa, Lusinde and myself. Other classmates at Tabora Government School were Nsekela, Professor Msangi, Ephraim Temu, S. K. George, Nyamonge and Mzena who was a Director of Intelligence. I joined the school by default because I studied at Ihungo Mission School and people expected me to join St. Mary's. But when I arrived in Tabora I chose to join Tabora Government School, and not St. Mary's. People wondered at me because I was a Catholic and the tradition was that students from Catholic schools must continue in the same flow, but I chose Tabora School. So I met these people when the Father of the Nation and Tibandebage were teaching at Tabora.

When we met during debates we had heated debate. We were meeting the Father of the Nation in those debates and so we knew him and he knew us too. When he formed the First Cabinet, he appointed Kambona, Kawawa, Kahama, and Lusinde. Sometimes in the Cabinet we could have heated debates and the Father of the Nation intervened by telling us not to reminisce the life of Tabora School. He told us that we were in the government and not at Tabora and if we wanted such heated debates we had to do that outside Cabinet meetings. In fact our class was so stubborn. After Tabora School some chose to go to Makerere after acquiring Higher School Certificate. On my part, I don't know what was wrong; I chose to go to India. By that time we had an Indian Representative in Nairobi whose name was Atta Khanti; who promised me to get a scholarship for Calcuta University. So, I was not bothered to think about Makerere anymore. Later, Atta was recalled back to India and all plans went away. At home they advised me to join cooperative movement, I agreed. So I joined the cooperative movement. So, after I joining them and since I had gone to school they decided to send me to United Kingdom for further studies for three years. When I came back, they appointed me General Manager and I fitted the position because in UK I studied the same things and I came back with a good certificate; I had a Diploma in Cooperatives. By the time I studied in United Kingdom, the Father of the Nation was at Edingburgh University.

In London there were many people from East Africa. Some of them were Kambona, Mark Bomani, and Charles Njonjo. There was a house called 'East Africa House.' During rest days we used to go to 'East Africa House,' where we met with other people and held talks on various issues. The Father of the Nation was familiar with us because he knew us from Tabora School. The only difference was that, I was sent to United Kingdom by the Cooperative Union but British Council paid my school fees through a scholarship. I had my own salary of Shillings 266.66 per month and I did not spend it, so it was accumulated for three years. In the United Kingdom I was receiving an allowance of 30 pounds a month. So, I had plenty of money. When my friends came to the city I was the one paying for their lunch. I was very popular. They termed me as "a man from Bukoba!"

When I came back I had a salary that was accumulated for three years. I bought a car and built a house in Bukoba. I looked as a gentleman, and I became so popular in town. It was just a sheer luck that I didn't go to Makerere, and instead went to another place and got that luck. I thank God for that. I returned that year and started my job in a good footing. It happened that I was loved by many people just as a coincidence that I came from United Kingdom, a learned person, having a car, having a house, then why not being loved? But I was highly disciplined. If you want to be a leader you must have discipline and protect your dignity. That is why they chose me because my things were okay. I could have spoiled everything because of the fact that I came back from United Kingdom, and I had a car; I could date with all beautiful girls in town. I could have ruined my reputation if I could do that.

During that time when I was a General Manager, Bukoba Native Cooperative Union was a member of five cooperative societies in Tanzania; namely, Kimanjaru Native Cooperative Union, Bukoba Native Cooperative Union, Victoria Nyanza Cooperative Confederation in Mwanza; Matengo Cooperative Union in Songea, and Rungwe Cooperative Union. I can also recall the

names of managers who served during those days; these include Mr. Andrea Shangali (Kilimanjaro), for Bukoba there was George Kahama, and Victoria Nyanza Cooperative Union was under Paul Bomani. Others were Kasambala for Rungwe and Kapinga for Matengo in Songea. We were meeting together to discuss issues related to Cooperative societies.

In 1954 after I had arrived I was elected General Manager of Bukoba Native Cooperative Union, and it seems they thanked me very much for accepting that position because they believed that I was indeed working so hard. Then in 1957, people of Bukoba, by then called West Lake Province, elected me to be their Member to the LEGCO, thus it was my first time to enter politics through LEGCO membership in 1957. I was counting my days in politics from 1957 to 2005 when I officially retired from politics, which is 49 years, almost half a century. I am proud of that and in the book that I am writing now I carry the message of my 50 years in public service. How many want to compete with me to reach that age of service? It is not a simple job!

Since 1954, for us who were working as General Managers of these cooperatives we were fully involved. Since when the Father of the Nation established it, the party had no money because it solely depended on membership subscription fees. But there were some individuals who heavily contributed their resources to this party. Unfortunately, it is not written anywhere that the cooperatives greatly supported the party, with an exception of Moshi, may be because the Chagga were mean, but what I know is that Wasukuma, Wanyamwezi, Wahaya, and to some extent, Wamatengo and Wanyakyusa, helped us very much.

Whenever the Father of the Nation came to Kagera, this however depended on the relationship we had with regional party leaders, we were told to arrange for accommodation and transport. On our part it was a fortunate thing that we had good relations with party leaders. We had a party's Provisional Secretary, Mr Barongo and we also worked with Ally Mgeyeyo, who was a bit stubborn but as a Union we worked with him closely. We were not including accommodation and transport in our imprest and so you cannot see that in the financial records; what we did was to take an imprest of entertainment. You write entertainment voucher without entertaining.

So we contributed very much in facilitating the transport for them, and that was our major contribution in the struggle as cooperatives. Let me tell you, Tanzania's success was through three things. First we had TANU as our leader in the struggle, but TANU has a support of Trade Unions; and also there was a support from Cooperatives and Chiefs. The Father of the Nation was in agreement with the Trade Unions, by then Kawawa was a trade unionist. He also had a good support of cooperatives, but he faced a challenge from the chiefs. He feared the chiefs very much but they allied with colonial power, and if they said no people would heed to them and he could do nothing. That fact disturbed him very much because chiefs were influential persons. He however succeeded to get a support of two chiefs led by Chief Abdallah Fundikira. Fundikira was an instrumental supporter and a link between TANU and other chiefs because he was highly respected by other chiefs.

When the Father of the Nation formed his First TANU Cabinet, he picked people so wisely by including Chief Fundikira. Chief Fundikira, on his own right, studied Agriculture, and he had another advantage of being a Chief. By including the Chief in the Cabinet, the Government was seen to have representatives from all social groups, and that strategy made Mwalimu Nyerere to succeed. He included people from cooperative societies, trade unions, and chiefs. One of the elements that made him succeed to rule Tanzania is that the Father of the Nation, during this struggle, was moving with all people together without leaving anyone behind. This is the most important thing to be emulated in the Southern Africa and elsewhere. If you don't move with people together, you won't get any victory.

That is why I have decided to explain briefly how I entered politics. As most of you will recall the 1959 famous Tabora Legislative Council Election, we decided to have three votes election. People

opposed that and some of them refused even to be part of the group photo because they were against the decision. Mwalimu said, "Okay, it is up to you, let it not be put in records that we wanted Indians and Europeans in the government". Chief Fundikira was so helpful in settling the matter and the agreement was made, and finally in 1959 we formed the Self-Government. The Father of the Nation was the Head of that Government, together with Jamal, an Indian, and Bryson, a White persons, and other three Africans were Chief Fundikira, Eliufoo and myself, who represented farmers. We could not leave behind the Chagga. That is how we entered into power and that was our first contribution to make a Responsible Government. We could have ruined all efforts of fighting for independence. We did not spoil things because the Father of the Nation chose people very wisely, and there were a lot of temptations. Although we formed the Self-Government but still some people were against it. Suddenly we became influential persons; as Ministers we used cars that had a big mirror between the driver and us so that when we discussed our secret missions the people seated in the front could not hear us. We were great people, and Indians could come to us with great respect, "Welcome Sir." Now, imagine you enter into power you have no house, you have nothing, there were a lot of temptations. Had we been hopeless persons we could be very corrupt, collude with white persons and refuse every order of Mwalimu telling him that government affairs are difficult.

The leaders you pick are very important because they are crucial persons in everything we want to do. Even in economy, if you make wrong decisions you are gone. What we did at our times was keeping the Cabinet documents secret and sometimes we would tell Mwalimu that, "tomorrow we are going to discuss and deliberate on this matter". And we told him our decision. We were doing a consultation among ourselves before meeting him and when he found that we were undecided, he would say, "Go and do what you want to do", but when he found the issue to be controversial he would make a strong decision saying "this will be our decision" and nobody objected to that. Now, when we went to talk to others, they would just say the Minister has said. That was our first contribution on this. We went to the government believing that we could tow the line, we consulted, we did not touch the citizens. This was our first contribution to the nation.

The second contribution was on Africanization, many people did not support me on this. I think through that Responsible Government we did many big things. Take an example of Africanization, we took powers and there were a lot of cries in the country. We entered into power while every person had his/her own side. My portfolio was on Social and Cooperative Development. On the part of Cooperatives, we appointed Maharage Juma as a Commissioner of Cooperative and we removed the white person who later left the country. On the side of Social Development, there was a white commissioner who was speaking very good Kiswahili, but I promoted Cleopa Msuya to that position to replace the white person. So we seriously engaged on Africanization; we replaced the white bosses with Africans, and that worked very well. Fundikira also did the same, and on education, Eliufoo did the same, he put his first African directors, and other people did the same. Other things that we did not do I cannot mention them because they were not part of my history. For example, Jamal was a Minister for Works and Africans were not many in that ministry, instead the Indians were many. He had some difficulties to implement Africanisation. However, Bryson made some revolutions in the Health sector. But we all performed very well and that was an opportunity to us.

We did not stay for long, just from 1959 to 1961 and people we thinking that we were in two positions because we transformed from Responsible Government into Independence Government, but that was not the case. We moved from Responsible Government in 1959 into Internal Self-Government in the beginning of 1961 before the marking of second phase of the Government during the Conference held in Karimjee Hall. In the Internal Self-Government some Ministers were added including Lusinde, Kawawa etc. That was a period when we were

preparing for the full independence. So, the third phase was between 1961 and 1962 when the Father of the Nation was a Prime Minister and not a President; and in 1962 we entered fourth phase when we became a Republic. In 1961 I was assigned a new post, I became the Minister for Home Affairs, which was a hectic ministry because it was in charge of the Police and in charge of Intelligence, so every morning there was what we called *morning breakfast*. I was calling the Police chiefs to my office and we discussed all issues from all over the country, be it Mwanza or Mara before we went to brief the Father of the Nations about the State of the Nation. That was a morning breakfast.

Secondly, many TANU members thought that after independence, all the titles that were held by white people will be taken by Africans alone, and those Africans were supposed to be TANU leaders. It was a serious challenge because TANU Regional Chairman expected to be Provincial Commissioner, other TANU leaders had ambitions to be District Commissioners (DCs); and in fact that put me in a serious trouble. The Father of the Nation ordered me to arrest those who will be causing problems. I detained two or three of them and I was accused everywhere. Kambona accused to the Father of the Nation telling him that I was unfit to be a leader and plotted to overthrow the government. He said that I was a black colonial master because I dared to arrest TANU leaders. Fortunately, I managed to go through those difficult moments.

Later, the Father of the Nation had to resign, he transferred powers to Kawawa. What pushed him to resign was that people did not understand the meaning of self-government. They were thinking that self-government meant for them to have total powers, to enjoy the resources of the nation. The President said, "If these people understand self-rule in that way, then our country cannot be governed! I resign because the country is in a wrong direction". We nearly cried in the cabinet. So he decided to devote most of his time to educate people on the meaning of self-government, and he told them that leaders' role was to serve the people. After that the country was at peace.

Another thing that happened in 1961 was about the contributions we were receiving to support Liberation parties of other countries like Zimbabwe and Namibia. Those contributions were in the hands of Kambona. Unfortunately, not all funds were channeled to those parties, instead some funds were stashed by Kambona. Now, since I was in-charge of Intelligence, after receiving that information I reported it to the Father of the Nation that some of us were hoarding the money that was meant for freedom fighters. The Father of the Nation was always honest and open, he called Kambona and asked him, "where do you send the money we receive for freedom fighters? He said, "Mwalimu, the money is there". Mwalimu further told him that some of them were going to the beneficiaries. He told Kambona that he was informed by the Minister for Home Affairs and that statement put him in serious trouble. Kambona and I became enemies and I had to be removed from the Ministry with the claims that I was plotting to overthrow the government. Those were the problems I faced.

Another big problem, that many people were not aware, was the rumours that were spread by our enemies that at independence, on 9th December, 1961, the African would riot and take the white persons houses and pull down their shops. Mwalimu was afraid of those rumours and asked me, "George, I hear there are problems. If this happens we will be sabotaged". I told him that nothing will be spoiled, and told him to leave everything in my hands. I told him that if that will happen he will have to remove me from the position and I told him that if he will remove me from the office we shall be ruining our right of being independent." I had to call the Commissioner wa Police. Fortunately, I had earlier appointed Elangwa Shaidi to the Commissioner of Police. I asked him if he had any records of criminals. I directed him to call all criminals. The criminals were called and we told them that we expected to get independence on the night of 9th December; but we later learnt that there were the only ones who planned to cause problems on that day. So we ordered them to be security guards the whole night. The celebrations went smoothly without any problems. Criminals can do a good job sometimes.



After that incidence, the Father of the Nation built more trust in me and said that I was a wonderful and intelligent person. His trust made me to be more confident and that is why when you hear him in various recordings mentioning me that is the background. He built trust in me since during the times of Responsible Government when we were in power by then and those things took place during that time.

After independence the freedom fighters started moving to Dar es Salaam. The Father of the Nation since 1957, I think after he talked to his fellow leaders especially Kwame Nkrumah, he believed that Africa cannot be free until all countries get independence. He began explaining this to his fellow African leaders, and even the public. They went to Addis Ababa and passed that Resolution. Now the issue was on who will bell the cat? You should not feel ashamed to speake openly about this fact that without Nyerere Southern Africa could not get independence. If a person tells you a different story he/she is a great liar. This time Mandela is praised very much na he was not popular by that time and he could not bring independence to his country without the support of Nyerere. Those who praise Mandela are the western powers who were anxious that Mandela could remove them from South Africa, but to the contrary he embraced them. That is why they realized that he was a good person, but speaking the truth it is our Father of the Nation who gave them independence.

Therefore, you cannot write the history of Southern Africa without mentioning the contribution of our Father of the Nation. Had it not been Mwalimu Nyerere, may be the story could be different. He was a dedicated person whose first priority was to make sure that the whole Africa gets freedom. He said that other things could come but the most important thing was to make Africa free. This was true because by that time Mozambique was still under Portuguese; while Rhodesia continued to be occupied by settlers.

The Father of the Nation could not work alone. We were there to help him. Myself I was not only a Minister but also a messenger who was sent to to different countires to deliver money. We financially helped Lumumba. I once went to sent money to Banda in Malawi. We also sent money to Kaunda in Zambia. I was so often sent to Zanzibar to see His Excellency Karume through Bagamoyo. By that time I can say I was ignorant because I travelled to Zanzibar using Yacht but now I cannot go to Zanzibar, I am afraid of water. We used landrovers to carry cash to Malawi and Zambia.

Concerning Lumumba, I think you can recall a famous stiry that the Father of the Nation has been referring to. He said that Kambona, Swai and I flew to Kinshasa and there were turbulents. He was using that story to alert on tribalism. He said George said "My God"; then oh my Father;" and lastly "Maaweeee". He said, "you see? You cannot end tribal feelings, it reaches a point you feel that if you speak in your own language God will listen promptly. Does it mean God does not listen to other languages?" This happened when were going to send cash to Lumumba, and when he was addressing the rally somebody throw a bomb to the crowd. Fortunately we survived. We had to lay under the table, Patrice Lumumba, Kambona and I survived. When you were coming back we took a place that those problems of turbulence happened. In all these we acted as messengers, and I worked as a messenger because they trusted me. You cannot send a person whom you dont trust because he can divert the money on the way. Unfortunately, these days you rarerly get such trustful persons.

During those days Nyerere was surrounded by trustful leaders, and it is very important for a leader to be surrounded by trustworthy persons and if you don't have trustworthy leaders you cannot go far. Sometimes our countries get into problems because we put our hopes on untrustful leaders. Some leaders enter into power with their own agenda, but during our times that was not possible that is why we succeeded.

Another thing that many people do not know is that when the Father of the Nation came to Kagera, by then it was West Lake, apart from doing TANU activities, he had long vision. Prince

Rwagasore was his great friend and he was a son of Chief Mwambisia of Burundi, and every time he came we were accompanied by his father. Chief Mwambisia was later a Chairman of CCM in Biharamulo. We were visiting there more often and I was carrying money. The friendship between Rwagasore and the Father of the Nation was so strong to the extent that he promised to bring Burundi to Tanganyika and make it part of Tanganyika as it was before when Burundi and Rwanda were part of Tanganyika. He was ready to unite the two countries and it was his secret. We went there and talked Bgoya's father. Unfortunately the white people got that plan so they assassinated him before the realization of his dream. They said, "if these people will unite then the resources are taken. We cannot eat what we are eating here".

If you enter into the larger Southern Africa, my contribution was through being a messenger to send the message to these leaders, and as a Minister for Home Affairs, I was approving Tanganyika passports to be used by freedom fighters to travel abroad. In COMESA and SADC there are other people, businesspersons, who say that we should pull out from SADC and join COMESA. There came a recommendation from one of the ministers that we should join COMESA and abandon SADC. Now, for you professors, I believe you are more intelligent than me but you cannot abandon SADC and move to COMESA. Everything good is within Southern Africa. If you get rid of history, SADC was formed as a community of African States and that is why you see that Tanzania is reluctant to pull itself from SADC. If you abandon SADC there is nothing in COMESA because people are there to find markets and not political union.

COMESA has welcomed different unrelated members; their membership is only for market; issues of technology, wealth, and experience are embraced by SADC, which are not dealt with in COMESA. This is another issue I wanted to explain. We hosted Mandela in 1961 and 1962 when he came to our country. I remember to have given him the first passport when he was a leader of Umkhonto weSizwe. The Father of the Nation told me to give him the passport because I was the Minister for Home Affairs. We truly facilitated all processes and that is why Mandela visited Tanzania in 1994, after he was released. I was serving as Tanzanian High Commissioner to Zimbabwe and I was given the honour to accompany him to Tanzania. He passed through Harare Zimbabwe, he spent two nights and my wife and I welcomed him and his wife Winnie and accompanied them to Dar es Salaam. This was a coincidence. Mandela and Thabo Mbeki recall what Tanzania did to them; they cannot forget. People like Robert Mugabe know me and I am sure that they cannot forget Tanzania. Mugabe could have died long time ago had not been Tanzania; the colonialists were pursuing him.

It is so sad to find that some of our people do not make a follow up on issues outside our country and they have been abusing Robert Mugabe. They don't know. I was a High Commissioner there. Many Africans were tenants and if you passed through the big farms you could find that a white settler has a very big plantation and the Africans are living in huts surrounding the farms. The owner of the plantation could call those Africans his people as if they are goats; how comes a person owns his fellow human beings? You can't tolerate that. When I hear those propaganda I get an impression that people are ignorant of the situation in that country. Just imagine people are treated as slaves and in the farms you see small huts and that is taking place in their own country. I don't what people could have reacted if that happened in our country.

The Father of the Nation had a long vision and he was firm in his decisions because he wanted Zimbabwe to be free first. That is why he advised that they should touch the land issue in the first ten years. He advised them to take leadership because if their agenda was land it could be difficult for them to get independence. And he was right. I could also advise them the same thing because land ownership was a big issue, they needed more time to handle it.

But they also believed that the British could honour their pledges! I have studied in United

Kingdom, therefore I have a respect for them, but as Nkrumah once wrote, “the only good whiteman is a dead one!” Until today I tell my fellow African that when they see a white man smiling, he is a liar. The white man has never loved a black person. That is why Mugabe believed that the English people were good people and that after ten years they will release the funds to relocate the settlers so Tony Blair from Labour party, a Socialist Prime Minister, declined to implement those resolutions claiming that they were made during the reign of Margaret Thatcher. Now, if you could step in Mugabe’s shoes, what would you do? So, after finding that it was not easy, he decided to do what he found to be appropriate. African countries could make contributions to help him but unfortunately many African leaders started blaming him.

Mandela came to Tanzania in 1994 to see the Father of the Nation, and Nyerere told him, “Mandela, you have inherited a very good economy, don’t spoil it. That is you’re your own economy but it is the economy of the whole continent. Do not do as I did here in Tanzania when I wanted to make the country socialist”. Indeed, Mwalimu Nyerere was right. He had a vision for the future; he was a wise person and that is why he deserves to be honoured as the Father of the Nation. Another person could advise Mandela to go and loot public resources for their own benefits to compensate the tortures they got from the white people who had plundered the national resources for many years. They have introduced Black Community Empowerment (BCE), although I do not support the mechanism but it is there, and it has helped to empower the few and has created few millionaires, about five who have given everything. If we have African millionaires, and you have a brain, you must change. However, they have to empower more people otherwise there can emerge a black community state that has no money and eventually cause problems in future, because if you have money your life changes.

Many South Africans support Robert Mugabe’s decision and they would like to see Thabo Mbeki does the same. Don’t be deceived. I visit South Africa one in every three months; they tell him that he is delaying to take action against the white settlers. The black South Africans wait for Mbeki decree that the farms will be taken; I know they will kill those white persons because for many years those white persons have been killing the black South Africans. The white persons in South Africa plan to leave the country, and some of them have been looking for land in Arusha and elsewhere.

We had also seized Savimbi’s military arms and we later gave them to him. Previously, I thought they were still under our hands. I don’t know what we did to them. But what I know they were here, that is the fact. Even Museveni used to pass his arms here and has destroyed our roads in Kagera; his military tanks caused potholes in our roads and he paid compensation and rebuilt them. But I was shocked recently when I heard Museveni saying that Uganda and Kenya were ready to unite but Tanzania will join them later, when they are ready. I said to myself that the future is unpredictable. Mwalimu told them that we were read to delay our independence to wait for Kenya and Uganda so that we get independence together. I tell you, the Father of the Nation had taught us that we should always be politically alert. No one can deceive us; we can be silent but it doesn’t mean that Tanzanians are ignorant of the situation that is going around.

We understood that there was no need to fast track East African Community. Why? I gave my views when we met during the whole of East and Southern Africa. The economically giant is Tanzania. If you look at all other countries, they have a problem of land. South Africa has two deserts, Kalahari and Kalungo; two-fifth of Kenyan land is desert; Uganda has no enough land; Burundi has no land and the population of Burundi and Rwanda is seven million. Kagera’s land is bigger than Rwanda and Burundi and we are only one million; all eyes are in Tanzania.

Let me explain what happened when we served in the Cabinet of the Father of the Nation. Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi came to request Father of the Nation to allow their people enter the country and occupy land because they had land stress in their countries. The Father of the Nation told them to go Mtwaru. They refused, they did not want to go to Mtwaru instead they wanted to be allocated in Kagera. Now, had they been allowed to enter Kagera it meant that they could have taken it as theirs. No body could agree to that. So when I read that proposal of theirs I was shocked although these days they say that it was not their intention. If the Father of the Nation was alive today he could advise them to unite. In future, food will be the biggest problem in Southern Africa. Tanzania is the only country that has an assurance of being a “bread basket” of Southern Africa. There is no any other country that can have that capacity of being a “bread basket” of Southern Africa. All minerals are found here, and the land is available.

On the day of opening Mkapu Bridge, Raila was a Minister for Infrastructure in Kenya, and he testified that he was a Tanzanian because he used Tanganyikan passport when he was studying because in Kenya it was difficult to get a visa to go to Eastern Europe. Odinga sent his son to our country and Mwalimu prepared a passport for him. If he could say that in Government then we could witness many Luos flooding into our country. As you all know that the Dar es Salaam politics are under the control of Luo. The CCM chairpersons are Luo and NEC Members are Luo. Here in Dar es Salaam alone there are a lot of Luos. Oh yes! We have Masaburi, Makongoro Mahanga who is a Deputy Minister for Infrastructure, all these two are Luo. But for us Tanzanians, we are not bothered by that, we are always as one country.

The misunderstandings and conflicts in the freedom fighting parties did not bother us because we had a good leader. The Father of the Nation was saying that let them all come. I will give few examples here. First, in Congo Brazzaville there were three groups of freedom fighters; Kahutu was receiving aid from China, and other two were getting support of USSR, and cold war confused us; whom will you accept and whom will you reject? It was difficult to make such a bold decision because you did not know who will emerge a winner. So we decided to leave the situation as it was that they had to fight among themselves.

You should not go far, let us take an example of Zanzibar. By the time we were uniting with Zanzibar there was a Cold War and the two Ministers in Ujamaa, Babu and Hanga were loyal to two different antagonistic countries; namely China and Soviet Union (USSR). When we formed a Union Government, the Russians did not support Zanzibar to unite with Tanganyika fearing that their influence could end, but China supported the Union. The reason that made China support the Union was not about being one nation, but they wanted to get rid of Russia. On our part, we were there to observe what was going on between Babu and Hanga. The Father of the Nation told Mzee Karume, it is Tanganyikans and Zanzibari who are uniting, now where do these Russians and Chinese come from? What is their role?

That is why we got those problems with East German. I recall what the Father of the Nation told the West Germany Ambassador when he wanted Mwalimu to repatriate the East Germans because they were considered as *Holstein Doctrin*, meaning that any country that recognises and maintains diplomatic relations with Eastern Germany should immediately cease diplomatic relations with West Germany. The Father of the Nation told Karume, “West German were giving us military support and so we have to cancel diplomatic relations with East Germany”. Karume said, “Listen, when you are drowning you can even seek support to grass that is on the dung. We can’t stop our relations with East Germany”. So we maintained our relations and the West Germans went to see Mwalimu Nyerere and told him that if the relations with East Germany is not stopped they will abandon their aid to Tanzania. The Father of the Nation told them it was okay with their decision. So during the night, the Father of the Nation without being informed, they flew their planes. In the morning the Father of the Nation received news that the West Germany has made such a decision. In retaliation, the Father of the Nation

decided to repatriate all the expatriates from West Germany. The Father of the Nation was very principled. Later things were sorted out.

Another example to prove that Nyerere was a principled leader is the resolution of African leaders made in Addis Ababa. The African leaders resolved that the British must remove Ian Smith from Zimbabwe and revoke the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), otherwise they terminate the diplomatic relations with United Kingdom. When we came back to our countries it was only Mwalimu who terminated the diplomatic relations with United Kingdom. We lost all the funds from United Kingdom, unfortunately there was no any other African country that respected the Addis Ababa Resolution. That show how Mwalimu was a leader with strong determination. If we didn't have such bold decision, then even South Africa could not gain independence.

It was not true that Tanzania used freedom fighters' arms in its war against Uganda. Everyone knows that we did not depend on anybody for arms in our war against Uganda but two countries failed us. UK sold us guns without bullets. We paid for guns that came without bullets; they cheated us. I rebuked them so much for what they did to us; they were hypocrites. We had to approach another government to buy weapons. Eastern Europe sold us weapons that we used during our war with Idd Amin. UK did not give us guns for free, we bought them although they did not give us bullets. China also helped us by selling us the arms although some propaganda were spread that China helped us for free. The reason for that propaganda was that they took Hans Pope into hostage and spread the news that he was a Chinese. We were all Tanzanians who fought against Idd Amin; nobody helped us. I don't think that Idd Amin used mercenaries, freedom fighters who were in Uganda, to attack us. I don't think so. First of all, Idd Amin was an ignorant person; he was not an intelligent man. He couldn't think of doing that. I knew him in person. I was the founder of Uganda Club, in Kampala, it is like our Gymkana Club. When I was a Minister I used to go to that club from Bukoba. My wife and I were not living in a hotel, instead we were going to that club. We were meeting Idd Amin as a private soldier; we drank together at Uganda Club and we shared our talks. He was an ugly person and he was insisting to harm us if we joked him. He was always insisting that and we thought it was a joke, but he was serious. He was not an intelligent man, but the British supported him. He went to Buckingham Palace one day and he was received by the Queen! These people insist on democracy, they are liars. Mwalimu and Obote tightened Heath on Rhodesia, he lost temper and said, "Some of these people who are pushing us they are just like a chandelier a house, I will cut of the wire, the whole will fall down and you won't be able to pick the pieces.

I must say that it is painful to know that our children do not know how bad these people are because they have not witnessed these things; we have to teach them. Surely we are intelligent people but I regret to see our youth receive gifts from them and they rejoice. You can receive them but get assured that they are not your relatives. To them democracy is deceptive; there is no democracy and if they do not love a person they will have no time with that person.

And for the issue of Zimbabwe, I can say that now Africans are working together to resolve it. Thabo Mbeki is working, but he also has elections next year, I think. There is big struggle this time but he is conscious about the situation. The good things is that Southern Africa, I mean SADC countries, have handled the matter very well and they have been able to ignore the pressures from America and UK. There was a time Mwanawasa was about to surrender but he was tightened. So, on that side that at least were not feable but I believe we could do more by helping him quietly through having a special fund for that purpose because they know he had a genuine reason to do that.

## Kawawa, Rashid Mfaume

[Madale Residence in Dar es Salaam; 5 January 2007]

*Honourable Rashid Mfaume Kawawa was born in Liwale in 1926. He studied at Liwale, then Dar es Salaam, and later in Tabora. When he was in Dar es Salaam, together with his colleagues they formed United Young African Organization (UYAO), that largely dealt with adult education. At Tabora School he joined the Debate Society that made him meet Mwalimu Nyerere for the first time in 1948. In 1949 he began working as a government servant in Dar es Salaam, in the Ministry of Works and later in 1951 he was transferred to Community Development Department where he worked in the Adult Education Unit. He joined Tanganyika Africans Government Servants Association (TAGSA) and became a very vibrant member in defending workers' rights. During the same time he participated in the films and theatres as an actor, and some of the plays included Mhogo Mchungu, that promoted him and he became very famous during those days. When he was working as a Community Development Officer he got an opportunity of various places in Tanganyika and continued with his TAGSA membership and invited more workers to join. In 1955 he was very instrumental in the establishment of Tanganyika Federation of Labour, and he was elected the General Secretary. The federation helped TANU very much. He was elected to represent Dar es Salaam in the First Parliament (LEGCO), and he continued holding the position until when Tanganyika got Independence in 1961. After Independence, Honourable Kawawa held various positions in the government including being the Vice President and he was a Second Vice President in 1964 soon after Tanganyika United with Zanzibar. Before that in 1960, Kawawa was the Vice President of TANU and he was responsible in coordinating liberation struggles in different African countries because TANU believed that it was inevitable to leave other countries under colonialism and so the Tanganyika's independence was meaningless if other countries were not free. He continued with the coordination of liberation struggles while in government, especially from 1967 when he became the Minister for Defence. The contribution of Honourable Kawawa in the liberation struggles cannot be undermined and he was active since when he was in the workers' unions until when he joined TANU and later when he was a top government and party leader.*

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Congratulations for starting this important task. I will tell you what I can remember and what I know about myself. I was a child of a civil servant. My father was a Game Officer for a long time and he died in 1956. He was accidentally killed by the gun that he was about to shoot a leopard and the gun went off suddenly and shoot him to death. I lived with my father for more than thirty years. My relationship with my father was so friendly; when I was young I always accompanied him wherever he went and I learnt his activities and I knew the difficulties he was facing. So, even when I was studying I quickly understood things. During the holidays my father told me that he was a member of Tanganyika African Government Servants Association (TAGSA). He was showing me letters and newspapers they were given, I was reading them. He was a good reader but I was able to understand more those things and I explained to him.

I was studying here in Dar es Salaam, at Africa Centre School, the Second World War was about to end in 1945, there was a huge famine. People were given coupons for food and

they had to buy that food and not for free. However, there were some discriminations when food was sold. There was a European Ration, Asian Ration and African Ration. European ration included bread, butter, sugar, wheat flour, and rice. The Asian ration had the same things except that bread was an option and in addition they were given milk. There was a clear discrimination because you can stand in queue for a long time so get food but you won't get. People were carrying baskets everywhere just to try their luck because they were not sure of getting food. I had my own basket and if it happened that in the station I was supposed to get breads are not available, not rice or flour, I had to move everywhere to try my luck. There was a time we received food aid, I don't know what was that although they said it was flour. I don't know where that flour came from but some say it came from Congo. I think it was a flour from the tree roots that pounded and dried and later crushed to get flour. It was very bad and it had no taste. Teachers became furious about that. All these were happening while we were still at the school and the teachers were at their homes. Fortunately, some of the teachers were members of African Association. This was a political party, but during those days it was not a political party but just for welfare of the Africans. The African Association was in good relations with TAGSA. They discussed issues and they were meeting at the school where I was studying, in one of the big halls, and we were also invited as students, but only senior students were the ones invited.

Teachers were so angry and they condemned that food. They decided to march to Dar es Salaam Provincial Commissioner. That incident made me to understand politics. We realised that it was a clear discrimination and segregation. We Africans were consuming substandard food. We decided to petition for the change and improved food ration. We succeeded in our petition and they started giving us bread, rice, meat, beans and normal maize flour. So I realised that if you want changes you must raise your voice to be heard. So that spirit was planted in me and I continued with it when I joined Tabora School. Before going to Tabora, my colleagues and I in Dar es Salaam formed United Young African Organization (UYAO). The goals of that organisation were to support young Africans so that we become independent and get rid of dependence and fight against discrimination, tortures and humiliations. During those days we introduced adult education at the school. Fortunately, we had a good British Headmaster, he allowed us to use all classes for adult education. The members of our organisation were teachers and so we divided subjects to teach, some taught English, others arithmetics and literacy skills. We loved that job and in addition to those subjects we also taught comedies or plays. People loved our comedies and loved to participate in those plays. Every time when I was in Liwale for holidays, I established adult education classes, theatre art groups; and people loved them. I became very popular and people loved me, especially elder persons. We also established the organisation at Tabora School and it became very powerful, but although we were tight with studies still my mind was on it. At Tabora School we found a Debate Society. Members looked for debate motion, we met and debated on that motion. Luckily, one day our teachers decided to organise a debate with Saint Mary's School. That was in 1948. The teachers proposed the title of debate to be *Wealth is Better than Education*. The Tabora School teachers decided to be proposers of the motion, and so they supported that *Wealth is Better than Education*, and St. Mary's School teachers opposed the motion, meaning that they were for education is better than wealth. The first to speak for the side of St. Mary's School was Mwalimu Nyerere, and his colleague was Tibandebage. I can't remember any teacher on the side of my own Tabora School, I don't understand why I can't remember them but may be because they did not impress me. The debate was so heated that day. Tabora Boys School were the audience, we had to judge which was better. The battle was tight and that is the moment I saw Mwalimu Nyerere making his arguments logically; his philosophy attracted me, I was really impressed. Mwalimu swept the audience to his side.

Unfortunately, the proposition side did not do well. During the voting, all students were on the opposition side, so we supported the statement that *Education is Better than Wealth*. We were so happy and since that day I never forgot Mwalimu.

In 1949 while at Tabora School I had a close friend, the late Professor Swedi Mtamila, we knew each other from Tunduru and we were the only two persons from Dar es Salaam selected to join Tabora School. After finishing Standard twelve we came back to look for the job in Dar es Salaam. We went to see the Establishment Officer and we told the officer that we had come from Tabora School and we were looking for the job. The officer told us to come back the next day, and when we came back my friend and I got the job; so we started working in Dar es Salaam. We were completely new to Dar es Salaam but luckily, one of our Dar es Salaam School classmates, who just completed Standard Ten and got a job, was already living in Dar es Salaam. We looked for him; he was living near Sunderland Street, today is Msimbazi where Simba Sports Club is located, he was living in a house thatched with coconut palm leaves. We went there and we were welcomed by Alfred Nelson. He had one bed and stove. He welcomed us and told us that we shall stay together, cook together, and all sleep in one bed. We accepted that and indeed he cooked for us a delicious meal and slept on that bed. I praised him very much. We stayed there and we went to work from that room. Unfortunately he has passed away.

Fortunately, at work I met a clerk who was the husband of Titi Mohamed, I worked with him. He took me to his home at Shaurimoyo street. While at his home I heard discussion about TAGSA. I asked them if there was a TAGSA branch, they told me there was. I recalled my later father who was showing papers and letters from this workers' association. I vowed to join it. They directed me to Ally Sykes. This Sykes was the General Secretary of TAGSA. I went to see him and he received me, I was registered and gave me a book.

After becoming a member of TAGSA, people got used to me at my work place, my fellow staffmates started to assign me some tasks to speak for them. They brought their complaints about salaries that were receiving low wages and they were not promoted to higher ranks and there was no salary increment. I told them that I was willing to help them. I was writing complaints letter and they were succeeding. As many people were successful in their complaints I became more popular. And my boss also developed more trust to me so he was assigning me bigger roles, sometimes I was given accounts work. I was in the PWD Works Supply, that is where I started my job. I was collecting financial reports and sent to him, he was very much impressed.

In 1951, I heard that there was a job announcement at Community Development Office. I applied for the job and I was recruited; so I moved to Community Development Office. I was responsible for Adult Education, and preparing cinemas on human development and life skills such as sanitation and cleanliness. I was working with a mobile van, I was moving into Dar es Salaam, showing cinema, making commentary and explaining some issues to them. I was used to that work and later I started acting in the films.

Community Development office wanted more youth to be actors in the films. To me as a young person that work was more challenging and it was a good job. I was a clever boy. So I requested one officer called Jim Magera, who was an Officer In Charge of Development in Dar es Salaam to continue with film or cinema works and move to Adult Education after working hours. The officer accepted my request. The government was preparing cinemas for development programs and adult education. The cinema producers and film makers were boers from South Africa. They came to interview some young persons who could do that work. I was also interviewed and after questioning me some few questions they said I was a right person. Now I was famous by the acting name of *Mhogo Mchungu*; I was the first African to play cinema in public. I was given a play



script about *Mhogo Mchungu* and I was told that I to look at it make a criticism on its content. The Commissioner gave it to me as told to me go and read and make a candid criticism. I went and read it, I found that it was completely westernised, there was no any African content in it. I decided that it should be edited to contextualise it so that it can have African content. After rewriting it I sent to the Commissioner who fortunately accepted my corrections and said, "This is the point. This is now *Mhogo Mchungu*." I entered into terms with them and I started my work. We made *Mhogo Mchungu* to be very popular in Dar es Salaam. *Mhogo Mchungu* cinema was a short story about a rural young man who was attracted by urban life and moved to the town. After he started his life in town he encountered a lot of unusual events. Some people stole his money and he lived a very difficult life. The aim was to discourage young persons not to leave their villages for towns.

I started a new work to prepare the second part called *Meli Inakwenda*. This was a story about one girl who was deceived by some people and she moved to town where she encountered a number of difficulties. When she decided to go back home she found that her fiancée had already got married. She decided to go to the witch doctor; she bewitched her boyfriend who later died. Unfortunately, many problems befell her after she magically killed her boyfriend; she was arrested and jailed. After completing the sentence in jail. That is briefly about the film called *Meli Inakwenda*. This was a girl who left Bukoba and came to Dar es Salaam where she ferried a boat to Mombasa. I played my part as a young man who deceived that lady and travelled with her to Mombasa. The story ended like that. I also played other different stories and those South Africans loved me. In those plays I also learnt politics because in South Africa there was Apartheid and I reflected that when I was working with them.

When I was working in that department I got opportunities to travel to different parts of the country including Dar es Salaam, Bukoba, Kigoma, and Arusha; and wherever I went I always remembered to spread the message of TAGSA. I was meeting Government workers, I talked to them and recruited them to TAGSA membership. I took the names of the new members and the subscription fees and submitted to Ally Sykes. That is how the Association spread all over Tanganyika. In December 1952 I went to Songea for a holiday, and during that time MAUMAU war was at peak, Kenya wanted to be free. I received a call that I should come back quickly. I took a bus up to Lindi and there I found an air ticket to Dar es Salaam. Upon my arrival in Dar es Salaam I was told that I had to travel to Urambo Tabora. There was a camp for the people who were arrested in Arusha, Moshi and Tanga. These were Kikuyu MAUMAU. I was asked to go to Urambo to see them because they considered me as a person who could easily handle people. I had to talk to them politically and remind them that there are some developments in their country so that they could cool down. It was planned that after they cooled down they could be brought back to their country. I found that was so difficult to me but it was not easy for me to refuse that although it was challenging. The journey was prepared for me to go to Urambo, Tabora to meet MAUMAU fighters. Upon my arrival MAU MAU were convened in a meeting and I had to talk to them. They gave me a tough moment. They asked me, "are your parents still alive or have gone?" Oh, I found it so tough to handle that situation. Some of them were criminals they have even killed people before. "Today they demand development, are these really politicians?", I asked myself. But I loved them on matters of education; I asked them what were the things they loved most. They said they wanted books to read. They wrote their names and they told me that they wanted to talk to their families.

We prepared a post box and everyone wrote a letter and indicated clearly the addresses. Some of them received responses and others send their letters through the same post box. I asked them if they knew how to read and write; they told me they all knew how to read,

write in English and numeracy. Fortunately all of them were educated people. I asked them if there was anybody who wanted to teach. They volunteered to teach sports and games, entertainment and football. They wanted to be paid a certain amount from the work they were doing. I reported that request to the Commander who was there and he accepted their plea. It happened that those Kikuyu people loved me so much and they called me Mwalimu! Mwalimu whenever they saw me coming. I worked with them very successfully. However, some of them were not good people; they were even involved in killings and others were such good people. Those who were good we marked them *Gray* and they were sent to TAMOTA Handeni. Those who once killed were marked as *Red* and these were considered as dangerous people and we had to retain them there and we kept their records. It was so challenging to sort out the bad and good people. They had their leaders who were very critical. These leaders were not supposed to be mixed with others because they were very influential to others. If the leaders accepted something then automatically their followers would accept. So because the leaders refused even those who were supposed to go to TAMOTA refused too. Then the Commander told me, “Rashid, most of the people here are good but they don’t want to leave this place because they enjoy being here; they play, they read, and so they don’t want to go”. I asked him, “what should we do?”. He told me, “I want to select those who are supposed to be moved to TAMOTA and others should continue staying here”. I asked him to give me more time so that I try to make things happen. I knew the Kikuyu; they were always obedient to their leader and they would obey every order from their leader. I decided to separate them. I asked them to prepare a place for me and they had to put a chair in that small room. I called one after another and I told every one that their records were clean and it showed that they have never killed. I further told them the government wanted them to move to TAMOTA where they live in separate houses and they will be given farms; and in addition to that I told them that they will have an opportunity to do business and to keep animals and later when things are settled at home they will be repatriated to their homes. They all agreed and the deal was over. After my explanation, I asked them, and whoever agreed I ticked against his name and if refused I cancelled his name. Many agreed with the proposal to go. I went to the Commander with a list of people who agreed to go to TAMOTA and I told him to prepare trucks and we call them to the meeting to read the names and after hearing the name they entered into the truck. It was a simple job and they were moved to TAMOTA. The Commander was so happy to see the exercise was accomplished without problems.

The news reached in Dar es Salaam, to the Chief Secretary, who later ordered that this Rashid must go to TAMOTA so that he continues being with those people there. I sighed with relief when I received those news that I have to move to Handeni. So I left Urambo Camp for TAMOTA Handeni, and I found them already arrived and they were so happy to see me there. They called me, Mwalimu! Oh Mwalimu! I stayed there with them, I organised classes, football teams and the farms; so we generally had gardens and we divided the works to everyone. They cultivated farms, planted vegetables and other horticultural crops and they sold in Handeni town. We were also playing football in Handeni up to Tanga. Those people became popular in that area.

In July 1954, African Association met in Dar es Salaam, and Mwalimu Nyerere proposed that the African Association change the name and become Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). They elected Mwalimu Nyerere to be the President of TANU and it was announced in the newspapers. I read the news that African Association was now now Tanganyika African National Union and Julius Nyerere was elected its president. I remembered Mwalimu Nyerere, and I said to myself that if Nyerere was a president that was a perfect choice and I was okay with him. So it took some months later when I was transferred to Dar es Salaam in October the same year. After arriving in Dar es Salaam I met a strong movement of the party. My wife, the late Sophia was very courageous; she joined TANU. But I was very careful because I was a Government servant, so the laws bind me not to join politics. My partner had joined the party

and showed me her TANU membership card. I encouraged her saying, “very good, congratulations”.

We had TAGSA Annual General Meeting. Ally Sykes organised the annual meeting and one of the agenda was election and I was elected the new President of TAGSA, I consented. Now, there was a journey to New York to defend or speak for the Independence of Tanganyika. We got independence seven years later. So after independence we received a plea to join TANU. I said that I must join TANU secretly or by any other means. So I secretly joined TANU. Later I advised my colleagues to contribute for TANU. The contribution was meant to support Mwalimu to go to New York; but I requested them not to announce. So I contributed five hundred shillings; it was a lot during those days. At Lumumba Street there is our building and we invited Mwalimu to the office and introduced ourselves to him and told him that we were TAGSA, and he said he knew it before. We told him, “We giving our contribution to you so that it can support you on your journey to New York. But we request you not to announce it otherwise we shall be arrested and jailed”. He agreed with us.

The party had its own systems but for us we were responsible with welfare of the workers. We were emotionally moved because of TANU but as workers we were supposed to stand more firm. We knew that without independence we could not be dignified and our expectations could not be met. So we started thinking about the freedom of our own association.

In 1955 Tom Mboya came to visit us in Dar es Salaam and to explain to us about Trade Union. TAGSA was only for the welfare of workers, and African Association was for liberation struggle. So he came to tell us about Trade Union. We welcomed him and organised such a big meeting of all workers at Arnatouglo Hall. He made his speech there about workers and Workers’s Trade Union of Kenya. He told us if we also wanted he could help us to establish our own trade union that will later join world trade union federation because they were also members and they could help us to go through the whole process. So, we were so much happy to hear about that and we formed our trade union that was later a member of world trade union federation. We went to learn to Kenya with one vibrant young man called Mpangala. You know Mpangala. He was a General Secretary of Commercial Workers Union. He was very active. So I met him and we organised our workers’ associations for the meeting so that we could deliberate on the formation of our own federation in Tanganyika. Our colleagues in Kenya had a Federation of Labour, and we wanted to form our own federation.

I took the responsibility to organise the meeting and participants came from Kenya and some members came from Moshi, Tanga, and Mwanza and their hosts from Dar es Salaam. We met for three days and we finally agreed to form Tanganyika Federation of Labour. We organised the Federation of Labour, and I was elected the first General Secretary of the federation. In 1955 we began to be active.

Now, in December the same year, I don’t if it was good luck or bad, Princess Margaret came to visit Tanganyika. During those days the workers of one small hotel at Oysterbay hotel boycotted claiming to have more wage. So they decided to boycott after they heard that Princess Margaret was coming to press for more salary increment and they knew that the hotel management would be forced to concede to their claims. Now, without holding any discussion with others, when they heard that their colleagues in that hotel have boycotted, they also decided to boycott. The business owners became angry and they vowed that they don’t want to see their workers and the government also didn’t want to see the boycotting workers. What could they do? They had to meet to discuss the matter and deliberate on the possible ways to address the problem. We decided to send the matter to Trade Union Council (TUC) and thereafter present the matter to the CONGRESS to meet the British people who were our colonial masters.

Workers appointed me to represent them. We left immediately to meet TUC in UK. We told them that the businesspersons do not want to see workers and the government does not want to settle the matter and workers have boycotted demanding wage increase and their employers have removed them from work. I told them that workers boycotted only for one day and the employers have decided to retaliate by removing us from work, and worse still the government is not ready to hear us. So, the TUC appointed one person to join us to see the Secretary of Overseas Trade Unions. I talked to the Secretary of Overseas Trade Unions. He said, “I will make a call to the Governor of Tanganyika to order the employers to receive back the workers. It is not a crime to boycott”. When I came back I found that the employers have stuck to their guns. So, I had to see Labour Commissioner, and unfortunately he did not want to hear about that. He said, “if the employers have refused, what can we do?” In the morning of the next day we convened a meeting and gave the feedback to the workers that the employers have refused to allow them come back. They became angry and vowed to extend the boycott.

Later there was a conference for International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), in Ghana, and we were invited to attend the conference. We were given a chance to share with them the challenges we are facing. So they also appointed me to represent the federation. I went to Ghana for the first time. I was given to explain about the situation in Tanganyika. I told them that in Tanganyika the employers do not recognise the workers’ associations. Secondly, there is no minimum wage. If you received ten shillings as your first salary that will be your permanent salary. My fellow participants felt very sympathetic about that situation. TUC were there and they called me by sidelines of the meeting and asked, “Can we meet with those employers?” TUC decided on spot to come to see them. They appointed one lady to come and she came with us. On her arrival in Dar es Salaam, we convened a meeting of workers and that lady was there. She felt very sorry about us. She later helped workers and she remained in the country. We talked to the government and for the first time we reached an agreement on the minimum wage in Tanganyika; and during that time we agreed that the minimum wage should be twenty shillings per month. It was announced and we agreed but the companies owners refused, and we continued boycotting. So from there we decided to join efforts of fighting for our independence because the colonial government was not ready to help us workers; so we vowed to fight for our own government.

Since then we appealed to all workers to join workers’ associations and TANU. We said that if a worker is not a member of TANU then you are missing something, you are not complete. We made this very clear from the beginning and we had a plan to organise all workers in all sectors such as mines in Mwadui and Gold Mines in Geita. All workers’ associations were aimed to be members of Tanganyika Federation of Labour, and proceed to tradeunions.

The solidarity was so strong and Mwalimu Nyerere contributed to that strength. In mobilising the workers it happened somewhere in Mombo, the workers striked demanding the right to be heard. The owner of the company refused to grant them the right to be heard. We sent Mpangala and we supported the strike as a way to pressurise for rights of workers. We told them that no worker will be allowed to go to work; and so the workers boycotted work and the company owner refused to receive them and removed them from the employment. The workers left the farms and they had to leave for good. But now the question came, where are these workers going? The company depended on migrant workers and these migrants workers had nowhere to go. It was a serious problem. Mwalimu heard about that crisis and how the company owner has tackled it. The employer wanted them to go and he had called police to disperse them.

Mwalimu appealed to people saying, “My dear brothers and sisters in Tanga, dear TANU and non-TANU members, please receive your relatives. Please receive them”. The people surrounding the sisal plantation flocked in multitude and took those migrant workers and hosted

them. More than ten thousand workers were taken by the local people and disappeared. The company owner was stopped to recruit new people and he never got any new person to work there. The company became under insolvency and he had to close the business and left the place. The farm was called Mazinde; but I don't think if that farm is still there until today. And that was solved because of the voice of Mwalimu!

Then there was another strike of Railway workers, which was very big and impactful. The strike started in 1959 and it took several months to end; I think it was from May to October, and the Secretary General was Kasanga Tumbo. I think at the same there was another strike of Postal workers. Kasanga Tumbo came to see me at Macho Mekundu. I told him, "But we told you don't lead people into strike without negotiations?" He said, "Ah, we have failed to tolerate". He went to the TUC to report the matter and he was told that Railway was a government corporation and it was supposed to be discussed by the governments of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. The Governors don't want workers to get a wage increase. We told that Mwalimu and he said let us go and see Governor. We arranged an appointment with Sir Turnbull who was a Governor by then. We went to the Governor that workers have gone into strike because they demand their rights and the government don't want to give them salary increment. Kenyan Governor agreed to increase the salary; the Ugandan Governor said he will negotiate with workers. They negotiated and agreed to give salary increment to all workers and they received them back without any conditions. We were so much pleased to witness that. Workers became pure TANU members; there were no workers who refused to be TANU member. So we moved together like that.

In Tabora emerged a dispute on three votes, meaning that a European, Indian and African. For us Africans we did not understand it. We said it is not possible. I did not go to Tabora for that conference. Luckily, during that conference there was an agenda of elections and my name was proposed in my absence to be a member of National Executive Committee. It was agreed and approved, I thanked for that. The Three Votes Debate is very famous. You can look for records to find more details about it. When Mwalimu Nyerere found that it was a complex issue, he had to leave the front chair and join people at the floor so that he could join his friends and participate in discussion. Mwalimu strongly argued and his arguments were very strong. Some people planned to boycott elections and that could have affected the whole process of gaining independence. He gave an example of Ghana where Kwame Nkrumah voted while in jail and he did not boycott elections. The conducted elections and did not take konger time for them to gain independence. So after Nyerere's advice people understood the essence and so Mwalimu had a chance to be accepted by the members of that meeting of three votes. The late Ms Matola from he stood up and said, "Today I will be able to know better the men of this country and the TANU men. How will you allow one woman to get married by three husbands? Mwalimu stood up and said, "We shall accept that arrangement with special consideration that we shall nominate a European and we shall also nominate an Indian and we will ask the fellow Europeans and Indians to choose their own candidate. We can't give them a chance to finish us here. We agree on conditions that we propose the names of Indians or Europeans who we want. TANU member will propose a names of a European and Indians. We tell them that if you wanted to elect then this is a European and this is an Indian you should vote for". It was a simple trick and fortunately TANU won. All TANU candidates passed expect one. The late Sarwat did not get enough votes despite the fact that he was a devout TANU member; the cause for his failure was due to his support to Chief Dodo who stood as an independent candidate. Chief Dodo was a good man and was very strong in his decisions and very firm for the interests of his people and Africans in general. So Sarwat sacrificed his position for Chief Dodo who was eventually elected and MP; we were sworn in together. That was the first round and it was the first time for TANU to loose. We were shocked very much but in fact it was a matter of principle, but we learnt from our mistake. Mwalimu Nyerere had a tough moment when he contested through

Morogoro; his opponent was Chief Kunambi who won and became an MP for Morogoro. I contested through Dar es Salaam. So we continued like that and TANU became powerful and vibrant. Sarwat was a well mannered person, who loved his party. He was also loved by his people and made very good contributions during the parliamentary debates and in discussions. We had no problems with him, we continued working with him later as usual. We started with a very strong parliament and we maintained that pace until when we got independence in 1961.

After independence, Mwalimu appointed me to be his Vice President, and I continued with the same position until 1964 before Tanganyika united with Zanzibar and became Tanzania. After the Union I became the Second Vice President, the position that I served until 1967 after Arusha Declaration, and after Kambona had fled the country and I was made a Minister for Defence. I was the Vice President of the Party since 1960 and I was responsible with the coordination of liberation struggles because TANU was closely linked with the liberation of Africa. TANU believed that it was not enough for Tanganyika to get independence while many other African countries are not free. Wherever in the world Africans have been considered as a slave and so Mwalimu vowed that we should help our fellow Africans to gain independence. The late Kwame Nkrumah said that If Africa is not independent then Ghana is not independent. TANU and Mwalimu had adopted the same slogan that Without Africa being Independent then Tanganyika is not independent. As Minister for Defence, I was responsible for the African liberation struggles. So, we collaborated with different liberation parties such as ANC and PAC of South Africa, FRELIMO from Mozambique, SWAPO from Namibia, ZANU and ZAPU from Zimbabwe, and even some Angolans.

In 1962 Nelson Mandela decided to go back to South Africa, and he escaped the prison and went to South Africa to lead the fight while inside his country. When he arrived in Dar es Salaam I was a prime Minister by then and he came to see me and informed me that they have decided to back to their country for fight for the independence. I congratulated them. They said that they needed our support and I assured him that our chairman is determined to support them as much as we can. They left for South Africa. We decided to help them in collaboration with some friend countries like China, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria and other few countries. We were here receiving weapons from different corners and we kept them and make some arrangements of sending them to those countries. It was a very difficult task but it was possible because of the cooperation with the fighters. Hashim Mbita was a team leader on our part who cooperated with the respective freedom fighters. He was a link person between us and them; he sent the weapons and collected their complaints and brought to us. He was very close to where I am living here. OAU decided to establish the office of his Committee of Liberation of Africa in Dar es Salaam. He was the Secretary of the Liberation Committee. Before that we formed Pan African Movement of East Central and South Africa (PAFMECSA) so as to support the liberation struggles. It worked very well and we moved ahead. Due to those initiatives, Zambia, Malawi, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa got their independences. All these countries got independences due to the pressure from Tanganyika by then.

Malawi became independent under Kamuzu Banda; and we border it in the south and River Songwe marks our border with Malawi. The river sometimes moves to Tanzanian side and sometimes to Malawian side; and that is the mark of our border since then. When the river changed the direction, Banda claimed that he could attack Tanzania and control some parts of it including Tukuyu and Kyela, the whole Ruvuma region and any other parts that he felt belonged to Malawi. When I was a Minister for Defence I visited the disputed border area and I told the citizens, "Listen citizens, Banda has plans to invade to control your areas". They became so furious and they sang their famous song called *Tubhuke, tubhuke!* – meaning that let us go, let us go now. But it was a foolish idea, he became silent. That is how we have been in border dispute with Malawi.

FRELIMO was formed here in our country during the era of the Late Mondlane. That is his party. Mozambicans who were living in this country had their parties but they were not active. When Mondlane came he formed FRELIMO in 1962, and immediately the wars in Mozambique started. One day he came to my office to inform me that they have started liberation wars in Mozambique. I asked him, "How much have you prepared for that?" He told me that they were well prepared. Indeed they launched attacks very close to Tanzania and the refugees entered Tanzania. The Portuguese were wounded, especially the soldiers, they entered Tanzania and we received them and sheltered them at Nachingwea.

The war continued but they were not well prepared. The Portuguese attacked them and destroyed the farms of people near the border with Tanzania, on the northern part of Mozambique; they completely destroyed the farms with bombs. The citizens had no food, no shelters, no clothes; they were all naked. When I was in Nachingwea, in my constituency by then, Samora Machel approached me and told me that they were losing the battle and people had neither food nor clothes. I had to rush quickly to Dar es Salaam to meet Mwalimu. I told him that, "Samora Machel came to see me and said that they losing the battle and the Portuguese have occupied the whole north of Mozambique and had destroyed the bombed the farms and people have neither food nor clothes; and the FRELIMO soldiers are fighting while naked. Mwalimu ordered me to call the Chief of Defence Forces, by then was General Sarakikya. I called him to my office and we left to see Mwalimu. Mwalimu said, "FRELIMO will lose the battle if we don't support them under emergence. Organise for donation and send to them enough food and clothes". Sarakikya received te order and he immediately ordered military trucks to send food and clothes to the border. On their arrival at the border the citizens were informed; they crossed the border and collected the clothes and food items. It was a turing point for them; the war resumed in different parts of Mozambique. They had a bitter and fierce war and later our soldiers went to support them, our youth went to Mozambique.

We had a very strong solidarity. And the blood was shed in the battle field and no one retreated from the war until Mozambique became independent. That is how we helped FRELIMO. The war in Mozambique took a bit longer because because the Portuguese wanted us not to support FRELIMO. They started provocation. They put land mines along Ruvuma River and the landmines exploded and killed our people and that was a challenge to us. We went to the border and told our people that we must close the border. We told them that they will undergo military training; they will be given weapons to protect their boundaries and they should not allow any person to cross the border; they should never allow neither a Portuguese nor any other person. So the border was closed starting from the Indian Ocean estuary to the Lake Nyasa. At the border post we put male and female soldiers. When they came with their planes it was shot down at Kitaya. When the Portuguese saw that their plane was shot down by our ordinary citizens they were afraid of us. I remember one day we went to visit our soldiers at the border, the Portuguese were hiding themselves the other side of the river and we said that we should not run away. They were very much afraid of us. But the good thing is that we were not provocative. This war was very interesting because people became soldiers and they were real soldiers and until today they have been protectcing our border.

The friendship between Mozambique and Tanganyika, now Tanzania, became stronger since the liberation struggles when we were fighting for the independence of Mozambique. Before the late Samora passed away, he proposed that we should build the Bridge to connect the two countries. The call exists until today and the bridge construction commenced recently and it is not complete. The road is paved and once all these will be complete that will be a great economic opportunity for the two countries.

## Kileo, Charles

[Dar es Salaam; 29 January 2008]

*Ambassador Charles Kileo has been an activist, who has been involved with the liberation struggle since his youth. He started a TANU Youth Branch and also a Student National Building Corps at his high school in 1964, which later brought him to the attention of the national leadership. He continued with his political activities when he joined the University of Dar es Salaam in 1965, where through the Party, he came into contact with leaders of the freedom fighting movements which were based in Dar es Salaam in various fora. As a member of the TANU Study Group, he was also working closely with the top leadership of the country. After graduating from the University, Ambassador Kileo worked in the Party at various capacities, and for the Government of Tanzania as a Regional Commissioner in several regions, and as Ambassador in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Ethiopia. Throughout his public service Ambassador Kileo was involved with the liberation struggle, and was entrusted with the role of leading teams to negotiations involving freedom fighting movements, some of which were difficult but interesting. At the time of the interview he had retired from public office and was doing his own private business.*

Thanks Prof. Temu and your team. My name is Charles Stephen Kileo, I was born in Hai District, I studied at Moshi Secondary School up to Form IV, after that, I went to St. Michael and St. George School, which was later to be called Mkwawa High School. It was a European school. They had decided to have six forms in 1960. In 1963 they remained with only Forms V and VI, as they were phasing out the lower school. In 1964, I became a member of the Students' Board. I started TANU Youth Branch there, which the white people, they found it very strange. But I registered TANU Youth Branch.

We started something else called Student National Building. I think the only teacher there at that time was Mr. Eliamani Meena; he understood us but the white people did not understand us. My patriotic consciousness had started quite early and student leadership came naturally to me. I became the Chairman of Senior Debate Society there, when I was only in Form V. But the Starting of TANU Youth League branch and Student National Building Corps is what brought me to the attention of the national leadership.

I was interviewed by the late Moses Nnauye who asked me where I got the ideas of starting TANU Youth League Branch, and the Student National Building Corps (SNBC). I will start with Student National Building Corps. The President, since Uhuru, it was then 3-4 years of Uhuru, had been talking about *Uhuru Ni Kazi*, then it became *Uhuru na Kazi*, and that the development of Tanganyika will come from the efforts of Tanganyikans themselves. At that time there was also something called *Mtu ni Afya*, a Public Health Program of the People, led by the party and government in different organs.

So what we were doing in the SNBC, is that, we used to go out to parts of Iringa and teach people about the importance of latrines, to have clean water, to boil water, general cleanliness surrounding their houses, body cleanliness, and adult literacy. The Regional Commissioner of Iringa at that time was Philemon Muro, who was my uncle, was absolutely surprised. I went on like that, and finished in 1965. Joseph Mungai was there with us and when he wanted to go straight to become an MP for Mufindi, we campaigned for him, and he became the Member of Parliament.

I left Iringa in 1965, joined the University of Dar es Salaam and graduated in 1970. In the University of Dar-es-Salaam I met Prof. Temu and Prof. Kimambo. They were regarded as a



team of very progressive lecturers at that time. It was while I was at the University of Dar-es-Salaam, in 1967, that we started inviting Samora Machel, Chisano and later Amical Cabral and Edward Mondlane. We did this under the umbrella of free organizations.

First of all I had become a member of TANU Study Group in 1967. I had been interviewed when I was in Mkwawa about ideas of TANU Youth League and what have you, and then they picked me to join the TANU Study Group. The TANU Study Group was a study circle of patriotic elements within the party, the government civil service, and even parastatal organizations. We thought that we must have a think tank within the party, and that members were to be drawn from the youth, particularly, for identifying talents of leadership for the young generation, and identifying and preparing leadership for the party, that was one aspect. Second aspect, was, to be a fountain of ideas which could be rejuvenated, and ventilate ideas within the party, so that we could get new ideas, and hoped that these ideas would go up. People like Mwalimu Julius Nyerere was a great intellectual and he wanted intellectual challenge with intellectual fragmentation of ideas; and he used to listen very seriously to these ideas. So we found Mwalimu very receptive, and that is where we started to discuss the ideas of liberation struggle; the role of Tanzania, how Tanzania had done in the liberation struggle or how could Tanzania do better; and Mwalimu would come to speak to us.

There were people like Ngombale, Joseph Nyerere, Chairman of Youth League at that time-Lawi Sijaona, late Michael Baruti and other people. Joseph Butiku was a very instrumental member, as he was the Private Secretary of the President; Hashim Mbita was also a member. We were very junior little boys but we used to go there and speak very openly about what we thought. That is how we started using this platform to get a place for the youth of the party, in the major platform, for articulating our ideas. So we used this TANU Studying Group for injecting ideas from the lower ranks of the youth, into these elders of ours, (intellectuals and patriots); and then ideas went up to the party organs, particularly to Mwalimu Nyerere. So we used the Study Group to invite people to come to talk to us. The liberation struggle was the first aspect of it. Then also the idea of reviving the liberation struggle came from TANU Youth League, District of the University. The TANU Youth League at the University of Dar-es-Salaam was given district status in 1967 onwards. For a while Juma Mwapiji was the Chairman, and then the late Andrew Shija when things got very hot with Arusha Declaration. Then we had another study organization called University Student African Revolutionary Front. This one was not only for Tanzanians but African Students at the University of Dar es Salaam.

You will remember that it was not only the student leadership board which was international in character; Pan-Africanism in character came from different parts of Africa, many were coming from Zimbabwe, Malawi, we even had a lecturer called Mutharika in the Law Department. We also had the benefit of having some of the most progressive lecturers from the Caribbean; Clave Thomas, W. Rodney. We had people like Pisioto, and Gramli who used to teach International Constitutional Law, Weston who used to teach Criminal Law, Professor Kanywanyi who was a law lecturer and Haroub Othman who was a kind of an administrator.

I think at that time revolutionary ideas, even further radicalized by the Arusha Declaration, found a very good fertile ground of propagating these ideas at the university. And there was a nexus between the lecturers or Professors, who were progressive in orientation, and students. The University Student African Revolutionary Front, of which Museveni was chairman, and I was the Secretary, really controlled the levels of influencing students in the progressive thinking in the University.

I remember we did invite Edward Mondlane. Edward Mondlane was not an extremely

leftist radical. He was a patriotic nationalist in Mozambique, a patriotic lecturer, he was a lecturer in the United States and he used to speak to us regularly because of his base in Dar es Salaam. He was scholarly but also elderly figure. He would come there and tell us how far they had gone with the liberation struggle by 1967.

We invited the poet and future president of Angola Dr. Augustino Neto. He remained with a kind of expression of pain in his face all the time. He was a dedicated intellectual and poet. He had suffered in Portuguese prisons for a long time. From his face he covered and carried the sufferings of Angolan people, you could see it in his face. He spoke with a soft voice, but every word was fully packed with the anguish of the Angolan people. And when we managed to get him he really inspired the students and lecturers alike. Now, that was my first introduction to the liberation struggle.

I was inducted into the National Service in December 1966, and when I came out from the National Service, after five months of basic training, and posted to mikoani, I came back to the University. Myself, Ali Mchumo and the Late Beatus Chijumba, who was a friend of mine, we used to be almost soul brothers. We were from that time political commissars of National Service. Even when we were at the University we were political commissars of the Armed Forces, not only for the National Service. We used to go to the camps and teach political education and bring political consciousness to the Armed Forces on the mainland and Zanzibar. That was a very important juncture in history because Tanzania had just seen the western world and taken unthinkable decisions to make a break with the economy of the west and initiated the Arusha Declaration.

It was widely acclaimed by the people and the ruling elites in Tanzania. Mwalimu was there with some patriotic elements of the party but there were others who were not so enthusiastic. So there were a lot of seminars in the country educating people about the Arusha Declaration, and there were very powerful detachments from the University who went around the country to do the duty for leaders, and what have you.

I am saying this because I believe Tanzanians were left on the wave of the Arusha Declaration and socialism and self-reliance, strengthening the base of Tanzania as a front for the liberation of South Africa, because now we managed to build a fortress country which could fight the blows and destabilizations of Western countries. Those who don't remember, the Daily Telegraph wrote an article about Nationalization which was announced in Dar es Salaam in February, 1967 at Mnazi Mmoja Ground, "If Tanzania is allowed to get away with this; Western capital will have a very poor ride in Africa. It is a great consequence for the western powers". Daily Telegraph was a very influential newspaper in the UK.

So I am saying, here is Tanzania, the poor country which decided to opt for socialism, Kenya staunchly capitalist, Uganda more or less capitalist. Tanzania, if you remember, hosted most of the liberation movements after the formation of OAU on 25th May 1963. The Liberation Committee, was also based in Dar es Salaam. Between 1960-63 when it was formed, Sebastian Charles was the first Secretary, and then George Magombe, and 1972 Hashim Mbita became Executive Secretary, until at the winding up of the liberation committee in 1994, 22 years later.

When the Liberation Committee was established here it also created a security problem for Tanzania, because we were going to help in training the fighters of the liberation struggle for South Africa. What did this entail? Try to put yourself in the position of South African Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd. Nyerere was training communist saboteurs and terrorists against them, so they had to start destabilization of Tanzania. And it was not a liberation struggle base, for a propaganda reason, they named it a communist outpost of the African continent.

Those who have read the book "Nyerere of Tanzania", if you study the history of the first four months of 1964 in that book, the mutiny of 20th January of Kenyan African Rifles, to the revolution of Zanzibar on the 12th of January, it was the most difficult, and the best chosen days for the small young Republic of Tanganyika.

The Zanzibar Revolution radicalized further, particularly after the union, the now two countries of Tanganyika and the People's Republic of Zanzibar, which had united to become Tanzania. Now how this radicalization was to be epitomized or seen?

After the Zanzibar Revolutionary Government expelled the American satellite tracking station from Zanzibar. Two, after that the Union Government of Tanzania expelled Mr. Frank Caluche who was a Counsellor at the Consulate of Zanzibar. That immediately took the connotation that Tanzania was welcoming Cubans, because some elements of Zanzibar revolutionaries had been trained in Cuba, and Egypt; and Nasser some of the time was considered a communist. So I am saying Tanganyika had become radicalized.

In 1965, further radicalization slowly took place in Tanganyika. November 11th Ian Smith's regime made a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). Tanganyika and few other African states, we were very few before the formation of frontline countries, were sticking out their necks to condemn UDI. It was Mwalimu, supported by the students of the University of Dar es Salaam, who said that the responsibility for leading Zimbabwe to majority rule lies squarely at the feet of the UK government, as the colonizing power of Southern Rhodesia; and Prime Minister Wilson must do something to bring constitutional order back to Southern Rhodesia as her colony.

After the Declaration of UDI by the White settlers' clique in Zimbabwe, who did not form more than 250,000 people out of the population of 9 mil, Mwalimu decided to break off diplomatic relations with Britain. The students of the University of Dar es Salaam supported Mwalimu, and they came to surround the UK High Commission and threw stones. Mwalimu took them to task, one of them, Mwabulambo, was given lashes. Mwalimu asked Mwabulambo if he regretted after his explanation that "You cannot cause chaos to the UK High Commission". Mwabulambo answered, "Mwalimu, I don't regret. It was kind of patriotic duty by the students of Tanzania, and you know it." Mwalimu said he has to receive 12 strokes, but Mwalimu later regretted that and he told him, "I admire your courage." After he graduated he was employed by the government. This radicalization did not stop there; it came further now, with the union. I am laying the foundation for how Tanzania was able to support the liberation struggle.

In 1967 the Arusha Declaration was announced in Arusha. Now, you have the UDI which has radicalized Tanzania because she wanted to support Zambia; Zambia was really being strangled because Smith cut off the transport arteries with the South, and the Portuguese in Mozambique cut off the connection to Beira – transport corridor to Beira. So Zambia had no way to go except North. His idea was to build what the western world called a "Bamboo railway" which is now TAZARA. So Presidents Kaunda and Nyerere decided to start looking for money to build TAZARA.

And as they were doing that, the Arusha Declaration came in 1967, and we started to intensify relations with the Chinese People's Republic. This further created a big fear in Western powers, that Tanzania was going to communism. Nyerere said; "We have brought only seven Chinese and Tanzania is being considered as a Communist Country. Tanzania is a sovereign country with her own direction. If you read TANU Creed there is nothing new. The creed says that all human beings are equal, all human beings are brothers and sisters and Africa is one. And it further explains that Tanganyika cannot enjoy its freedom to the fullest if other African countries were not free. So, Tanganyika did not say anything new that is different from what is happening now. These ideas, I heard them far back in Edinburgh, even before I started TAA and formed TANU, we enshrined them in the TANU Creed and objectives of TANU, now you are talking about communism; we are implementing our own Ujamaa - "Familyhood" basing on African traditional values. We don't have communism in Tanzania."

So Mwalimu would remain steadfast in his position: We were not in communism; we first and

foremost wanted to build an independent, non-aligned country, Tanzania, which had human equality, human freedom and human dignity. And for those principles we were going to fight for them, not only for Tanganyika but for the whole African continent, and other countries in the world.

So the basis of the Arusha Declaration was in TANU and even in TAA. Read *TANU and Raia, Tujisahihishe*, and all the other books you will find them there. They were laying their strategy. “Water was not boiled enough for preparing ugali”. After Arusha Declaration then it meant Ugali was ready. Before that we can say that water was just boiling; there came Zanzibar Revolution and finally the conflict with UK on UDI.

Then we had a tiff with Western Germany when we decided to establish an East German Consulate in Zanzibar. The Germans said we could not do that, if we did that they would break off all commercial, cultural and scientific relations with Tanzania; they would even stop training our police boys, the captains, and what have you. Mwalimu told them they could go ahead. So, we lost West German aid, because we established the East German Consulate in Zanzibar.

I am just trying to explain the origins of these ideas which later led to our support for the liberation struggle. Way back in the TAA, TANU, TANU Creed and TANU Objectives. Some people have forgotten about TANU’s convictions: *All human beings are my brothers and sisters and Africa is One*. Some people have forgotten them, but they were there. So when we talk about the liberation struggle, and how Tanzania was involved, what we have to remember is that President Nyerere had written down the basic tenets of Ujamaa well before the Arusha Declaration. It was only the question of when they would become official.

I have explained how the radicalization of Tanganyika came with the mutiny of January 20, 1964, the Zanzibar Revolution, then the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar 26 April 1964, and then the Consulate of East Germany in Zanzibar, which brought friction with the West German government. Then the UDI by S Rhodesia in 1965, further radicalized Tanganyika when she broke diplomatic relations with Britain, over the UDI, telling the British Government it was their responsibility to clear the rebellion by the white man in Southern Africa.

So, with the Arusha Declaration, we found that Tanzania had an opportunity now of cutting off unnecessary links with certain powerful elements which were really militating against the liberation struggle, and managing to build almost a fortress state under socialism which could withstand the attempts of destabilization by those who were militating against the liberation struggle in Africa.

I would like to say that after reaching there, you would find that after the Arusha Declaration, and declaration of the Open Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance in our country, Tanganyika became a much firmer base; a much more secure base for liberation struggle in Southern Africa, because you don’t accept to be the host of the Liberation Committee of OAU, whose full name is the Coordinating Committee for Liberation in Africa, without incurring the bastions of the racist South Africa and their supporters in the west. So you have to strengthen your security all the time.

And this radicalization which took place all the time, helped us to form even more solid institutions. As you can remember, after the mutiny of 1964, we decided we were not just going to rebuild King’s African Rifles, we were going to build a completely new Army; Tanzania Peoples Defence Forces. People did not see the difference or the significance, but Mwalimu in his speech said: “*Tumechagua vizuri sana kwa makini maneno haya: Jeshi la Ulinzi la Wananchi wa Tanzania. Jeshi la kulinda mapinduzi yetu hapa, mipaka yetu na uhuru wetu na kulinda maslahi ya Watanzania na kulinda mapinduzi ya Afrika*”. He meant that the African revolutions and African Liberation were epitomized by the presence of the Liberation Committee.

I think we have reached a stage where we can understand now the firmer foundation laid for helping Tanzania to become a much more secure base for the liberation of Africa and more clearly the respect of Africa. The Africa that cared about liberation was there when Foster came into power after Hendrick Verwoerd; he started a policy of dialogue, and countries fell for it, in particular, Morocco, Ivory Coast, Togo, Cameroon and other countries. They were beginning to say why they couldn't talk, and called it an Open Door Policy for Africa.

But it was just a smoke screen to penetrate Africa, through which countries could also become the listening posts for Boers, in West Africa, to counter the wailing columns of vibrant nationalism, and demand for independence. They killed Lumumba and several other people, but they helped the entire struggle in Africa.

Therefore, I can say that we have reached a point where the history of the struggle since independence, TANU Creed, Objectives of TANU and how Tanganyika developed is explained. I have not covered everything, there are many things to cover there, and how as a student, I saw these things coming and how I interpreted them, as a student, right from Mkwawa High School; how I was inducted in the National Service and how we used to wear National Service uniforms in the University. Every one would say that was very bad, but we wore National Service uniforms, unashamed by anybody. You remember we became members of TANU Youth League University District and at the same time University Student African Revolutionary Front (USARF) and students went to the Portuguese zone; they went into Mozambique in 1972.

Now, I can say one of the prizes that Tanzania had to pay was, she had to build a very strong Defence and National Security apparatus. There was no way one could stand attacks of the bastions of racism and white settlers' colonialism in South Africa, plus the classical colonialism of Portuguese colonies in Angola and Mozambique, unless one built a strong unitary state. This is what the Arusha Declaration, the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, and the radicalization which had happened, helped us to do.

This also materialized relations in the international domain, by seeking and getting more assistance from the countries which were sympathetic with the liberation struggle like China, Cuba and other countries. People don't know, but we used to train our security boys in very strategic ways; we trained them here, in Britain, Canada, China, Cuba, Northern Korea and even with the PLO. So you get a boy who is trained as a security officer, a soldier and the one you cannot easily deceive and can defend himself against any enemy. Nowadays people cannot understand these things.

This environment was created by ways of campaigns, seminars and popular political education all over the country. The importance of forming a strong bulwark for the liberation in Africa and Tanzania necessitated the following: One, to start implementing the policy of socialism and self-reliance in an adhoc and relentless manner, because it also opened to us an opportunity to materialize our foreign relations, and foreign policy and get support from other countries which were sympathetic with the liberation struggle, which were supporting Tanzania; and also helping us to build an economic base which could support that struggle. It is very clear we got a lot of support from China, Eastern European Countries, Cuba and Scandinavian countries and later even West Germany and Italy.

The Scandinavian countries remained with us throughout the liberation struggle until 1990s. People like Olof Palme died for the liberation struggle for Southern Africa. They killed him after being to Arusha in September 1994. We held a conference of the Socialist International, to support the liberation struggle in South Africa. He came there, and as the Regional Commissioner of Arusha, I received him. I was told to escort him to Ngorongoro and other places. Then I remember they were talking with Mwalimu Nyerere and Samora when they were having dinner: Olof Palme: Mwalimu, since 1984, there are these cow boys in the White House. Do you think they

are strong enough to survive? Mwalimu Nyerere: Olof! How about you? Olof Palme: No, I am not worried about Sweden, Sweden is a developed country with security system. I am worried about Indira Gandhi, I am worried about Samora, Kaunda, I am worried about comrades like Oliver Tambo and others. Mwalimu Nyerere: Olof, History will tell! But you have to strengthen yourself against Reagan. But do you know who was killed first? Olof Palme, followed by Indira Gandhi and Samora! You can understand me when I insist on building a bulwark, impenetrable fortress of liberation against foreign interferences and destabilization. They could kill the whole family. But Mwalimu was always saying, “There is nobody to kill me, may be a mad person. What we are doing have God’s blessing and are acceptable by human beings; we are fighting for human freedom, equality and dignity; even Jesus was killed because of that.” He further said that the first revolution, of that kind was fought by the Lord Jesus Christ. He insisted that God is present, we shall be successful, and indeed he went through all the struggles until when God took him to the eternal peace with natural death.

I tried to establish this point very clearly because I think it is a missing link, the way we understand Tanzania today. There have been serious moral decadence; there are many plans, policies and what have you. Now, I don’t know if we look similar to some few African countries. We have to understand that so that we can understand first how we managed to survive, because on the 10th Anniversary of Independence of Tanzania in 1971, I think this was reported in The Observer or the Sunday Telegraph, Mwalimu was asked, “Mwalimu, what do you think is the greatest achievement of Tanganyika since you won independence?” He surprised everybody by answering in a very short sentence, “*We have survived!*” That is what he said and that writes one thousand volumes.

Let us try to move from there, and see how we executed our mandate as the headquarters of the Liberation Committee; we had liberation movements here from all over Africa. People know very well about FRELIMO, MPLA, ZAPU, ZANU, SWAPO, ANC, PAC, AZAPO even the Black Conscious Movement, though it was not strong here. We also had MOLINACO here; the Independence Movement of Comoros. They had a representative of LEG here in Tanzania of MLCTP. The Liberation Movement of San Tome and Principe. There was a small unit here of the Liberation Movement of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde led by Amical Cabral, PAIGC-The Party of Independence for the Liberation of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, POLISARIO was also here; All these were here.

Then Tanzania helped in the liberation of Seychelles from a playboy President called James Mancham (1965-1976) who was replaced by President Rene (1977-2004); and President Rene came into power with support of Tanzania, he has retired recently. There was mercenary led coup attempt in Comoro, later, they installed into power Bob Denan, who was later overthrown by Ali Swaleh, and that is why we sent our army to stabilise the situation and help Ali Swaleh. And that time we had young man called Colonel Gahu, who we joked by calling him Governor General of Comoro; he has retired recently with the title of General, I think.

So, I am saying Tanzania influence was far and wide, and every person I think of influence in London White Hall, in Washington, in Paris they used to ask, “This little banana republic, how can it have so much influence?” Their conclusion was, “It is not the economy of the country, the weak economy. It is one huge brain called Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, plus institutions of government he has established. The party apparatus, security apparatus, defense apparatus, government civil service and a very militant and sustainable foreign policy.”

Our foreign policy was very clear. Our foreign policy was meant to articulate in the foreign domain, the basis of our internal policies; the foreign policy was a reflection of internal policies to fight for the total decolonization of Africa, and support the liberation struggle of oppressed people everywhere, who were suffering from oppression everywhere around the world. That is how Tanzania even helped Vietnam quietly. We had the liberation struggle of the

Palestinian people in 1967, as after the six day war we broke relationship with Israel. These are important milestones which must be remembered by the Tanzanians of tomorrow.

So, many people in the world were asking: *Who is this Nyerere!?* *What is this little Tanzania?* My friend! Whenever Tanzania, in any international conference, took the floor, be it in the UN, Non-Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth, OAU, PAFMECA which later became PAFMECSA, the great powerful argument for liberation waged by Tanzania was accepted.

ECAM went on until 1969. That's why we had the Lusaka Manifesto by Eastern Central and Southern African States, which was the first one to call for the support of the struggle against Apartheid in South Africa, against white settler colonialism in Southern Rhodesia and Classical colonialism of Portugal, in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe and for Polissario for Western Sahara. That was followed by the Mogadishu Declaration the same year, which made sure that the Lusaka manifesto was sent into UN and managed to get the support from UN General Assembly for the all member countries of UN except, South Africa, and I think USA.

That was way back in 1969. It laid foundation for the legitimacy of the call for freedom and the call for the liberation in Africa. Nyerere said, "We shall do it, where possible by peaceful means where inevitable by armed struggle." And there was no better articulator of the clarion call for liberation, or the argument for the liberation, than Julius Kambage Nyerere. His eloquence, his actions, his brightness as a thinker, of clarity of issues, he was important as a political strategist on the world scale. He was a world statesman who walked corridors of power with humbleness like a beggar, but with huge capacity to influence, and finally with tools of diplomatic skill to convince even the most obdurate supporters of apartheid South Africa, or settler colonialism in Southern Rhodesia, or classical colonialism in Mozambique. Nyerere was almost the real spokesman of the oppressed colonial peoples of Africa, and he did his job so well, that every time there was a major vote in important councils of the world where Tanzania took the floor, votes were cast, and the great powerful argument for liberation waged by Tanzania was given credence.

Now, how come then this war was waged! Taking Mozambique as an example; the freedom fighters came here back in 1962 to 1964, led by Edward Mondlane. There was a lot of infiltration in Tanzania in the early 1960s had the radicalization, and the Arusha Declaration, which I have talked about. But in 1969 there was a lot of convulsion within FRELIMO. They meant to recruit people within FRELIMO; Julius Simango was recruited, but they uncovered him when he wanted to split FRELIMO. During that confusion Joachim Aberto Chissano who was holding the office was in the TAMOFA office, and they nearly killed him there. They knifed him, he ran from there to the TANU Youth League, I was there with Julius Nyerere, we took the knife off.

The convulsions were reflected in the little office in Dar es Salaam when the main barracks and forces were in Nachingwea, Cape Verde, Nyasa and Nampula. But within one year Edward Mondlane was killed by a letter bomb in Dar es Salaam. I am showing how imperialism and forces of oppression in Africa, colonialism, white settler domination and apartheid in South Africa were reacting, in trying to kill the liberation movements.

In 1971 there was Pan – African Youth Movement. Ngombale at that stage had been the Secretary General for Pan–African Youth Movement, and I was in the Youth League. Ngombale came he was appointed the TANU Youth League Secretary General, just about the time I left the Attorney General's Chambers to the Party Headquarters where Hashim Mbita was the TANU Executive Secretary, he had just left the State House.

We were sent on the mission to the Pan-African Youth Congress in Dakar. The team that was led by Ngombale, included Abdala Natepe, Kimbao, Kisenge and myself. We articulated the question of liberation in Africa. One of the tasks we were given by President Nyerere, he gave us a letter to send to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, (remember he was overthrown in

February 1966) and the letter was sent to Mohamed Sékou Touré. We were received in Guinea Bissau, and had audience with Ahmed Sékou Touré; he gave us the security, and all the facilities were laid at our disposal and the man who was running between Nkrumah, Sékou Touré and us was Amical Cabral. So when we went to see President Sekou Toure, he organized for us to go to see President Kwame Nkrumah.

You can imagine, it must have been great for the young men of 27 like me, at the time, to meet and have the audience of Kwame Nkrumah; we met Nkrumah and he was very happy. We had gone to Guinea because Guinea had been attacked in January 1971 by the Portuguese. So we had gone there to show solidarity with Guinea and as a result, also Guinea sent Mr. Ahmed Dialo, the member of Central Committee of PDG (Party Democratic of Guinea), the ruling part in Guinea, to the National Executive Committee meeting in Dar es Salaam which proclaimed TANU Guidelines of 1971. I don't know if these days people still recall or uphold the TANU directives. So we were very close to Sékou Touré. So we went to see Nkrumah, he was very happy, he got a letter from Mwalimu. He was suffering from cancer, so when he was talking to us you could see he was not very well, but he was so happy to meet us and we were happy too to see Kwame Nkrumah.

Nkrumah, contrary to Nyerere, he made direct attack on bastions of oppression. Nyerere was like a hare, he was so shrewd and could dodge between the lions, elephants and rhino. But Nkrumah fought them directly until 1966 when they overthrew and installed Afrifa, Akuffo and Ankrah. So he was living a very miserable life in Guinea and he was still writing a lot, publishing, but we had a very good reason to meet him. He talked about the liberation struggle, that it was not yet over, and must continue to struggle for liberation. We were happy and he gave us letter for Mwalimu.

I am saying this because part of the consequences for supporting liberation struggle are like these; destabilization here, destabilization in Guinea, in Ghana they overthrew Nkrumah; Madibo Keita was overthrown in Mali, and he was also a great leader supporting the liberation struggle and a key member of the chapter of a progressive alliance ya Ghana, Guinea, and Mali. So, when Mwalimu was asked the question in 1971, "*What was your greatest achievement in the first 10 years of independence?*" He said, "*We have survived!*" It meant a great deal. We lost Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1970. It was on the same day that war which he lost with Israel, ended. He suffered stroke, heart attack and died in 1970. Before that he had visited Tanzania, we received him with great honour.

So, there were other consequences; for instance, in 1973, Amical Cabral on the eve of independence of Guinea Bissau was killed by another mercenary attempt. And in FRELIMO we did not only lose Edward Mondlane, we lost Philip Magaya, who was the commander of the FRELIMO army. Hence following his death in 1969, Commander Samora Moses Machel, took over from Philip Magaya.

From there onwards, at the Second Congress of Frelimo in 1969, FRELIMO was strengthened up, and later the commander became the President of FRELIMO. Samora Machel then strengthened up the leadership until Mozambique became independent. The Liberation struggle in African countries liberated Portuguese from Caetano. Portugal was a very small economy; it could not carry the brunt of fighting three wars, in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea Bissau.

Portugal was a new colony of super imperialism-big powers, was a new colony of British capital, American capital, French capital and other big powers. It was fighting on behalf of these countries, knowing if they lose Mozambique and Angola, it would be unsustainable to maintain white settler regimes in Southern Africa. So, they were supporting Portuguese colonialism. But by 1973 the *Gordian* knot, the biggest battle to break the back of Frelimo fighters in Northern Mozambique was defeated. That spelt the doom for Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique. We were attacked in Mtwara; the Portuguese attacked Siwani village, Misimbati Island, one



Whiteman planted his flag there and declared it a Republic (where we have discovered a lot of oil and gas now) and Mahurunga. They killed our people and planted bombs there; Kitaya was along Ruvuma, they killed people there. When I was the Regional Commissioner in Mtwara, I was inspecting all these damages at that time, after being a Regional Commissioner in Singida. So, I am saying this was the cost, but that people were so united behind TANU and later CCM, and Nyerere, that they could not make a dent on our security.

But why this? Let me tell you now. According to my understanding, having done everything and failed to bring down Tanzania, in 1969 they made a poor attempt led by Kambona, Bibi Titi Mohamed and others, but it failed. It further radicalized the TANU guidelines in 1971. They decided because after nationalization could not ride all waves of all people at all, the Arusha Declaration killed our Tanzanian economy. The economy of Tanzania picked up after the nationalization of the commanding height of the common wealth. Those were the eras of socialism in the world, not now, we can't be socialist now. This is the era of unipollar world led by the capitalism; it cannot be it now. That's why Cuba is under pressure, that's why my friend Hugo Chaves finds the going very tough. May be the only survivor will be that man who is having a hermit kingdom in Northern Korea, no one can touch him; if your finger there it is cut off.

In our country, the economy improved, GDP increased and the growth rate was improved, coffee and cotton production improved, and the conomy started to pick up, then they unleashed a weapon that had not been expected – the Kagera war. They instigated Idd Amin, a mad fellow, to attack Tanzania. I remember by then I had left Mtwara, I was the Tanzanian Ambassador in Mozambique, suddenly I was told by Butiku, Secretary of Mwalimu, that I had to prepare, because Nyerere was coming to Maputo the following day, we went to receive him.

Mwalimu, from the Airport, was silent until when we arrived at his home; he had his house there and we entered there without talking much and he was struggling to get a person to call Samora. Samora came hurriedly to see Mwalimu. There was another President visiting that day. Nyerere told me, "Charles! Tanzania is attacked by Idd Amin. We are at war. That is why I told you to prepare Samora for our meeting. I was shocked!

So, we went into the Country Club; I was there writing the minutes together with Butiku and Fernando (the Private Secretary of President of Mozambique), and Mwalimu said to Samora: "*All the time I have been coming to you to talk how I could help you and rescue you from the struggles, but today I have come to tell you that we have been attacked! The real base is under attack!*" That is when they planned the meeting in Lusaka on 30th Sept – 4th October 1978, where we went to discuss other issues as well.

Not only the Tanzanians had been attacked, but also Kaunda had opened the border with the South. The pressure on Kaunda had become so much, that he opened the border to Rhodesia, and Smith. He started exporting goods through Limpopo to Durban, and this caused great consternation among the Frontline States because there was no prior consultation. But Frontline States leaders were so united that they managed to finish this thing. They discussed and reached a good deliberation; it was very well negotiated with Kaunda. It was one of the most difficult meetings I have ever attended. But they managed to come out with how to deal with the damage. Then Mwalimu came back home and started to think on how to reorganize for a counter attack against Idd Amin. When the war was nearly over, I was summoned for Maputo after a meeting in Nampula in February in 1979. I was called by Mwalimu, who asked me, "*Charles! We are now marching towards Kampala, on*

*our arrival in Kampala what am I going to say? Have we invaded Uganda? Are we new colonialists? Are we ruling it? What should we do? I am assigning you a task to make sure you go to Arusha, we have convened all the different parties and factions of Uganda to a Uganda Unity Conference of Moshi. You have to knock your heads with Museveni and all the others, Nabuderes and Rugumayos until we come up with a government, which must be in Uganda before we march in."*

So, I was a facilitator of the Moshi Conference; and for the first time I followed my friend Museveni, I asked him, "What do you want?" He said, "I must be the Chairman of Military Commission." I told him, "You cannot be a Chairman of Military Commission. You are still junior. Accept to be small now so that you can become bigger later." He refused. When Mwalimu called me at 3 am to ask about the progress, I told him, "Mwalimu, your son has rejected my proposal. He has rejected your order. He told me, "Tell him if he will not ready to be the Deputy Military Commission Chairman, no more *"Aluta continua"*, we will drop him." I told this to Museveni at 5 am at Moshi Hotel. He told me, "You are becoming reactionary; very reactionary." I asked him, "You are telling Mwalimu is Reactionary? I am speaking to you on behalf of Julius Kambarage Nyerere. You must eat your words, because I am not sure that there is going to be a dialogue, but you have to eat them." Then he had to accept. I had to appoint Yusuph Lule to be a Chairperson of Uganda National Liberation Front and Executive Committee, then Paul Muwanga was made a Chairman of Military Commission.

Then we moved to Kampala, we occupied the place and installed Yusuph Lule as a President of Uganda, and that saved us from the embarrassment. Can you imagine? The bastion of liberation in Africa invades another country. After that came Godfrey Binaisa, who was a Military Commission Chairman, and then elections were held and Obote was elected. Museveni refused to accept the results of the elections, he went to the forest for guerilla war and he fought until January 1986, when he took power.

Now, what I am saying is that, there was a cost. They knew if we unleashed this war on Tanzania, it would take 10 to 20 years for them to recover. First they made sure that the East African Community collapsed; they used Njonjo and Bruce Makenzie. I was a member of East African Legislative Assembly from 1970 – 1975, so I knew very well that they used Bruce Makenzie and Charles Njonjo, because Kenyatta was very old, so they collapsed the East African Community. The Community was a common services organization started first, in 1948 as East Africa High Commission, in 1962 it became East African Common Services Organization, Dustan Omari of Tanzania was the first Secretary General, then we sustained various minor conflicts and in 1964 – 65 through Kampala Agreement we agreed to form a common market where we must transfer tax. Kenya was far ahead of us economically. Uganda na Tanzania had to catch up so as to have an evenness in the common market for balanced growth. So there would be industries starting in Uganda and Tanzania that would not start in Kenya, like General Tyre, East Africa. Kenya violated the Kampala Agreement, (once you break Kampala Agreement then the East African Common Service Organization and the East African Currency Board, which used to form East African shilling had to collapse). So Tanzania in 1965 formed the Tanzania Central Bank with Tanzania shillings, Kenya Central Bank with Kenyan shillings. That did not weaken Tanzania very much because we had the Assembly and Community which came out of the failure of the Kampala Agreement.

We called in Prof. Phillip, Commissioner from Denmark. He worked on the Treaty of East African Cooperation, which came into operation in 1967. That carried us from 1967 to 1977, when they broke it up. Nyerere became furious he closed the border with Kenya, and so the KENATCO trucks that were transporting goods to the south failed to cross the border. But the damage had been done, within one year, and again in 1978 there emerged the Kagera war. I want to make this point very clear. There is a common uniting strength in all these acts

of destabilization against Tanzania as the bastion of liberation struggle in Africa, and the break up of East Africa Community was part of the game. When the war was finished, Mwalimu made this statement in Kagera that, *“Tanzanians have to tighten our belts. The cost of this war and the damage to our economy will take not less than 18 months to correct.”* It could not be put right, even after 18 years. That was the biggest blow suffered by Tanzania, and the biggest price she had to pay, to support the liberation struggle. These issues are not commonly understood by most sufferers.

So, what happened after the Portuguese colonialism failed? The government of Caetano could not carry the brunt of the war, and he would not abdicate or resign. So, a team of army progressives in Lisbon seized power on 25th April, 1974. It was called the ‘Flower Revolution.’ The main protagonists to that revolution were General Yanish, General Spínola and another General who even visited Cuba in the middle of the revolution to show that they were really going to overthrow Portugal and make a revolution there.

Now these people were under siege from the NATO powers, Portugal was a NATO power and linchpin in the struggle to keep Southern Africa colonized. So, they were not going to stand these military upstarts to overthrow the NATO backed government. So, the young officers decided immediately to radicalize political revolution in Portugal and what have you, and declared immediately that they wanted to let their colonies in Africa go. So, there was a meeting in Lusaka in which they declared independence for Angola, Mozambique and Cape Verde. Cape Verde became independent in 1973 just after Amílcar Cabral had died. Mozambique and Angola were the main pillars, very powerful countries economically; they were not even sure if they were going to get independence, unlike Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau which were considered to be poor countries.

So, because of the strength and ferocity of the African liberation struggle waged by the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau, the Portuguese colonialism caved in and collapsed, and immediately what they wanted to do was to get rid of the colonies. So, in the Lusaka Agreement, Portugal gave freedom to Angola and Mozambique.

With Mozambique, Chissano was here, and he was sent to Mozambique to become the interim Prime Minister. FRELIMO put in place the transitional government led by Prime Minister Joaquim Alberto Chissano. Samora Machel remained in Tanzania, until the real independence came on 25th June, 1975.

Angola was different, because of the power and great significance of the Angolan economy. The situation was also complicated because of the strength and commitment of South African Apartheid regime which had proximity with Angola, through the colony of Namibia in South-Western Africa. In Angola, things were further complicated because there was UNITA. UNITA had been armed by the big powers. And it was led by dexterous minded Savimbi who got support from China while he was also supported by South Africa, and there was FNLA led by Holden Roberto, who was supported by America and Mobutu, but he used to go dancing in the night clubs of Kinshasa more than fighting anything in Angola. MPLA was a different actor in Angola, as it was heavily trained by the East European powers led by Soviet Union; and had a regular army more or less trained to fight conventional war.

What happened was that the MPLA had to declare independence on 11th September, 1975. The opposing powers were determined to put up a real fight because at the global front, in 1975 and 1976, Vietnam, the most important conflict, since the Second World War, apart from Korea, had been lost by the Americans; and the Americans were not ready to allow another loss to communism. So, when there was negotiation between MPLA and FNLA led by Roberto, and UNITA under Jonas Savimbi, the MPLA which was with more trained regular army units declared independence and occupied Luanda.

Then the South Africans using UNITA sent a detachment from Namibia, marched to the North, and the Angola Civil War started. The MPLA called in support from socialist countries,

and in no time a Cuban detachment arrived. And these managed within a year to strengthen the position of MPLA around the capital and in the Northern area, so a little portion in the north near Zaire under Mobutu remained under Roberto's, but they were not a credible fighting force. On the other hand UNITA, helped by South Africa was a more credible fighting force. So, it was a war of attrition that took a long time. Finally the MPLA captured the capital. In African countries, once you capture and you have the capital, even if you don't have the whole national territory which declared independence, and which is supported by enough members of the national community, you are assumed to be in power. But this war was to continue for a long time and it caused the death of many people.

The Portuguese *Flower Revolution of 1974*, symbolized, for the first time, a European country under the fascist dictatorship was liberated more or less by the African liberation struggle. Because of the African liberation struggle in Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau, the Portuguese state army which was a small detachment, really collapsed from inside, and as a result, Portugal gave independence to the colonies in Africa.

The Mozambicans feel very close to us because we are contiguous neighbours with a common border, more or less common Bantu language and traditions. I was lucky to be the second Ambassador in Mozambique between 1978 and 1983. So, we managed to strengthen our relations. The idea of the Unity Bridge which is being built, started back in 1977. In March 1978 I attended a task force meeting, in Maputo, to establish the Unity Bridge.

We have had these situations where Africans in the Africa liberation struggle, liberated people of Portugal. Tanzania then suffered actual destabilization; the worst one was the Kagera war which was declared against Tanzania by Idd Amin. By far, despite the grandiose design, we are united; it has kept us together as a country. Of course the war affected this country economically, up to now, because it did a lot of damage, buying the war materials at that time; and we were buying much of them from the West, which was not easy. War also disorganized our financial and economic bases. I have been dealing with the effects and consequences of being the supporter of the liberation struggle.

But we also must look on the positive side. How did the people of Tanzania receive the burdens of the liberation struggle? Because the radicalization of popular opinion, raised popular consciousness of our people, they bore the brunt of the fighting and sacrifices; and this strengthened our national unity. Just like Kiswahili, the Arusha Declaration united us to accept the sacrifices under socialism in Tanzania, and strengthened the national unity which was an enduring and well sustained phenomenon, until now.

But at that time we didn't have these extremes that exist in the world now. There were strict governments and leaders were leaders. They were not having any companies or shares in government. You could not have leaders at that time who did not stand by Mwalimu and mobilize people, and raise popular consciousness in people, to support the liberation struggle and to build Ujamaa; it was not possible. So, I can say it strengthened the national unity at the same time.

The Zimbabwe struggle took much longer because, as I said earlier, of the unilaterally declared independence on 11th November, 1965. Tanzania, throughout led a diplomatic struggle in all councils of the world opinion and international fora, arguing the cogent case; *why Britain was supposed to assume the responsibility as the colonizing power in Southern Africa?*

I remember Prime Ministers Harold Wilson, Edward Heath, James Callaghan and then Margaret Thatcher came in 1979. It was a very difficult time here in Tanzania. We had our armies in the threshold of entering Kampala. We would try to do something so that we don't just go there and declare Lule or somebody to be the President, as we did at the Moshi Unity Conference. Two, we were fighting the RENAMO in Mozambique. When I was the Tanzania Ambassador there, we had three Tanzanian detachments: one in Tete Province, one

in Gaza Province and another one in Manika Province. And TPDF were fighting, not only against RENAMO, but also against Jet- fighters from the Smith regime, led by South Africa; and we shot down 8 in 1979.

Margaret Thatcher was an intelligent woman and a decisive person. She said at the CHOGAM Conference in Lusaka, the struggle must move from the battle field to the negotiating table in Lancaster. Hence the Lancaster House and the Constitutional Conference for Zimbabwe. All Frontline States sent observers who were supposed to be counsellors within the patriotic front delegations: ZANU – PF and ZAPU. In Tanzania we had Joseph Warioba and Charles Kileo; Chiedumaga Onwana and Judge Chibesakunda from Mozambique; The counsellor from Zambia was Mark Chona, Private Secretary to President. We went to London in November – December, including even Christmas, and it was one of the most difficult conferences I had ever attended.

*I had been to the Moshi Unity Conference, where the characters there I had been to school with and we could talk and what have you, I could even threaten them. But there! First of all there was a cleave between Mugabe & Nkomo: ZANU- PF and ZAPU. This was very difficult.*

The main argument finally, to cut the long story short, was the assembly point for guerrilla fighters. The British Government would have to appoint a Governor General to reassume her role as the colonizing authority in Southern Rhodesia; to supervise elections, to supervise the integration of forces between the liberation armed forces and the regular army of the Smith regime and form one unitary army. So the question of having a central point, from which guerrillas would be recruited into the regular army. That was a very difficult argument. The Patriotic Front wanted 18 assembly points, and the British Government and Smith regime, they said, they will not offer more than 14. It went on and on and the thing finally broke up when Edson Zvobgo told us, *“This man is stupid, we will not accept 13 to 15. Tomorrow I am going to have six double whiskies, I am going to Lancaster and I am going to tell Lord Carrington or whoever it is, we are not taking them”*.

We went there and he did something very strange. He has taken his whiskies, and normally he was a very good man with his language because he had stayed in China and he could speak the most mature and glamorous turned up phrases of abusive language and what have you! So, he was asked, Dr. Zvobgo, We accept you are still on the assembly points. He said what did you say? He said “We won’t. That is our position.” We were there; we even witnessed what he said. He said, “I have no business with the woman who live in concubinage with Botha.” He was called, *“Come again, come again.”* He repeated it. Robert Mugabe told him that Lord Carrington was speaking on behalf of the cabinet. But he said, “Lord Carrington can go and hang.” So, they related this to Margaret Thatcher and the Prime Minister said that it was the end of the story, and from there on they were going to do business with Smith and Buthelezi. At 3 am Mwalimu made a call, because we living in the same house, sometimes he was always awake. I picked the phone and he told me, Charles what has happened in London? I told him I was soon talking to Joseph and I connected him to Joseph. Joseph talked to him and said, Mwalimu *there was a problem, ZANU-PF delegation used some rough language not only on Lord Carrington, but also on the Prime Minister;* He told him that he insulted him very much. Mwalimu told Joseph, “Okay, I will call you back. Charles we remain in London and you will have to come back to organise the Frontline Summit, we shall teach them a lesson.”

Mwalimu ordered that we should look for all newspapers and invite them to Dar es Salaam; Observer, Independent, Daily Telegraph, Weekend Television; all came. So, the Frontline Summit wrote the Riot Act on ZANU-PF. In short, “We are prepared to fight with you to get one more assembly point. If you don’t accept 16 assembly points, no more *‘aluta continua,’*

you are on your own.” And Joseph was given the role of coordinating Frontline ambassadors to go and read that Act on both of them Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe. When Joshua Nkomo was told that Margaret Thatcher was insulated, he fell sick and got flu. Now, once that old man sleeps on a bed and covered himself with blankets and sneezed it was like the whole Kilimanjaro Mountain was shaken.

Well, I remember he said, “Joseph I don’t want to die a refugee, I want to go home, tell Robert to control the boys”. And he said, watch Tamogara can talk sense, but Nsyongo and Katekene are misleading Robert. Then Tomogara was in middle ground, and that is where the problem started later. It started in London, Nsyongo was saying the problem was not assembly points, the problem was independence. We wanted to rule the nation. You don’t continue with 15, 16 or 18. If these refuse I go back and put my young fighters in the central post.

Fortunately, we went on and wrote a riot Act. Nkomo said that he did not need convincing because he was already convinced, but we should go and talk to Robert and his boys. So we left. We planned well and we made sure that those soft-spoken persons; namely, Joseph and Onwana will be the first to speak. When we wanted to strike a point we let Mark Chona to speak and finally it was Charles Kileo. Joseph went to Mugabe and explained, “*I am just returning from the Frontline Summit in Dar es Salaam and the summit had decided*”. Mugabe said, “I know you have come to read the Riot Act on us”. Joseph replied, “No, Mr. President. We frontline Presidents have decided that we are prepared to fight for one more assembly point; if you agree we are with you; if you insist for more, no more aluta continua!” You know, if you corner a snake in your house and it can not escape, if it is a cobra, it will look around and see what to do how to strike. He asked, “What if we say no?”

So, Onwana (very brilliant youngman) intervened; he explained very well that they also received a call from President Samora that it was going to be no more ‘aluta continua. They responded that they were fighting for their land for and for their country. When Zvobgo and Kategere were asked to speak, they spoke for a long time.

Onwana proceeded saying that, “Mr. President, the frontline presidents have been supporting us until today. There have been rough language between us, the Patriotic Front and the British Government.” I said, “*And for your information Margaret Thatcher had left Washington after being briefed by President Carter, and it was argued, that they should drop you boys and settle with Smith.*”

Nyerere was clever, he called British High Commissioner and explained to him what were not agreed. That message filtered and reached Carter; and Carter talked to Margret Thatcher who was calmed down and her anger went off; she came back to London very wisely. And so they promised us that they would respond the next day. The next day morning they told us that they agreed on the assembly points. But they insisted that, “you people we shall never forgive you”. However, they agreed with us. We went to Lancaster House and we signed the agreement. We left and returned to Maputo and to other respective places.

Lord Sommes was appointed to be Governor General to re-impose the British power and colonizing authority in Zimbabwe and to start the formal preparations of the integration of forces to form a unitary army. At the same time he was to prepare for the independence which was to be on the 18th April, 1980. Myself and my brothers here we attended. Bob Marley performed there and at mid-night, we were teargassed the Selous Scouts. I was seated near Andrew Young and Harriman, a very old man, we were all teargassed. I think God helped us; I think something was planned that day, but I don’t know what was that, but may because Mugabe was coming with Queen. We suffocated a bit and we coughed and things were fine; the new flag was raised and the old flag was put down. We went to cerebrate at Chitunguiza. And in Chitunguiza there was some fightings between ZAPU-PF boys, we run away the same night. I didn’t know if my wife was such goo at running!

What I am saying is, Tanzania was the driving force, and when it came to difficult decisions,

which were necessary to rescue the boat from some hot heads of the liberation movements, trying to overturn the boat, we would stand firm and say, “No”, and other Frontline States would say, “No, we either stop this one or no more aluta continua.” So that’s how Zimbabwe got independence.

I have mentioned causes of the liberation struggle, and I have mentioned two documents which I read a very long time ago but I refreshed more on them after my brother Mbita gave them to me this year; Lusaka Manifesto and Mogadishu Declaration 1969. It shows how far the conceptualization and actualization of the struggle evolved from that far back. Before 1969 we were not talking of “dismantling a party” (dismantling a party is colloquialism and it is slack language in defining South Africa, what it is. Is it an independence of a sovereignty state or is it a fascist one). The Lusaka Manifesto recognized South Africa as a sovereignty independent state, but we took issue with its racist apartheid policies, which demanded human freedom, human dignity, human equality and arguing the case with super powers, from the western powers. We knew the struggle would go on, where possible it would be peaceful, where inevitable it would be armed struggle. But it was important that when this happened you would not say that the liberation fighters were communists; they were patriots fighting for their independence on the basis of human freedom, human dignity and human equality.

That’s why I came back in 1969 by recalling the liberation of Portugal itself, then liberation in Mozambique, South Africa and then 18th April 1980, Zimbabwe got independence. When Zimbabwe got independence, one thing I must say ni kwamba actually it was not supposed to be Zimbabwe, getting independence first, it was supposed to be Namibia. It was going to be Namibia and that’s why I mentioned President Carter. I don’t know what would have happened in the fortunes of Namibia if President Carter had to remain President for the second term. The coming into power by President Reagan changed many things. In 1978 the United Nations Security Council had passed resolution 435, which called for granting of independence to Namibia. So it was a question of days or months, but as you know the way, in Angola, battles were still going on between MPLA Cuban alliance and the South African UNITA alliance

It was in these circumstances that President Carter would not be re-elected for a second term. And President Ronald Reagan of the Republican Party took to influence the whole of Angola. The Republicans are much more inclined towards military industrial complex and use of course, armed bites, then diplomacy. So we saw, I was in Maputo, President Carter had sent McClosky, who was assistant to the Ambassador to United Nations, Andrew Young. Later he sent Andrew Young; he thought they were very good concerning Resolution 4. 3. 5, between 1978 – 1979. Then President Reagan came into power, things changed. He was aiding the opposition by South Africa, UNITA was given more war materials and armed fully to confront the Cuban threat of the MPLA; the communist threat.

Angola had to carry a huge brunt of more war fighting. There was also intensification of the war of liberation in Namibia, and the war continued from 1978, in all the discussions in UN Security Council, in the OAU, in the liberation committee. The armed forces of Angola supported by Cuba alliance won, not without serious massacres in Namibia, like Masinga massacres and others. The decisive battle was the battle of *Quito Guanavale*, where South Africans were defeated in a major battle. So for the first time, like in Vietnam, the Reagan administration supporting South African occupation forces in Namibia, and a mother of apartheid herself, in apartheid South Africa, had used Savimbi to the maximum, but were defeated.

That also led to the exiting of Botha, and coming to power of De Clark in South Africa. De Clark came with the new idea of negotiations; he talked like: “I am banning ANC; I am banning other African movements” He was talking about Namibia; granting independence of Namibia, they have put puppet government there of Herero and what have you. He did not help Namibia very much.

So as you know, under De Clark, things started to change and diplomacy was given more freedom and by 1990 Namibia got independence, with President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO as the first president. At the same time, by 1990 discussions were well advanced for the release of Nelson Mandela, who was still in prison and other detainees in Robben Island. By 1990 discussions had gone very far, which led to the release of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and other detainees of Robben Island, which include people like Zuma, who had also been in Robben Island sometime.

By 1992, the ANC and others had allied to form the Cordesa Alliance, of all-like minded freedom fighting organizations and were preparing for elections in 1994. But the Apartheid regime in South Africa still resorted to one more trick of obtaining power. (Remember they had established Bantustans like Transkei, Sinsikei, Bophuthatswana and others). They wanted to make them some pockets of resistance, so they armed them, and in 1994 there was an attempt to strengthen Mangope of Bophuthatswana and also Matanzima of Transkei. But the most solitary defeat of this uprising was Bophuthatswana where the ANC and allied forces really smashed the Bophuthatswana military forces; and within a short-time, by 1993, things quietly went down, because South Africa now could not openly send forces to fight for the outposts of their Bantustans.

I remember there was a meeting of Cordesa Alliance in Baraqaanakothe Soweto on 8th March, 1994, and I was tasked by the Party to attend the meeting, in which they were discussing their forthcoming elections in April, 1994. When we attended the meeting we learnt that people were being killed everyday. The Incatha freedom fighters were attacking militants in Kwazulu Natal, in South Africa. Chris Hanni came driving his own car; Thabo Mbeki came to Devonshire Hotel to speak to us one day, he came with a driver, but still a driver took off, and he drove himself to the Ambassador. I kept quite. The day when Chris Hanni came alone to the meeting, with no driver, I asked him, “Comrade! Do you remember 1982, at Victorian Golden in Maseru we were with you up to six o’clock; and there was an attack at mid-night? You escaped by the hair of your teeth! How come here, when ANC comrades have been killed everyday and there are murderers killing in the trains everyday, you are driving yourself?”

He told me, “Charles! No body is assured by his own life. When death comes, it comes.” It really demoralized me. He took me and Oliver Tambo, he was a chief secretary of external relations, to bring us back to Devonshire White Hall. The driver lost the way, he took us to Castlethorn while I was supposed to go to Central Johannesburg District, Devonshire Hotel. I was telling him, “Comrade! Why are you getting lost this time? We were going to Devonshire Hotel.” These people have been foreigners to their own country for a long time, over thirty years; they were not even better than me in Johannesburg! So he took us to Soweto! We reached the centre of the city and I asked him to stop. Oliver Tambo asked him to hire a taxi that will bring him back home, and he took a car and drove us back to Devonshire Hotel. I told him, “Comrade, just pass your night here.” He accepted, and we had long talks until 7 am. We almost finished a bottle of whisky. I told him he could go, and I left. Around March and April I heard the stories that Chris Hanni was assassinated. It was so painful!

Anyway, I suffered a major accident in 1993. I came here to ask for money to pay salaries because my staff were not paid for three months, it was a difficult period of President Mwinyi; it was difficult to get money by then. The child of my brother suffered from cerebral malaria when I was heading to Dodoma, on the way I got accident; I was seriously injured and fractured. I was unconscious for almost three days; I was hospitalised at Dodoma hospital. And I did not recover the whole 1993; I underwent main surgery and was transported by helicopter from Dodoma. The reason to transport me by helicopter was because I had low blood pressure and with that condition I could not travel on a car. Before the accident I was very fit, I used to swim and what have you.

So what happened I was transported by helicopter three weeks later and was transferred to



Muhimbili National Hospital, put in Kibasila ward and I got a major operation, they inserted 13 pieces of splints. When they further examined they found that my four ribs were broken, and one has gone deeper to the extent of causing injuries to the liver. And so I had to stay here for a long time and later went back to Harare; I was not able to walk straight for nine months. So I went back to Harare on 20 March 1994, during the conference of Frontline States, the last one before the independence of South Africa.

Thabo Mbeki saw me there with clutches and asked, “Charles! You can’t walk! I am going to tell Mzee Mandela”. Mandela was an acting President after the death of Oliver Thambo. Oliver Thambo died after he got a stroke because he was affected by the memories of the death Chris Hani because he was the first to arrive and witnessed his death. This was the second stroke and he stayed only for two days before he died. Thabo Mbeki went to see Mandela, and Mandela said, *“I can’t forget faces, I can’t forget names, aren’t you the Tanzanian High Commissioner in Zimbabwe?”* I told him, *“Yes comrade President Mandela.”* Mandela asked, *“You have swollen, what happened to you?”* Thabo Mbeki explained to him, *“He was involved in an accident and he has not walked since last year when he left our meeting”*.

Mandela told me, *“Young man, we shall take care of you, just as you took care of our President Oliver Thambo when he had a stroke in Arusha, when you were a Regional Governor there.”* I stayed with Oliver Thambo for the whole month in Arusha. Mandela told me to find a ticket and go to South Africa. I did that. My friend, that was during the preparation for the election; there were bombs everywhere. They took me to Sandton Hotel, I had no legs and the lifts were made of glasses and you could see down very far. The next day I ran away that hotel. When you have got an accident, and you have no legs, you fear heights! I moved to Millpark Hospital, there is a small good hotel called Golden Inn; I booked in. That was where CNN, BBC, EP, editors had also booked. They gave me a room there. The next day when I went to see Prof. Lutenburg, at Millpark Hospital, he found that this leg was broken second time and it was full of fluid, suppurated, and the previous orthopaedic equipment that was put to treat the fracture were dislocated. I was told that I had to collect some funds so that I could be rushed to Germany. The Minister for Finance dodged to help me. I fell again that day and I stayed in that hospital from December to March. God loves me, he has kept me alive until today.

So, I arrived at the hospital, the specialist asked me, “Mr Ambassador! Can you see what your leg looks like?” He showed me through the computer screen. It was frightening. The leg was full of fluid and dirty. He told me, “I am going to Durban University and that will be my last lecture. I will come back on 31<sup>st</sup> March. If they have cleaned up your legs and it is worth to go to theatre, then I will take you to the theatre.” They worked on the leg, they cleaned and made some arrangements ready for theatre. When he came he told me, “You are a very lucky young man, but you can lose this leg.” I told him, “No! My leg will not be amputated!” He responded, “You have got strong faith!” I replied, “Yes, I would have died a long time ago if I had no faith.”

I was sent to the theatre; I got an operation, and they inserted other orthopaedic equipment replacing the old ones. I stayed there until April after winning the election. They took me to Carlton Hotel, and witnessed Mandela dancing while I was languishing on the wheel chair. I left there in August while walking straight. So, it was not the first time I had a brush with death. This happened while I already settled on the danger zone. In Maputo they nearly killed me two times, but I survived; they killed my driver, they took my Mercedes Benz, I survived. Now I am a retired person, I am happy and am doing my own things; I have seen you coming to interview me; I am happy to get this opportunity to unload my mind.

But the liberation struggle in Africa has been a very long chapter. It came to an end with a

veledictory in the Liberation Committee meeting in Arusha in 1994. If you read the document you find that General Hashim Mbita is one of the foreheads; I was so happy. But my greatest fear is that, with the advent of computer chip or microchip and computer revolution, information and communication revolution, reading will be put aside, and playing with computer screens and keyboards will be the mode of communication. This is a more dangerous way to encourage moral decay than entertainment.

So our children, and their children with advent of the cultural influence of this new information revolution moulded by dominant economies and dominant cultures in the current world order, reading has been given second place to computer games and gaming. Yesterday I was listening to South Korean TV on BBC. They said that computer game addiction has affected about 50% of the student population. They have to start rehabilitation hospitals of the kids. They don't read anything, they play games, they steal money from their parents, they disappear for 3 days, and they remain on the games 24 hours, one of them died. They said that the front part of the brain get so much excited in terms of being pumped with so much adrenalin, that's how it comes into heart attack.

But this is an addiction where a child runs away from the mother who is also working, without knowing where the child is, or why he comes back late from school. There is also a lot of education which is extremely competitive, based on examination, *lazima ufaulu, lazima ufanye vizuri*, and now this computer gaming destroys our children so badly. So our children in the third world face the problem of shortage of books, and the teachers who are knowledgeable are not there, and the ratio we had before is disappearing and most of the schools we have established have no good training to develop individuals who have interest in reading.

But the most important thing is that reading is imbibing of knowledge recorded in books, over countries, over millennium, over civilizations. This is how I used to tell Hashim Mbita and Mwalimu. I stayed with Mwalimu in Addis Ababa in 1998, after he became seriously sick, I was spoon feeding him, He got serious Malaria. I asked him, "Mwalimu, when will that work begin?" He responded, "I leave that to you. My job is over, it is now upon you."

So I am very happy that this is happening because I myself have lost many comrades who could have something to say and we are continuing to loose them. So I must be truly thankful, for you joining into this noble exercise, of trying to record the salient features of the liberation struggle, in which Tanzania played foremost, which can be transcribed into formats that will be read either in computers, in retrieval form or in books, discs and other things which can show the contribution of Tanzania to the liberation struggle. But more importantly the liberation struggle itself, and the history of it; how it went, what happened, where, what were prevailing forces in the world under which this titanic conflict was waged to liberate Africa and one day we can talk after liberation. The second task of Africa is African Unity and to build African economic integration. I played a very key role in writing the African Constitution Act in preparing the transition from OAU to the African Union.

So there is a lot we have to write later on the new Africa under African Union. The first task was African liberation, to decolonize Africa. The second task is African economic integration and to give Africa place it deserves, in this global world, where we are still tilling the soil with the hoe while others are going to Mars.

So Prof. and your team I say thank you very much, I am ready for any questions, and to clarify issues. I said I would speak in my own fashion, it might be I did not follow strictly the script you have written, I did not follow any scheme but I let my mind unwind. Now it is your task to come and synthesize them. But if there is any question you can ask.

The negotiations in Lancaster House tried to embody the crux of the matter; the re-assumption of Britain of this colonial responsibility to colonizing power in Southern Rhodesia and lead the country into independence. Two, the burning question on how you would handle the mobilization of combatants, the intergration process, disarming and

sending people into assembly points, re-education and those who were not going to be recruited in the army; how they were going to be resettled (resettlement). These were supposed to be the crucial fore front issues there.

But the underlying question was, the war in Zimbabwe was about the dispossession of eighty percent of the people of their land; and this was the reason, and the driving cause of the liberation war. So this was handled in Lancaster, and had it been implemented the way it was agreed, all the convulsions which Zimbabwe is up to now, concerning possible acquisition of farm land from white settlers and distributing it to black farmers and the resultant backlash of the white farmers and their allies globally to ferment oppositions and create credible position out of something which was very weak. Tsvangirai is a friend of mine. I am saying that the convulsions which Zimbabwe are going through now, and the political corollary of the position of the Movement of Democratic Change led by Morgan Tsvangirai, is a result of mishandling of the land question as decided at Lancaster House.

*Now what was decided at Lancaster?* Lancaster recognized the primacy of the land question in the liberation war and agreed on the modus operandi of solving the question of land. It was agreed that the new government of Zimbabwe after the elections is formed by ZANU-PF under Joshua Nkomo and the government of national unity it was formed by ZANU-PF plus ZAPU. So they started the process of implementing the land question as decided in Lancaster. It was supposed to be, Britain was supposed to give loans to Zimbabwe to buy land from the settlers on the open buyer-open seller or free buyer-free seller, basis, and land thus acquired by the government of Zimbabwe, would be distributed to the landless in Zimbabwe, according to the modalities that would have been used by the independent government. So if this had been implemented and adhered to strictly, and if the white settlers had not been that greedy, in continuing to hoard land which they don't even use, the crises would have been averted. The white settlers planned to build National Parks and game reserves. All these acrimony turbulence and violence had forced the acquisition of land.

But there is one thing I would like to remind you, which President Nyerere told President Mugabe when he visited Zimbabwe in 1991. He did not attend independent celebrations and Nyerere was seen as anti-christ to these people, devil, terrible man, they dispossessed us our freedom and what have you. Mwalimu was not in a hurry. But when he toured Zimbabwe after ZANU-PF and ZAPU had controlled the country, he toured Manikaland, Matebele and, all the country, he told Mugabe, after seeing very beautiful farms of the whites, "We in Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique, in necessity had to take action in strengthening ourselves as bases for the independence and liberation struggle. By that we have to nationalize and go for socialism as a source to form strong impenetrable fortresses. *"Don't hurry up things, if you will disposes all the farms, you nationalise everything, because what you want is stable economy, these white settlers are cultivating their farms and you continue buying the land according to the spirit of Lancaster Agreement, start distributing the farms to the farmless citizens. If you don't redistribute the land you will not have peace"*.

So Mugabe from 1990 – 1994 was doing that; Nyerere reminded him, did they not promise you to lend you some money and they have not fulfilled their promise. These things you are not told but you just say Mugabe is a bad person, is a devil, he hates white people, is racist! All types of accusatory words. But the government of Margret Thatcher refused to give the loans they agreed. They tried to earmark budget refund from them so as to buy land, how could you buy land while you are running an independent government; Zimbabwe has a lot of agenda that need money.

So in 1994, the government passed the Land Acquisition Act, because they waited for the loans and they did not come. They realised that Margret Thatcher left the office and was

succeeded by John Mayor and so they reminded about the pledge and inside the country the settlers have been saying that Mugabe is old; Mugabe is going to die and the land will not be repossessed. They were so comfortable, and they were impenetrable. I could drive from Harare to Bulawayo you couldn't see any African farm. It is unbelievable, you can't believe it, and you don't see an African. If you ask where are they? You are told they are in location; in those farms there are locations and they are not allowed to move from those locations. I was in Harare From 1987 to 1991, I saw beautiful farms but no African owning any of them.

They invited me on ZBC TV, and ZBC-Radio in 1992 to detail on the experiences of Tanzania under Structural Adjustment Policies. I did my homework well and I went on TV with good clarity of mind and facts and figures. And I told them that the colony of Zimbabwe has been doing well. The liberatization of the economy according to the World Bank, structural adjustment, means opening up your economy to their wares, and cartel your products for their sell to the world market. It is intended to make you a market, and production of steel, textiles, and what have you here, will suffer. What can survive are extractive industries which we don't have much power over them because they manage the extractive industries and they do the finishing of the final product themselves. Instruments they will use will be positive interest rate that turn out not to be cheap. They create excess liquidity in the economy, hence leading to inflation. So they would demand that you raise the interest rates.

Two, they would demand the devaluation of the currency and not by small margin; they want continuam leap devaluation of currency. In Tanzania Nyerere left us at 18:60, we shifted to 40, within the same year we shifted to 72, then 112. By 1990 we were at 230. Very few economies and very few populations can survive these kinds of shocks. Then with these measures, what do they do with the economy. The majority of poor economies or small businesses have problems with salaries; and because salaries can no longer meet purchasing power with such high inflation, generally there is discontent within the population, particularly in urban settlements.

Three, commercial agriculture may not survive but rural peasant agriculture that is always a problem in the first place will suffer terribly. Social services will become expensive and rundown, because fiscal capacity to maintain them at optima levels will not be possible; and they will tell you devaluation makes your products more competitive in the world market. But you will not be producing much, because the same policies will kill your capacity in your textiles and what have you. So what will you sell? We went on TV with Chezero and I was speaking very scholarly, and even Mwalimu watched the interviews, even others watched and they said, "Is it possible?"

By 1993 every thing I said came true. Mugabe, called me to ask, "How are you managing this? I am closing my factories." Mwalimu went there and Mugabe told him, "Mwalimu, I am in trouble. When South Africa gets independence I will have to close my factories because South African industrial merchandises will come here, and they are cheaper, and I am going to close all factories, what can I do?"

Come 1994, the first biggest industry that employed 4050 people was closed. This created more pockets of urban discontent. Farm inputs became expensive for the rural poor, clamour for the increase of salaries became bigger, but according to SAPs they talk on freezing salaries, not expanding salaries. All these measures are engineered to make you literally collapse or surrender to their powers. Therefore, in 1997 there was a meeting at Victoria Falls of the Federation of Zimbabwe Industries. Simba Makone had just finished his tenure as Executive Secretary of SADC, and he came home to discuss this together with Tsvangirai and several other friends. Now there was raising militants of the whites. They were saying that now Bob must play their ball or they were going to fix him. So in 1996 General Elections they lost some seats in Harare due to urban discontent, but in the rural areas they lost a lot of seats; and MDC – (Movement for the Democratic Change) began to get support. There is a saying: *If*

*you confront Shonas and back* them against the wall they will hit back. They started training combatants of liberation war, they armed them, with preparation of 2000 election. When 2000 election came, they lost more votes and they started arresting them. So revolution was no longer a tea party, it was indeed a rough game.

So what they did, they went to settler's farm and attacked the whiteperson and put him in his own pick-up; they ordered him to leave everything and go. He rose up his gun, they surrounded him and shot him to death. The riots began there. International community press rose up to defend the whites. No body had gone down digging the history of slow grinding of this economic machinery against Zimbabwean economy, no one! No one is trying to express how SAPs can be used in dismantling economy; no body! So from 2000, they repossessed the farms, they redistributed them to landless Zimbabweans. Unfortunately the operation took place during dry season and farms could not produce. Zimbabwe was going through a very difficult period. Bu they were determined that aluta continua. Fortunately when Brigedia General Mbita went there that year they got enough rains and Mugabe distributed seeds and farm inputs and what have you. When they got land and tractors they started getting enough food. So the situation has improved now. And what they might do, as I said before, their actions have really crashed MDC. That was I have told, if you fight against the Shonas be prepared. They are rude, they are tough, they are bad. The rural people have their own stronghold; it was now the campaign against urban settlers. They started with hawkers who were main supporters of Tsvangirai, they had to close their areas and chase them away.

## Kisumo, Peter

[Moshi; 15 November 2007]

*Mzee Peter Kisumo was one of the first TANU members who joined it in 1954. He was the Secretary General of the Workers Federation of the Northern Zone that includes the regions of Kilimanjaro, Arusha and Manyara. He told me the major activities he had when he joined TANU in 1957 included mobilization of Tanganyikans and become united so that they can demand independence from the British colonialists. He explained that they used various associations including workers's associatins, cooperative societies, and tribal unions so as to have one voice against the British colonial master. He says that TANU was so powerful and very influential to people and it was in the frontline to support other parties in neighbouring countries of Kenya, Malawi, Uganda and Zambia; first they were helped secretly before independence and after independence the support was clear and open starting from 1961 after Tanganyika got its independence. After independence, Mzee Kisumo was a senior government leader and a party leader, who participated in the preparations of policy frameworks and structures that were used in supporting other liberation fighters; and that included training to freedom fighters from Mozambique, Rhodesia, Angola, Namibia and South Africa. Also, he mobilized Tanzanians to collaborate with the freedom fighters who were guests in our country and mobilised other people from all over the world to support our war against imperialism and colonialism. In his explanations, Kisumo says that the goal of that collaboration was to make sure Afrisa becomes a free continent politically and economically because true freedom entails that the country must be free form dependence. Currently, Mzee Kisumo is a member of CCM's Board of Trustees.*

First of all I thank you for the efforts you have made to get me. As you know that my health condition has not been stable for a long time now, but God has helped me. These conversations are very broad as you know that Dar es Salaam was a seat of liberation struggles in the Southern Africa. Another reason is that Tanzania got independence under Mwalimu Nyerere and TANU and then our friends Zambia got independence after us under Kenneth Kaunda and later it was a turn of Botswana under Sir Seretse Khama.

Before we can talk about the frontline states I must say that we had already started the struggles even before 1960s when the frontline states organised themselves for struggles. As I can recall, I participated in the struggles to unite the people of Tanganyika in 1950s and that was part of TANU's policy under Mwalimu Nyerere. That is what we can call the real unity and indeed a political unity that sexisted even before the unity forged by TANU during the struggle for independence. We made it clearly that that we shall establish a stable brotherhood to foster relations with all people who are tortured all over the world. That was TANU's policy from the beginning.

So, when I joined TANU in 1957 the major task was to mobilise Tanganyikans to build solidarity and strong political unity so as to demand their independence. The fight for independence was more political, geographical, and historical because you cannot demand freedom without knowing rules you and what are the policies are standing for? We were demanding freedom from the British colonial rule. We were considering British as colonialists. And the history showed that United Kingdom was a huge empire. So we had to understand that we were demanding freedom from the huge and powerful empire. They ruled

Ghana and it became independent; they ruled India too and it became independent; so they had a long history of colonialism.

We had to understand how the British have destroyed South Africa. By having more awareness about the one you are fighting against for independence it was easier for Tanganyikans to know that we were fighting against the super powerful nation that is called United Kingdom that had a lot of colonies and historically it was the largest empire in the world. Apart from Tanganyika, we had our neighbours, Kenya, which was another British colony, and its people were more oppressed than us. So we mobilised more Tanganyikans so that they could collectively demand for freedom of their nation and it was through independence we could do anything we wanted, and support other political parties that were in the frontline to fight against colonialism in Africa and elsewhere.

In 1958 I became a leader of workers' association. I served as a Secretary General in the Northern Province, that now includes the regions of Arusha, Kilimanjaro and Manyara. That was the zone loved more by the colonialists and it was so tough for us to fight for the independence from the Britons. It was not only an independence struggle but also the struggle against the colonial system that was structured by the white people. It was the fight against the system that put people in classes; the white people at the top as the first class people; the second class was for the Indians and arabs; and the third class was for the Africans; and that was the lowest class of people.

So, even before the independence, we mobilised ourselves to fight for free Tanganyika and to support liberation struggles in other countries. Among those countries included Kenya because it has MAUMAU war during those days. We knew that the intention of the British people on East African soil was to make Nairobi their Headquarters for East African territories that included Tanganyika and Uganda. We knew that they didn't want to hear noises about freedom from Tanganyika. They believed that Kenya was their permanent settlement and so they never planned to leave that country, but we were not afraid of that.

We didn't hesitate to support the Kikuyu people who initiated fights in Kenya; we hosted Peter Koinange who lived in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. It is true that TANU was so powerful during those days to the extent of threatening the Governor who even failed to repatriate the Kenyans that fled the MAUMAU fights. In Africa we had friends who outside the Frontline States but they supported us in the struggles. It could be unfair no to recognise the contribution of the former Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser and Algerian President Ben Bella. I recall that the first independent African governments were ready to train our soldiers who fought against colonialists in Africa, and Algeria was one of them, together with Egypt and Ghana.

But the clear thing is that the distance from Algeria to Mozambique was too long; it was not feasible for the guerrilla soldiers to travel on foot from Algeria to the Southern part of Africa. Therefore it was decided that after Tanganyika got independence it will host all liberation fighters. Also we were chosen based on good leadership, strong TANU party and Tanganyikans were determined to remove colonialism in our country and in the whole African continent. In those 1960s, soon after independence, Tanganyika consented to be the seat of frontline states in the Southern Africa.

It was not possible to do all these programs of training freedom fighters for Mozambique, South Africa, Angola, and Zimbabwe and make them secret to the world super powers. We did all those knowing clearly that they will be known and it was not easy. But we did and we continued collecting Tanganyikans and mobilised them to support the programs. One thing that helped us was the spirit of solidarity that was exercised internally and outside our country; we could not distinguish or differentiate the injustices done inside and outside the country; it was one and the same. That is why in country the sense of nationalism is very high compared to other African countries. Our politics did not only focus on our local politics but also with the affairs of other countries such as MAUMAU in Kenya, events at Sharpeville; in Soweto where pupils were killed when they boycotted being taught in

Afrikaans; events that took place in Congo including the assassination of Patrice Lumumba. All these were events outside our borders. Indeed were were Tanganyikan youth and adults who all knew the importance of fighting for the independence of whole Africa. It was clear that independent Tanganyika could not be safe if other African countries were not independent.

I remember that before the establishment of Organisation of African Union (OAU) in Addis Ababa there was union called Afro-Asia Solidarity Organization whose Headquarters were in Cairo. I remember there was one Tanganyikan working in that organisation called Amana Swai. The organisation included members from independent African countries, which were very few by then, and Asian countries, even countries of Cuba and Yugoslavia were accepted as members of the organisation.

I remember one Afro-Asia Solidarity Organization meeting was held in Moshi at Livingstone Hotel. There came delegates from different countries including Algeria, Misri, Kenya and Cuba. That meeting highly motivated Tanganyikans because those people were speaking one language with TANU; the language against injustices and oppressions done by colonial masters.

So the transferring of the headquarters of the frontline states for the Southern African to our country highly strengthened TANU. We felt to be very much honoured. As a leader of workers' associations and later government leader I recall that we had Africa Day on which we had big solidarity walk to do fundraising for Liberation Committee.

I remember that I had participated in various international conferences as a leader of workers' associations. One of the meeting I attended was that of International Confederation of Free Trade Unions that was held in West Berlin in 1958. During that conference the major call was to support other various freedom fighters and liberation movements that demand independence in their countries. In that conference I was jeered when I mentioned about the removal of white supremacy in South Africa. I was forced to apologise for that statement but I declined to do that. I was supported by very few individuals, one Rhodesia and another from Caribbean. We knew that the language that was there was to allow South Africa to be governed by all people. The government that is recognised by all people and not that of apartheid.

Therefore in 1960s Dar es Salaam was the Headquarters for MPLA of Angola, FRELIMO of Mozambique, SWAPO of Namibia, and ZANU of Rhodesia. However, before independence we supported other countries to get independence including Malawi; we were cooperating with KANU of Kenya, without forgetting the contribution of various workers' associations like Kenya Federation of Labour, Tanganyika Federation of Labour, and Zanzibar and Pemba Federation of Labour. We also had a good cooperation with Cooperative Societies such as Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union, Victoria Federation, Bukoba Co-operative Union. I mention those other means of mobilising people because TANU alone could not get successes if it lacked support from other actors.

Even the tribal unions helped TANU in its fights for independence. I remember when I was a leader of a Pare Union branch in Arusha. The Gogo had their union under Job Lusinde. You can appreciate the good leadership of such a person. The Chagga had also their union called Chagga Democratic Union under Eliufoo. On the other hand, Chief were also very influential. There were even some football associations that had an agenda of demanding the independence. Also in some intertainments like East African Coast music (Taarab) carried the message for independence.

Young persons like Samora Machel and Joachim Chissano and others who were under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane when they went to join Mpwapwa camp for military training they were warmly welcomed by their neighbours. These neighbours were Tanganyikans who lived around the camp and they loved the guests very much because they knew that they were



preparing to fight for their independence and we had to be part of that fight. When I was a minister we made a decision to build TAZARA. The successful construction of TAZARA showed the world that we were right to press for sanctions to South Africa, and the United Nations passed the sanctions on weapons to South Africa. Tanzania's contribution was so big and Mwalimu ordered all ministers to travel to see all African Presidents to persuade them on the sanctions against South Africa. Tanzania played a significant role to remove the Apartheid regime from the Commonwealth countries. The Socialist Countries also trusted that Tanzania can keep secret on weapons. during those days there were two socialist camps, one led by USSR and the other camp was China alone, which was not a member of the United Nations. China agreed to build TAZARA. The geographical area of Tanzania was favourable to defeat the Apartheid regime economically. We targeted that Southern African countries should not depend on South Africa for the transportation of goods through ports; so we built oil pipeline, railway and tarmac roads; and I was in the government by then. We were really positive about the future.

Many youth died during the struggles apart from those who died on our soil. It is not a secret that many youth died in Mozambique that was under Portuguese colonialism. I remember we also supplied weapons we received from East Europe and China; we gave the Angolan freedom fighters those weapons so that they fought against Portuguese. So, without national unity in our country it could not be possible to allow freedom fighters to receive military trainings on our soil. We had no factious groups who could take arms and destabilise the nation. Every weapon aimed at targeting the Apartheid regime, Portuguese regime and all others who were oppressing Africans in Southern Africa.

It was decided that the ZANU leader, Robert Mugabe, to stay in Zambia and ZAPU leader, Joshua Nkomo, to stay in Dar es Salaam because we identified a problem of getting leadership. When Governor gave a decree of the independence for Zimbabwe, Mwalimu Nyerere decided that Robert Mugabe signs to take over and he invited Nkomo to be the Vice President. Tanzania played a big part by making them work together, or otherwise one of them could be back to fight guerrilla wars and then destabilise the country.

For the case of Mozambique, Samora Machel was alone powerful and influential. Mondlane was so soft just waiting the independence on the table while Samora was a fighter. In the situation of the death of Mondlane, if Samora was not there and another person was picked then FRELIMO could reject that person. Thus, the contribution of Samora was very instrumental. Possibly, without him Mozambique could be there as we see it today. Samora died and left the leadership in the hands of Joachim Chissano. They were both here. Samora knew that he was the next to Mondlane. FRELIMO knew that after the assassination of Mondlane another powerful person was Samora who was also targeted, so they made sure that they protected him.

There is no need to shed blood and spend money without economic gains. But if South Africa continued being under the Apartheid regime with strong racism, or Angola and Mozambique continued being under Portuguese colonialism, even the freedom we have could not like it is now. For us as a nation we could not see a better tomorrow if we could not stop anything that jeopardised our independence. The Afrikaans hated anything that they considered threat to their existence in South Africa. And for Mozambique it meant that you were taking away the Portugal's overseas province; and for the British they were unhappy because you were taking away their means of economy. All these were more risky beyond the economic gains.

For the part of Mozambique, we are now building the bridge that will connect the two countries and facilitate the road transport with Mozambique. Mozambique is not a land locked country but the north part of it can use a port in Tanzania to transport their goods. We are very close to each other in terms of development, and so we can exchange goods through cross border trade.

For the case of South Africa I see a different situation. We fought for their independence but still black South Africans have not started owning the means of economy in that country; they have not started enjoying the national cake but instead they earn and live from hand to mouth; now how Dar es Salaam will benefit from them? South Africa is more linked with Europe, Canada, and Australia. That is not political but more economical. They have also advanced in technology and they are close to western countries. We are with them geographically but not economically. South Africa is not part of us economically. Kiuchumi, hivyo iko kwenye kundi la kutunyonya. Sasa tusipokazana hapa kwetu tusipokazana watakuwa wanatunyonya. Wana nguvu sana hawa; kama walizonazo mataifa makubwa ya kibepari.

We can say that we have benefitted politically from the liberation struggles; we cannot be proud of bridges that are built although we can now sit down and talk and there is no longer shading of blood. But we have to work hard to protect our economy and make it grow. If you compare the South African economy and that of SADC countries you will realise that SADC is on the losing side. The future of South Africa does not depend on SADC but on the G8 countries. If you visit Shoprites chain of markets in our country you will find onions, lemons, and cabbage from South Africa. Even water and meat are coming from South Africa; which is very dangerous to our economy. On the issue of minerals, our countries are left bare handed without benefitting anything because of exploitative system we have. Things like tax exemption weaken our economy; instead of benefitting our people it benefits investors from outside.

## People from Lindi and Mtwara

*These explanations are from the people's memories, including twelve people from Lindi and Mtwara who knew about the liberation struggles in the Southern Africa, especially liberation struggles in Mozambique. Lindi and Mtwara regions have been chosen in order to get information about the liberation movements for Mozambique because they are very close to Mozambique. The researcher visited Mtwara urban, Mtwara-Mikindani, Newala, Lindi urban and Rutamba in Lindi Rural where there was a special settlement for refugees from Mozambique. The respondents were interviewed between December 2006 na January 2007.*

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### **Mr Awadh – Deputy Secretary of Chama cha Mapinduzi, [Mtwara Urban]**

Based on my knowledge on African liberation struggles during the existence if TANU, I was still very young as for now I am 48 years. By the time when I witnessed Tanzania was supporting other countries in the liberation struggles, TANU was in the forefront to help Mozambique.

Under the leadership of Mwalimu Nyerere, Tanzanians helped their fellow Mozambicans in different ways including clothes and even shelters. There was a big centre to receive Mozambican soldiers ar Kidilu in Newala and they were treated wounds in that area. There was a big hospital to treat them. But also here in Mtwara, although I was living in Newala, there are things I still recall that happened during that time. Although I can't recall the exact year, but I recall the event when the later Samora Machel, the first Mozambican President, visited our place and had a rally to thank the people of Mtwara at CCM Mkoa. The liberation struggle memorial statute was built in that place by his support.

The statute was disputed and caused some conflicts in the past because the owner was not known. The truth is that the friendship between TANU and FRELIMO led to the erection of that statute and it was TANU that assisted FRELIMO in their struggles. That is my brief explanation, let me end up there for today. Thank you!

### **Ms Blandina Angalia “Mama Geugeu”**

#### **[Resident at Indian Quarter, Mtwara Urban]**

I was working for TANU on voluntary basis since 1958. I was a Branch Secretary of TANU-Mikindani. In 1964 I worked here in Mtwara as Community Development Officer. I later left the job went back to work with the party and I served as Regional Secretary; and it was during that time the liberation struggles for Southern Africa started, especially for Mozambique. The struggles continued and during that time we had our military group of youth that was deployed to Mozambique and it was called “Green Guards”. When the “Green Guards” came back from Mozambique after independence some of them joined National Service and others joined Tanzania People's Defence Forces (TPDF).

In 1968 the fightings in Mozambique were intensified. The Portuguese knew that FRELIMO got help from Tanzania and so the fightings were intensified in the border areas with Tanzania. At Kitaya there was a battle field and one of our citizens shot down the Portuguese war plane

and they knew where he was, they killed him. Historically, at Kitaya there is monument built for liberation struggles, especially for Mozambique. In 1974 Mozambique got independence through the struggles and leadership of FRELIMO.

We have since then continued to cooperate with the people of Mozambique. We hosted the FRELIMO army here whose headquarters were in Nachingwea and many refugees were sent there. It was the major military training camp for Mozambican soldiers and FRELIMO. Here in Mtwara there was a big hospital that was named FRELIMO, in which the war casualties received treatments.

The relationship between FRELIMO and TANU and later CCM led to birth of TAMOFA, whose chairperson is ndugu George Mkuchika, and it is through that partnership party we have been able to maintain the amicable relations between the two countries. On the part of benefits, our colleagues from Mozambique have benefitted from us as we had protected them in our houses and stayed peacefully. We considered them as our relatives and we understood that they were passing a difficult time of war so we had to host them.

The situation during the war was so tense; it was not safe here in Mtwara. Wherever you walked here in Mtwara you could see trenches which were used for camouflaging and protect against the attacks of the Portuguese. These trenches you can see them at CCM regional office and in other places of this region. But generally we continue our friendship with Mozambicans as recently the Parliament declared that Mozambicans can enter our country without visa. That is already a testimony of the harmonious relations with Mozambique. We continue helping each other. When Samora came to Mtwara he built a monument at CCM Regional Office, and that remains to be a symbolic monument to show that FRELIMO and TANU were close allies and they worked together to liberate Mozambique.

During the liberation struggles we supported our friends with clothes; and that was the major item that was donated to them. And this was done because many who fled their countries left everything there and they came without clothes except those they put on. So when they joined the isolation camps they had no clothes to change. Those who were kept in our places had to wait until when their country got independence and so they went back home. There were those who decided to remain here, there are still here; there are spread in different parts of Mtwara, some are at Mbahe, others in Mtwara town; others went to Mang'amba or Mtawanya. As I said before, the military training was in Nachingwea where they received treatment and the casualties were treated their wounds. They were the ones who renovated that hospital and expanded it.

The remaining symbol for the existence of friendship between Mozambique and Tanzania is the establishment of Tanzania and Mozambique Friendship Association (TAMOFA). The monument of friendship is at Kitaya that shows people of Kitaya did heroic things during the struggles in the Southern Africa. Also the minaret at CCM Regional Office is an expression of the good relations between FRELIMO and TANU. What we learnt from those people is that they were ready to sacrifice their lives and us Tanzanians were just helping them to fight against the Portuguese.

During those days the major task was to educate the Tanzanians that colonialists were not our fellows because they did not come to develop us rather they came to oppress and exploit our resources. We mobilised Tanzanians so that they protest colonialism and they had to know what does it mean by colonialism and to explain to them how the Mozambicans have undergone sufferings under colonialism.

One of the events that I always recall that of a bomb at Kitaya that killed our soldier who shot down the Portuguese war plane. Also our lives were at risk all the times because the Portuguese planes were flying over because they were pursuing our planes that were supporting the FRELIMO. During those days if you waked up next day you thanked God because we were not sure of our own lives.

One thing to add to this even not related is that we Tanzanians we have to learn from those events because I can remember that we were completely insecure; we lost peace and they put Mozambicans in the state of restless. Until now they don't believe if they are settled because they face another threat from RENAMO who are still there. That is why some of them have decided to continue being in Tanzania. Some have completely lost hopes of going back. They think that one day RENAMO will emerge again and it can be the same situation as it was during the Portuguese colonialism. If you go to Mang'amba, near Lilungu prison you will see many Mozambicans who have decided to establish their settlements here. You can also see them at Mbahe where they stay peacefully and nobody is disturbing them. So I plead to my fellow Tanzanians not to temper with our peace. Thank you very much!

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## Mr Gideon Stephen Boli

### [Resident of Chinkongola, Mtwara Town]

I am a resident of Mtwara for almost thirty nine years. I moved to this place from Kilwa where I worked as an accountant in the Works Department. When I arrived here the first night the Portuguese plane flew over us and we wondered how comes a plane at night because our airport had no lights so planes were not landing during the night. By then the military camp was at Makaburi Msafa, it was named as Nyuki Brigade, from Zanzibar. There was a petrol station, military camp and so we witnessed everything. The communications were made without us knowing what was going on but what we were heard was that the Nyuki brigade shot down the Portuguese plane and in the morning we saw the plane. The security was tightened after realising that we were at risk of being attacked by the Portuguese. I was by then responsible for paying salaries for “*southern border feeder roads*”. I was paying salaries under heavy security. We were inspected before going there although we were all Tanzanians.

One day I went to Kitaya together with my colleagues for the same purposes of paying salaries, and on the way were attacked. There were no citizens to help us because they all ran to the trenches. Now we had to get ready for anything that will happen to us. Those people were using a plane coming to our country and going back to Mozambique. Luckily, when the plane was coming from Mozambique near the Ruvuma River our soldier shot it down and it fell in the River Ruvuma. That young soldier I don't recall his name but he did a very commendable job. The Department where I was working had to bring a winch at the night pulled that plane. They found a white pilot already dead and the plane was brought to the military camp that was near the river. They investigated the plane and inside it they found the maps showing all our areas; they buried that white man at Makaburi Msafa. From there it was now simple for army to go and help FRELIMO.

FRELIMO built a hospital here in Mtwara at Ligula, which was taken by the government after end of liberation struggles. And Tanzania is considered by Mozambicans as the country that helped most to liberate them from Portuguese colonialism. So many Mozambicans feel free to cross the border without visa and we do the same to Mozambique; only that we should not break the laws. We have many people from Mozambique and they feel at home because they don't need resident permits to stay in our country.

On the side of business, I was visited by one District Commissioner from Mozambique who told me many historical things. He told me about the areas they went through and how they were helped by Tanzanians to get independence. Briefly, our relationship with Mozambique is sustainable. These are what I can recall. But one last event that I remember to be the fruits of liberation struggles in Mozambique is the formation of Tanzania Mozambique Friendship Association (TAMOFA). Here we have TAMOFA offices and even for us if we want to go to Mozambique we go to that office and our passports get stamped. On arrival to Mozambique once they see the stamp they don't disturb you anymore.

There freedom fighters from Mozambique were receiving clothes and food as our support. For the injured fighters they were treated at Ligula hospital and that place is still called FRELIMO. There are buildings that they left for us and from those settlements we got good football players who played in our teams. Apart from Mtwara the Mozambicans also lived at Rutamba and other places of Lindi. Rutamba is in rural Lindi, about 30 kilometres from Lindi town.

Persobally I remember that one of the things that Tanzanians played a great role is to reveal the spies who were coming to collect information and send back to our enemies. We identified the spies very quickly and we sent the information to the government offices that took them and speculated them and found their identities. One day when I was going to

the villages for my normal works, at one village before Mahurunga two children died because of being suspected to be killed by the landmines and the villagers made a hunt to get the culprits and they succeeded to get the responsible persons who planted those landmines. But since it has passed a long time I can't recall the details of that incidence but what I know is that they were arrested after a search. Here along Ruvuma River there is a free movement of people crossing the river, some come from Mozambique and establish their settlements and the same people cross back to Mozambique. So they were using that technique of assuming you already know each other and sometimes they come and marry while they have ulterior motives. So they were identified to be the same people from the other side of the river.

Indeed the Late Mwalimu Nyerere had a special leadership talent. When the soldiers were ordered to help the Mozambicans they went. And after independence we have good relations with Mozambicans. And for us living in the borders we tend to mix so much. We have a lot of "Mamwenye" (Sultans) since the time of liberation struggles who came from Mozambique. And I may tell you that most of the Yao are from Mozambique and the Yao are divided into small dialects of Wamkula, Wanyese, Achimbango, Achingoli, Amasanninga, Amachinga, Amalambo, Wabemba, Amakele, and Amangochi. All these their original is in Mozambique and so they helped their relatives because they knew that Mozambique was their origin. So we visit each other so often, including myself if I got to Mozambique and identify myself I won't fail to trace my relatives. So it becomes easier in helping each other.

The origin of Yao is the Mount Yao where we lived before. Mount Yao is found between Mwembe and Luchilingo. The Mountain ranges have started at Mwisiru and stretching to the whole area of Che-Malinganile to Mwisombe. From there the Mountain extends to Mwekilope up to Munhkuya; and in all these areas you could find the Yao. Again the second meaning of Yao is the mountain without tress but grasses. So from those mountaneous ranges the Yao spread to East and West, and some went to the North and others to the South. That is how the Yao are spread from Lake Nyasa to the Manga Coast. They also spread to the south in areas of Matipwili near Walolo, up to the north in areas of Kivinje, Kilwa Masoko. Some of them crossed Lake Nyasa to *Mwenye Che*-Pemba and to Bibi Kululunda of Kacholo; and some went up to further south and settled in the areas of Blantyre. The Yao have their traditional dances include Likunda (now is called Mundalanga), Chindimba, Michoma, Msewe, and Lyemuyala (or Likwata) – a dance for women who clap hands without drums.

The settlements for Amasanninga include areas surrounding Mount Masanninga near Mtwesi town. These Amachinga went to live in areas surrounding Mount Lichinga – which literary means Mountain. Amalambo lived at Mlambo very close to Lisaninga and the name originates from lilambo meaning that a plain land that has no trees except shrubs; and so the people were called Amalambo. Wabemba lived on the slopes of Mount Bemba; and Amakale went to settle at Makale plains that are found between Mchisi river streams and the mountains in Malawi. Amangochi wondered in the Mangochi mountain. Wamkula went to settle at Mount Mkula, which is very conspicuous when seen from River Ruvuma, in the direction towards Mwembe town. Wanjesi stayed along the mountain ranges of Njesi. Achimbango went far to settle the other side of the River Ruvuma. Ambango are also known as Wamwera who are now famously known as Achimbango, who live in the coastal areas and they speak Kiyao that is mixed with Kindonde. Achingoli went to live near Mount Chingoli, which is found in the south of River Rujenda, and they are named after that Mountain. This is a brief history and distribution of these people and that justifies why they easily got support from them because they remembered that they shared the same background. So, even our current relationship has been good because of that background. Thank you so much, I have nothing to add.

## Mr Benard Andrew Unga (67)

### [Resident of Ligula, Mtwara Town]

The relations between Tanganyikans and Mozambicans involved the southern people in Tanzania and Malawi with northern Mozambique because these areas were inhabited by people who had a similar origin. There was a close integration of tribes inhabiting in southern Tanzania, Malawi and Mozambique. You could see Makonde, Makuwa, Yao ni all three countries. They were living thout boundaries; the boundaries were put by colonialists who separated these people.

The Mozambicans started to enter in Tanganyika around 1940s in the present Mtwara region. They lived in camps and they were isolated from other people. They were give places to establish their settlements including Lulindi in Masasi ad they called themselves “*Wamawia*” drived from “*kuviha*” – meaning fierce people. They were given an isolated areas to live because according to their culture and tradion they did want to mix the local people. They were participating their rites of passage or initiation rites without cooperating with the local people and once you were found to be in their rituals you could risk your life. So they lived in that way. They were relatives before but when they moved to our area they isolated themselves and maintained their own cultural values. However, after independence they changed that pattern of life; they mixed with local people and it became so difficult to distinguish them from other Tanganyikans.

After independence the differences started especially after the movements for freedom kicked off by FRELIMO in Mozambique. Many people who left Mozambique for a long time showed an interest to join FRELIMO so that they could fight for independence but unfortunately they had language problem with their fellow in Mozambique. For instance here in Mtwara, FRELIMO coordinated the activities to receive the refugees from Mozambique who were crossing through Mtwara district, and the regional government had put some priocedures of accepting them and deployed to special camps were they received military training.

The colonial government in Mozambique was against the Mozambicans who fled war in their country and moved to Tanzania, especially members of FRELIMO. I remember there was one FRELIMO leader in 1960 called Mkavandame, he was an influential and famous leader of FRELIMO, who later defected the party and joined the colonial government. He was used by the colonial government to wage war against the Mozambicans who sought asylum in Tanzania. Luckily, by then the government decided to help FRELIMO by allowing them to bring their crops from Mozambique and sell them in Mtwara so that they establish FRELIMO Estate. So later years they were bringing their crops and received as crops from FRELIMO Estate. The government had to open an accounti for depositing the cash from the sale of their crops. I remember these because by then I was an Assistant Manager of National Grain Council and I was responsible in buying the crops and opening the bank account for them.

Mkavandame after being enticed by the Mozambican colonial government he was given loud speakers to advertise here in Mtwara and elsewhere persuading FRELIMO members to go back to their country; he was telling them that there was no war and the war is ended and they could be welcomed by the government without problems. That was a propaganda of the colonial government to suppress the liberation struggles. However, he was not successful and FRELIMO continued with their political activism. They intensified the fights until later they succeeded to get independence.

In Mtwara FRELIMO has left its legacy and that is “FRELIMO Hospital”. The part of the hospital that is now used as a mother and child unit was previously a hospital for treating the wounded FRELIMO soldiers. The soldiers were brought to that FRELIMO hospital for



treatment. After they got independence the Mozambique government decided to hand over that building to Tanzanian government as a gift. That is why it is called FRELIMO hospital.

As I said before, when they crossed to Tanzania for the first time they were warmly received and given places to establish their settlements. However when the fightings started the government had to find a place to establish a training camp and give them support. The camps were established at Kitaya, Mahurunga and Mtwara where they received the support and they trained for the battle. That happened more often between 1972–1974, when the fightings were intensified and our army had to help FRELIMO to move to the border so that they got into serious battle. They were going in the evening and at the dawn they came back and the situation went like that for the whole period. The camps were established in different places where the Mozambican refugees were settled while training for the frontline battle.

The reception of the refugees from Mozambique was like an “automatic” thing because a local person received for the first time as relative and supported them until when they were able support themselves. Later the government took them to the camps and took care of them and offered training to them so that they went back to fight.

During those days the situation was so tense here in Mtwara because sometimes the Police could pass in the streets reminding people to switch off the light and go inside because there was a danger outside; the Portuguese planes flew on Mtwara airspace. Sometimes the planes from Mozambique were coming and dropped the papers appealing to the Mozambican FRELIMO members to go back to the country because the situation was calm. But also during those liberation struggles some of the Tanzanians lost their lives. For example in Kitaya one person was killed by the Portuguese plane but luckily that plane was shot down by our soldiers. During that time I was attending militia training so that I could join the fights; however, fortunately we did not go.

The contribution of Mtwara people in the liberation struggles in the southern Africa is that they received people from Mozambique as their relatives and unfortunately we have been behind in terms of development just because most of our resources were used to support our relatives for a long time. We also suffered the effects of war indirectly or directly.

Unfortunately the relations with Mozambicans today is not good as we expected, and that is contrary to what we did to them. In fact we did a lot to help them during the liberation struggles but now the relationship has turned sour. If you reach Mozambique now you are treated as a stranger who has no value to them while for sure we played a very great role to support them.

Economically we expected that our government could allocate more resources to rebuild Mtwara who glory was lost due to assisting the Mozambicans in their wars and just to compensate for what we did to people of Mozambique. I have just recently heard about the plans to construct the Umoja Bridge; however, we expected bigger things than just a bridge.

## Mr Hassan Omary

### [Resident of Vigaeni – Mtwara Town]

I remember the liberation struggles in Mozambique because during those days I was just a young person living here in Mtwara and we were receiving refugees from Mozambique who fleeing war. Most of them came without clothes or their properties. Mtwara people received them and gave shelters, clothes and we fed them. Behind my home there was a building used by FRELIMO youth as their office. That office was receiving Mozambican youth who were preparing to join the military training. Even Samora came here before he went abroad for military training. I was always talking to them but Samora was always very gentle and silent contrary to his colleagues. We supported them in different ways including blood donation to those who were seriously injured in the battle.

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## Mr Jerome Juma Chilumba, 59 Years

**[Resident of Ligula, Mtwara Urban]**

I am resident and born in Mtwara. I am a retired education officer, and now I work as a Director of Open University of Tanzania. Our relations with Mozambique has a long history; I mean since 1950s when I witnessed my parents having a close ties with the people from Mozambique. People from Mozambique have different talents including carving and traditional medicine. I remember my father was closely cooperating with them in issues related to traditional medicine. Politically, starting from 1964, when Mozambique was still under colonial administration, I started seeing many Mozambicans flocking to Tanzania to seek refuge due to war that was continuing in their country. Here in Mtwara they were received and sheltered by the local people who gave them food and clothes. In the beginning many refugees were hosted in individual houses but when arrangements to establish the camps were complete they all moved to their special settlements. I recall that some of them went to Rutamba and Chilala in Lindi. Other areas included Nachingwea where the military camp was established. Here in town there was a big centre for the leaders of the liberation struggle because it was thought that the war could take longer to finish. The land was surveyed and they were given plots to build offices for the executive officers and military personnel. In 1975, as I recall, the Mozambican properties that were in Tanzania were left and handed to Tanzanian government. Those properties included the hospital that was built to treat the wounded soldiers. One of the building that was handed to the Tanzanian government include the current Maternity unit, famously known as FRELIMO ward. Later the government decided to give the left plot to the citizens for development. In fact they were very big plots (65 by 70 metres) and the government no longer allocates such big plots. I am one of those who bought those plots. Another thing that is left as a memory of the presence of Mozambicans is the monument that is built at CCM Regional Offices to signify the liberation struggles in Mozambique were led by FRELIMO and Mtwara region made a significant role during the liberation struggles.

The relationship between the two countries has continued being stable based on the previous foundation. For example, the two government have put “free zone” areas where people can visit each other without visa or permits. For example, I, Chilumba, am here in Tanzania and if you go to Mozambique I will find other people called Chilumba. Tanzanians learnt carving using ebony tree or ivory from the refugees, and they are famous of that and they are self-employed. Also Mtwara residents learnt various dances from the refugees such as sindimba, a traditional dance in Mozambique, which is now very famous in our areas, especially in Newala.

## Mr Mohamed Said Maridadi

### [Resident of Kitaya Village, Mtwara Rural]

I was born in Kitaya in 1945, and I am 61 years old. I am from this village since then so I can well explain the historical events that happened here as much as I can remember. This is a mother village of all other villages and during the villagilisation program this village was chosen as a centre and other people from other villages were moved to this. This Ujamaa village that is found at the border near Ruvuma River. The villagers had good relations with people of Mozambique before the war erupted. We were visiting each other and we did cross border trade; Mozambicans came to sell their goods here and we crossed to sell our goods to Mozambique.

Generally we enjoyed amicable relations with our neighbours. However the situation changed completely when we they began liberation movements. That period had caused a lot of tenses in Kitaya; we had no peace. The government decided to close the border during the liberation struggles. So, we were not crossing the border and they were not crossing the border coming to us. However, we only received them as refugees who fled the war, and the government took them and sent to the refugee camps in Lindi at Rutamba. That is what happened.

When the relations became sour we had to protect our border so stop them from entering our country. I decided to join militia and later in 1968 I joined the Tanzania People's Defence Forces. That year was so bad to us because there were a lot of land mines and people were bombed. For instance at Kivava one woman was exploded by the landmine and died instantly. I know that woman was called Binti Ally alias "*Mlango wa Boma*". Even at Mahurunga, on the direction to the Kiwoko Primary school, one person died of exploded land mine. All people expect militiamen were not walking during the night.

Kitaya was a centre for the battle in Mozambique because we agreed to help the Mozambican refugees, protect and shelter them. Secondly, we agreed to support their freedom fighters and we dinated our blood to the wounded freedom fighters; and most of our people died during the liberation struggles. Recently ou young man found something which he didn't know and it was learnt found to be a landmine; it exploded and injure him badly. Where he was digging it s thought to be the FRELIMO route when they went to launch attacks or when they were coming back after attacking.

## Mr Hamisi Dadi Mkuto

### [Resident of Kitaya Village, Mtwara Rural]

In 1968 the situation was so tense. I was among the militiamen who were protecting the border in collaboration of the National Army who were stationed in this village. The Tanzania People's Defence Forces (TPDF) used weapons such as canon for shooting down the planes and we were using small weapons. In 1970 when the then Minister for Defence Rashid Kawawa visited us he ordered that the militiamen should be sent for further military training on cannons for shooting down the planes. I was among the militiamen who were selected to go for that training.

We came back and we cooperated with our colleagues from the TPDF who were using Cannons type 14.5 and we were using Cannons type 12.7 to protect our border. There were other militiamen who were destined to small weapons such as SAR. I remember on 14/ 04/1972, it was Friday a very big painful incident happened. The Portuguese were crossing with their planes to attack Kitaya village. I recall it was 7.05 am, two planes flew on our airspace targeting our village. The TPDF in collaboration with the militiamen succeed to shoot down one plane. The second plane retreated and the fights were intensified the whole day and they attempted to send more fighter jets. At around 1.17 pm the situation was calm suddenly we saw two planes from our back coming from Mtwara; they throw a bomb that killed Ahmed Mzee who was with Cannon 14.5, which is operated by two persons, he was number one and the second person was Lance Corporal . Ahmed Mzee was attacked and his body was destroyed by bullets and the cannon was destroyed and the second person was injured his arm. It said that the plane used *machine gun*. We tried to send a missile to shot them down but we succeeded to shoot one that fell on the side of Mozambique.

In 1974 we killed a white person who tried to cross the border during the day passing the school area. The pupils saw him and they rushed to tip the soldiers and militiamen who were protecting the area. The soldiers ran faster to the river bank and they ordered him to surrender himself but he refused and what he did was to attack us using his gun. The commander order us to retaliate and we succeeded to kill him. He was taken from the river and buried at Ligula, Mtwara. The situation continued being tense until 25/06/1975 when Mozambique became independent and the relations from there resumed to be amicable.

Our relations with Mozambique stabilised after they got independence. People have been coming here and we have been going to Mozambique without any problem. The border was only closed during the liberation struggles. As we speak now, there Mozambicans in Kitaya and we have people from Kitaya in Mozambique. Some return in the evening and others pass the night there. Most often people of Kitaya have farms in Mozambican side and they cultivate crops and there is no disturbance provided they don't break the laws.

The Portuguese were attacking Tanzania because it was a major centre of FRELIMO freedom fighters and they undertook military training in Tanzanian soil. They had their military training camp called "*Farm 17*" in Nachingwea. Mtwara was a centre of launching the attacks; and they had another shorter term camp at Mahurunga and Lukuyu, where they camped before going to launch attacks in Mozambique. So while coming back they camped briefly there and proceeded with their journey.

The FRELIMO fighters were crossing to Mozambique through Mahurunga, and on the second side they had another big camp called Namoto used for organising their attacks. They also had as small centre at Lukuyu where they rested while going to attack; and another centre

was called Kwawandindi where the freedom fighters were stationed. They arrived there first before being dispersed to other places. No more to add.

## **Mr Mussa Mohamed Mussa, (45)**

**[Resident of Kitaya, Mtwara Rural]**

During the liberation struggles I was still very young and during the attacks I ran away without being carried by my parents. The soldiers told us that fights were tense and we had to run to save our lives. I understood everything although I was still young. Many left their homes and fled to Nanguruwe, Nanyamba and others went to Mtwara town.

The achievement we have seen after the liberation struggles is the improved relationship with our neighbours in Mozambique. They are free to move into this place and we are free to cross to their places; there is intermarriage between us and them showing that there is a good integration. We have farms in Mozambique and we don't face any obstacle; they have welcomed us to go there and we maintain our traditional relations as they were before.

## **Mr Martin Mpunga Kalemaga Milambo**

**[Newala Resident]**

I am a retired legionnaire of King's African Rifles who fought the Second World War and I was also a member of TANU/CCM National Executive Committee. Our relationship with northern Mozambicans has been amicable and it is a traditional relationship. The Yao, Makua and Makonde clans that are found in the southern of Tanzania are also found in northern Mozambique. This is a reason why we have a traditional relationship between people of Mtwara and Mozambique. The good relationship existed even during the Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique and even when Tanganyika was under Germans and British. *kati wa Vita Kuu ya Pili ya Dunia na Mjumbe wa Halmashuri kuu ya TANU/CCM.*

During the liberation struggles in Tanganyika TANU was a popular party that was promoted by Mwalimu Nyerere and it was spread all over Tanganyika. In 1955, Mwalimu Nyerere arrived in Newala to mobilise more members to join the party. Some of the immigrant workers from Mozambique who came to work in the sisal plantations heard about TANU and they were highly motivated and they wanted to know more about TANU. During our rallies in Newala we invited them to come and listen to what we were discussing and presenting; they were motivated to join TANU. The Central Offices agreed that we can welcome them as new members by giving them membership cards; and that was an impetus to them to go back and establish the freedom fighting party. There were two Mozambicans who received membership cards, and these were Faustine and Mzee Lazaro Mkavandame.

One day before 7/07/1957 we received two people from Mozambique; one was a man called Faustine and another was a woman called Mariam. They came with a letter requesting us to allow them to attend our meeting so that they could observe how we organised our meetings and address political rallies and the way we presented issues in the meeting that attracted people (learning about rhetoric). They were invited to the ceremony and they were introduced to the congregation and they were also taught not to rush into gathering people because the Portuguese administration was not similar to that of British. After the explanations we escorted them up to Ruuma River and crossed the river and proceeded to Mueda. On their arrival in Mozambique they approached the District Commissioner (DC) to ask for the permission to organise political rallies; the DC told them they had to wait until he gets response from the Governor of Pemba province. The governor responded that they were not allowed to imitate things that were taking place in Tanganyika and they were completely forbidden to hold rallies and any one who defied that order must be shot to death.

The leaders did not obey the order and so they organised a meeting by force and we were later informed that about 40 people were shot to death. After that incidence, the cotton farmers in Cape Delgado, led by Lazaro Mkavandame established their Cooperative Society called MANU (Makonde African Nation Association); but it had political motives and people were mobilised to join it. This was not national party rather a provincial party and most of the members were Makonde people. That was the beginning of tortures and continuous oppressions from the Portuguese who arrested and jailed them; and many of them fled to Tanganyika to seek refuge. Due to the misfortunes that faced them many Tanganyikans welcomed them especially their relatives who were in Tanganyika. Some of my relatives in Mozambique found refuge in my father's home in Malatu village and they told me how they were tortured. They also told me that my uncle who was an Imam was killed and his Mosque was set on fire. Many of the first refugees were camped at Mahuta.

After Tanganyika got independence it started movements to unite smaller political parties in Mozambique to form one bigger national political party. Mwalimu. Nyerere called for a meeting all leaders of MANU, UNAMI and UDENAMO in Dar es Salaam to discuss the process of forming one national party. Many of the leaders understood him and they agreed to form one national political party that was named FRELIMO in 1964, and it was under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane. Some of the leaders including Mkavandame were given House No 2 in Mtwara at Majengo street. FRELIMO was instructed to consult me if they wanted to learn how to run the political party. After the establishment of FRELIMO, the Portuguese administration invited their friends from South Africa to come to Mozambique to help them. The situation was so tense because they burnt down the Mosques and farms and many people were killed. Now it was clear that the negotiations for independence were not feasible.

It was later resolved that FRELIMO had no other choice than using gun to demand their independence. The proposal was made to form the freedom fighters army under FRELIMO. President Nyerere consented the proposal and preparations soon started. Nyerere approached socialist countries for assistance in terms of weapons and military training. Those socialist countries accepted his request and the healthy and strong young refugees were taken to China, USSR, Yugoslavia and Guinea for military training.

The TANU government was not silent. It strengthened security inside the country by collecting more strong and energetic youth and they received military training to become militiamen. These militiamen were spread in the whole area along Ruvuma River from Msimbati, Mnazi Bay, to Tunduru at the area called Lukumbulu. In its bid to protect the Tanzanian borders, the government installed cannons for shooting down the planes at Msimbati and Kitaya. Here in Newala, there was a special Air Brigade commanding the airspace whose buildings were turned into a secondary school called Nangwanda Sijaona after the end of liberation struggles in Mozambique. The Brigade was built by assistance from the Chinese government. Generally the situation was so tense, but here in Newala the situation was not so much tense compared to Kitaya division where the Portuguese planes were shot down. That is all I can remember for now.

Our relationship with Mozambicans for now is very good. Recently I received some guests from Mozambique, who came from Lake Kigede; there was one woman and her husband. Our business transaction is very good for we do a lot of cross border trade with our colleagues on the side of Mozambique; my in-law is doing a butter trade by exchanging chicken with goats in Mozambique; he has been going and coming back without encountering any problems.

# The Mozambican Refugee Camps of Rutamba, Lindi Rural

## Mr Said Bin Mussa Bin Athuman Mbara (66)

### [Resident of Rutamba Village]

In the past, Rutamba was a forest that had wild animals. There was a time people from Londo came to hunt here, and one of them was killed by a buffalo and so they buried him here. After burying him they cut one tree called Rutamba and the squeezed its water and poored on the tomb. The tradition of pouring water on the tomb is not only a religious act but also it is found in traditional religion. After doing that they went back to Londo and after three months they came back and found that from that tomb water was coming out of Rutamba tree and there were grasses to cover the water. They again left the place and later they came back to visit the tomb and found that the water was still coming out; and after few months they came back to establish permanent settlement. And later the amount of water increased until it became a pool; that is the reason of that name Rutamba.

In 1963-1964 the war in Mozambique erupted and people fled to Tanganyika. But before crossing to Tanganyika, the government already knew about their coming and it prepared areas for establishing the settlements for them. So, when they were looking for a suitable place they came to Ng'apa and realised that it was not a good place so they went up to Milola; unfortunately the people of Milola when they received the information that the government intends to establish the refugee camps in their area they all refused to receive the refugees. The Committee came back here and the leders were summoned for a meeting including the late Mzee Mussa Mtoyima, Mohammed Namanyanda and Mzee Mussa Athumani. These were wiser persons and they were invited to the meeting so that they could be requested to accept the refugees. They agreed to welcome the refugees.

After those elders agreed to receive the refugees, the preparations for the area started immediately and the surveyors used helicopter to check the size of the area. After that the refugees were brought to the area. For the first time they arrived naked; they had no clothes and some children lost their parents. They were warmly welcome and the government built shelters for them and they moved in.

After staying for a while and the entry of the refugees was stabilised, several other refugee camps were established. The first camp was Nambawala, and the second was Namatili. These camps were named after the home villages were the refugees came from. For instance in Nambawala stayed refugees who came from Nambawala in Mozambique, and in Namatili stayed the refugees from Namatili village in Mozambique. The third camp was called Chilala, and thereafter came other camps such as Mahuta. The name Mahuta was famous because in that place the oil was sold, and it reflected the other village where they came from. After Mahuta they built another camp called Kamuntu. Kamuntu was later divided into Makangala and Mwijae camps. Mwijae was a named of their district leader that was visiting them more often and so they decided to call their camp Mwijae. There was another camp called Zambia for the people who were believed to come from Zambia. So, these were refugee camps in our area. We stayed with refugees for almost ten years until 1974 when Mozambique got independence. After independence some of them went back to Mozambique and others decided to remain here.

We stayed amicably with the refugees because they fled the fightings in their country. Contrary to other refugee camps, in fact these ones here were very good and we thank God for that. They had no weapons and they came with nothing. We stayed with them very peacefully. I don't think if



there was any incident of burglary or any quarrel with them. There were normal incidents that happen to every human being to the extent that we cannot count them as serious problems. We stayed with them peacefully until when they decided to go back home.

The refugees have left us good memories for our development. For example, we have a centre that we now use a Rutamba village offices was used by then as a security centre to protect the refugees. We also have a hospital that was built to serve ten thousand refugees. They also built Chilala Primary School that is now turned into Community Development College. At Chilala Primary School there was a factory for shelling cashew nuts. These are the developments that were brought by the international community to refugees who were here and now we have inherited them. At Kamuntu there is a school and our children are going there. Sincerely speaking, there were not military movements in these camps and the camps were strictly protected.

There were some other assets that were left by the refugees. The first thing was the cashew nuts and coconut farm of more than 10,000 acres. Half of the farm was given to the residents including the refugees who requested not to go back to Mozambique and the second half the government gave it to one Indian investor so that he could develop it. The coconut farm is in the hands of Makangara village government. There is also a Rutamba health centre that served the refugees and it was taken by the government and it now serves us very well. There were other buildings including quarters that were used by doctors who worked at the health centre and now those houses are inhabited by government workers. Also this Rutamba village office was a centre that hosted various offices for refugees. Moreover, the police post is in the former refugee buildings.

There is one big warehouse here near the ward office which was among the refugees' houses; and the warehouse continues to be used by Rutamba villagers. The existing garage was left by the refugees, but now it is used by the Local Government. At Chilala there was a school for refugee children but after they left the place, the school was turned into the community development college. There was a factory for shelling the cashew nuts at Namatili, and that factory was called Chilala, and now the buildings are turned into a primary school. Also at Namatili there is a development house, which exists right now, and its use is for measuring the cashew nuts during the harvest season, and it is also used as a market for villagers to sell their products.

There was a water pump that was left by refugees. We could not use it because of the cost of oil, so it was taken by "clever" persons or went unnoticed. There was an power generator near our hospital, and until now we still have the building in which the machine was kept, but the generator was taken, but after the refugees left then the machine was taken, and we did not know when it was taken.

Prior to the arrival of the refugees, the Rutamba people had only one division, and the court was one. Fortunately we built a small dispensary. When refugees came they had to build big hospital because the number of people had increased and so there was a need to improve health care. The building that was a dispensary before was converted into court, and the magistrate was brought here. In the meantime, at Makangara they built a primary school for refugees, which was large and modern, after the refugees had left the place the buildings were converted into a hospital. These buildings are currently being used for development activities as I explained.

Next to this ward office and the police station there was one house that was built by refugees for sculpture or artwork or toys, and it was like their shop. The office was theirs; and Kantao who was a refugee commander, was working from this house. The police station was the office of one master called Njunde, who was a refugee manager. Both of them were appointed by the Tanzanian government. On top of the hill there were cottages for nurses, and there were three major cottages where Njunde, Kantao, and a medical in charge called

Semkiwa were living.

Rutamba residents have benefited from the good environment and essential social services, but refugees had benefited more. Refugees have taught us more about cassava farming because they were very productive. We have learned that cassava is consumed throughout the country, the natives of Rutamba used to rice as their staple food. The refugees encouraged us to cultivate cassava instead of relying solely on rice; we had grow another alternative crop for food.

Another that made us benefit the refugees is the security and defence techniques; the refugees came to teach us how to protect ourselves and camouflage during the war, and our elder children joined militia training. Another thing we have benefited from is intermarriage between the locals and the refugees; myself was married to a refugee woman called Amina Kigandi, with whom I stayed for many years. After the situation settled in her country she wished to return back home; unfortunately she has passed away and we were not blessed with children. But there are some of my relatives who have been married to the refugees and they are blessed with children.

In 1974 some of them left and went back home and we still have some of them who decided to remain at Namatili. Many who remained they said that they did not see any problem here and the situation they found here did not differ from where they came from. Apart from that, others saw that the time they spent here was enough so they did not want to go back. What remains for them is frequent visits to their relatives in Mozambique. I've finished.

## **Mr Selemani Said Ndagula (57)**

### **[The Resident of Old Rutamba]**

Kwahiyo yeye alifanya juhudi za kuwapunguza na kuwapeleka pale, kwa hiyo kwa kumpa heshima ndipo lile kambi likaitwa Mwijai. I want to give explanation from where Mr Mbara ended. Mwijai and Zambia are the subvillages of Mahuta village or Mahuta Camp. Mwijai was the Secretary of TANU, at that time, who is now similar to District Administrative Secretary. When he was in Lindi, he received these refugees, and sent them to Milola. So the because of the efforts he made, the camp was named Mwijai after his name as way to honour him. Zambia was also a subvillage at Mahuta camp, it is said that the refugees were from the Zambian border or they came from Zambia and that is why their area was called Zambia. So these local or local names were based on the origins of refugees who lived there, for instance, at Kamuntu there were people called "Makobi". Mwijai and Zambia are part of the Mahuta camp; Mahuta means oil, and it origin comes from the fact that the refugees' leaders decided to set up a petrol station and the refugees decided to call that place Mahuta as a reminiscence of the place in Mozambique that sold oils and it was Mahuta.

Many refugees who arrived in Rutamba were injured, exhausted because of the long journey and others died. The first thing the Rutamba residents did in collaboration with village and district leadership was to construct refugees camps. Late the government began to build permanent refugee camps in Rutamba, and they began to distribute farms for them to continue with their agricultural activities, including planting cashew nut trees. The refugee children aged 18 and above were taken to join FRELIMO military camps for military training. The refugees who remained here found the environment similar to that of theirs in Mozambique.

Most of them are still with us and we do collaborate very well. It is difficult to note that they are not Tanzanians because the accent they came in with had completely changed and now they speak standard Kiswahili. After Mozambique's independence, FRELIMO leaders came to register all Mozambican citizens; and those who wished to be Tanzanian citizens they had to register for Tanzania citizenship; and those who wanted

to live here as Mozambican citizens were welcomed. Refugees who decided to stay in Tanzania are still there and we cooperate with them very well. It is hard to discover that a person is not a Tanzanian citizen because they have changed their accent they came with, and they fluently speak Kiswahili.

## **Mr Rashidi Ally Bin Issa**

### **[A Remained Refugee, Resident of Chilala]**

I fled Mozambique because of liberation struggles. We fled directly from our villages to escape war, and when we arrived at the Ruvuma River we were arrested and crossed the river. When I speak of being arrested, I mean being taken by the people of Tanzania and helped to cross the river. When we crossed the river we were taken to Mtwara, and later were brought to Lindi and finally to Rutamba. When we got here at Rutamba we were welcomed and we were fed very well. Later we were told to build our homes and live in peace. By 1975 after the independence of our country, those who wished to leave and return home left this place and those we decided to remain resolved to remain without being coerced.

My home village in Mozambique is called Mkonga, Boma Nangadi. Here in Rutamba we were received by some elders including the late Mzee Namanyanga, Mzee Mtuyima, Mzee Jolowa, Mzee Nambaka, Mzee Ngoko and Mzee Chakujela. The life in this place was very good different from where I came from in Mozambique where people were killing each other.

## **Mr Mashaka Issa Lindu**

### **[Remained Refugee, Resident of Chilala]**

After arriving here in Rutamba and welcomed by our hosts, there were FRELIMO schools where we sent our children. Also FRELIMO leader were coming here to register young people and take them to join military camps for military training so that they join the army for freedom fighting. The schools we found here had no any discrimination. We all had the same education no matter where you came from. Our life here in Rutamba was very good for we were involved in many things like sports and in contributing development ideas. The obly difference was that the local inhabitants had their own homes and we were living in our camps. In terms of food we were greatly helped by the people who received us. Even after our colleagues left, the life has continued to be normal and co-operative. There is no difference.

During the liberation struggles we supported our army in terms of food supply and we volunteered to join the army so that we could liberate our country. We learnt from the local inhabitants about dances and they also learnt our dances, but after some of us left the place those who remained maintained the mutual relationship we had. We lived like children from one parent. We had a dance called “ngomanga”, which is danced during the harvest season, and during the rite of passage when we initiated our children including circumcision and other activities of the initiation rites.

There are differences between the period when we were refugees and now. The differences is that during that time we were known and called refugees who had fled from Mozambique. But now we re considered as ordinary citizens, and that is the only difference but now we cooperate with our fellows in all respects, there is nothing that separates us; nor should we call ourselves refugees. Even in social and economic matters we go together. We now living peacefully compared to the past when we were refugees and we are no longer called refugees. During the

past there were boundaries between the local inhabitants and us refugees but now there is full cooperation. These days Sheikh Mbara can invite me to sit down and talk but in the past it was not possible because I was always considered a refugee.

In political events we are all involved and we are given membership cards, and we participate in all party activities. I was once a Chairperson of the CCM Youth Wing at Chilala branch, now this is one way to demonstrate that I am liberated. We participate in choosing leaders at all levels and we can also be elected as a leaders. We are also involved in all the development activities that are taking place here. We participate in building secondary school and a dispensary; if there is any contribution we contribute, and we are educating our children in these schools, and they pass exams.

In economic matters, I cannot insist that we are excluded, for we all share equally. Our agriculture is very poor and the price of the farm inputs is very high. We are well involved, extension officers come to instruct us how to grow well. It is all for now, nothing to add.

## Lupembe, Mama Lea

*Mama Lea Lupembe was a teacher who taught in different girls secondary schools before she was appointed to be the General Secretary of CCM Women Wing (UWT) in 1960s. During her tenure as UWT General Secretary, Ms Lupembe was in the frontline in organising trainings of freedom fighters women, especially ANC and FRELIMO women. During the same time she mobilised UWT members to contribute for women freedom fighters, especially for those who were living in Tanzania. In her explanation, Ms Lupembe insists that UWT took those refugees women as their colleagues and they cooperated with them in many aspects, including attending internation and national and they helped theme whenever they needed support. After Mozambique got its independence, UNESCO sent Ms Lupembe to Gaza, in Mozambique to establish women training institute and promote women unity in Mozambique.*

Thank you very much. In short may be I may start with my own history that I am professionally a teacher. During those days we were called grade one teachers. We had Middle Schools; Boys' Middle School and Girls' Middle School; and I was a grade one teacher; and I taught in two schools: Kidugala Girls' Middle School, and later I came to Uhuru Girls' Middle School, after I got married in 1958.

I was a Headmistress when our country got independence. I think that the reason why I became the Secretary General of the Tanzania Women's Union (UWT). Because TANU probably saw my work at the Girls' schools, and because of the recognition of my work, they appointed me to be the Secretary General. I think UWT's history is known. But in short it was TANU's Women Wing. We worked under the leadership of the late Mama Titi Mohamed, God has mercy on her. Her General Secretary was Mama Lucy Lameck.

The idea of integrating all women came from the central committee, perhaps TANU leadership. I may be wrong or right, I think it was an idea of Mwalimu. Mwalimu suggested that we integrated these women to the benefits of women's development. Because if we confined it as TANU Women Section we could leave many women in the opposite direction; they were not united. In order to empower women to have rapid development, it was a good idea to unite these women. So that was the birth of the UWT.

Honestly speaking, some people did not like politics at that time, especially the educated people. It was so hard to convince the educated women to join TANU Women Wing. But after establishment of the fully fledged Tanzania Women's Union, all women joined Tanzania Women's Union. And that's what happened. That is the short history of the introduction of the UWT.

I was the third UWT General Secretary ; the first General Secretary was the late Ms Anna Kasambala, God have mercy on her; the second was an Interim General Secretary and there came Sarah Nyirenda who worked only for few months. And I served as General Secretary from 1960 to 1967, I think. I did not stay for a long time time but during that period we did a great job of building the party during. We wrote a constitution of the Tanzania Women's Union. We identified activities to be done and mobilised women so that they could join the union as members. We also wanted to get their contribution in building the nation.

I'm glad I was part and parcel of something exists up to date, that is the UWT emblem of a mother and a child. That was created during the same period I worked. So I think that's my history, the little history of the Women's Union. And we really had a UWT that was very powerful.

After telling the women the goal of uniting them was to get a collective voice, TANU, Mwalimu, leaders, ministers supported us and we managed to be under the Ministry of Community Development that was under Cleopa Msuya as our Minister. Being under the ministry of Community Development gave a good image that we were not under the TANU. The Community Development Officers were women and they were also UWT secretaries and that is how we got people to work for UWT. The good example was Ms Anna Abdallah whose background is from the Community Development and she is now a National Chairperson of UWT.

We had a strong unity, something that pains me is that that unity does not exist now. Even these foreigners, such as Indians, were also present in the UWT. For Indians, we had the largest branch that was headed by Mrs Jafar, Mrs Exavery – a lawyer, Mrs Jamal, Mrs Al Nur Kassam. It was an organization for all women. It really had the representation of all the women. Just as the Indians were strong, even the Arabs were very strong and they also had their own branch.

Its structure involved ten cell houses, ward and went up to the ministry. So we had branches even in every ministry. They were very strong branches. That's where we got educated and home wives; I do not know how to call them, should they be called ordinary, I do not like the word but let's call them ordinary or uneducated women, right. It was a great job. It was not easy but successful.

Now concerning South African women, we can say there were two types: First it should be noted that there were twenty nurses who came. That was an arrangement between TANU and ANC. I do not have details about that arrangement, but what I know is that UWT or TANU Women Section were given the task to receive them. But I was one of those who received them; we welcomed them hospitably into our country. These are the first type of women; the nurses who came to strengthen clinical activities in the hospital, especially maternal care.

The second type of women were those who came with political purposes. There came ANC women as you all know the history about how ANC came to our country. Now those were from the Women Section and we were working with them very well in all of our activities. But on the other side it was like they were learning from us. Our cooperation was mainly through meetings. We could meet as committees and sometimes we invited them to our meetings. They came, listened, and contributed their views. We also travelled with them to international conferences that we were invited. As you all know during those days we were close to Communist and Socialist countries and countries like China, Sweden or Russia invited us so often. So, whenever we received an invitation we went with our South African fellows.

And when we get to the meetings we had one voice, one statement. We presented ours and they presented theirs, but we had to support them and speak on their behalf and fight for them. Although they were talking about their own issues but still they needed our support. So Tanzania became one of the countries that have been very supportive in the international meetings.

We had a good relationship with with, I may recall the names of few of them of were active in the country's politics; those names include Ms Lucy Mamphate, Ms Florence, Ms Bula. I remember these and others included Ms Msimani who came with her husband. This one apart from being involved in politics she also worked as a teacher and she taught at Uhuru Girls. Another who came with her husband was called Ms Hadede. These are the few that I may recall their names who came to our country for political purposes. I think briefly that is what I can explain about our relationship with our colleagues who were the freedom fighters.

For the case of Mozambique, we also had Mrs Graca Machel. She came later but the one we knew earlier, was the first wife of the late Machel, the first president, her name was Josina. That is the one we were closely associated with in various matters and his group. And even later when Mrs. Graca Machel came we cooperated with her. We showed our solidarity with Mozambican people.

Let me say that I was lucky to work in Mozambique and I had to help those Mozambican women

to help them create the Mozambique Women's Union, which they briefly call OMM. I went there as a secondment of UNICEF. They asked someone to from Tanzania to help them in the organization. Fortunately, I was chosen to go there. I stayed there four years helping them to establish the entire Women's Union system and writing projects proposals as well. For instance, I taught them how they would conduct trainings for other women. We even had training exchange program. Some of them came to Musoma at our women's training center. UNICEF, on their part, they were providing material support and they built a training center at Gaza. They built their own women training center, that is why we had to sent some women to Musoma to learn how to run the centre.

So you can see, we had a good relationship. And in the international meetings we were moving together. We helped them fight for their indendence and we had one voice. We supported whatever they presented.

I would to use this opportunity to express my thanks to these South Africans because we learned a lot from them. We had nurses and some of them were often co-opted in our communities. Even in those regions where they went to work in government offices they were so cooperative. I think it's because of that spirit of fighting for independence and so everybody felt that obligation of taking part in the struggle even if she was a nurse or a teacher. If your country is not free you will have to work hard. So even those who were posted in the regions were very active. Let me give an example of Mama Madenge, she was involved with us to the point of being appointed a member of the Central Committee. The Central Committee, as I understand, is a very important organ. Mama Madenge could not discriminate anybody just because she was a South African. She was very active not because she married a Tanzanian. About, Ms Lucy Mamphate, I don't have her updates. Let me admit that I have not looked for her history.

We formed a unity of all women in Africa called All African Women Conference whose headquarters were in Algeria. I do not know how it's going right now, I want to confess that it's a long time since I came back. When I returned from Mozambique I had another job, I was not very active. But before I left I was the Secretary of the organization for East and Southern African countries. I can't recall well but I think either secretary or coordinator; whichever is right. During that time when we were making visits all the countries of comoro and Madagascar were on our side to support South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. So their office was here in Tanzania. So I had always been a Secretary and Mrs. Madenge was once in that committee. And I think she later took my position when I was in Mozambique. Just for the information, the office for the organization of African women has moved Angola and the Secretary General is from Senegal. One lady who was a treasurer at a certain time is now the Secretary General and is based in Angola. When Lucy Neto was elected a chairperson she was picked to be her Secretary General.

We had East African Women's Union for Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya. But shortly thereafter, a few years after Mrs. Margareth Kenyatta became a chairperson and one Ugandan lad was a Secretary General; I was Deputy Secretary General. But the union died natural death. Actually it died because of political reasons; the political situation of that time caused its death and not us women; it was our parties and politics; that's the truth. But it is sad that we could have powerful union as well as the strong Parliament, and the strong East African Community.

While I was in the south I didn't visit many countries under UWT, but I visited most of the countries as a government official. I had visited Zambia and Zimbabwe two time when I went for conferences.

UNICEF requested for the human resources mainly from Tanzania. We worked with them to strengthen their women unit. They had started their women section, which was very strong. We cooperated with them; we worked in their office. They wanted to have a similar system of women union as ours. We mainly cooperated, educated each other and explained to them how we operated our union; and eventually they formed theirs that existed from top

to down.

So we were travelling most often to visit branches to talk to women and teach them different things. And I also became a link officer with UNICEF who financed various activities. For example, I have said that they requested to have a centre like ours, which was at Musoma. As I said before, they had their training centre at Gaza; which I think is still there because there was a time one woman invited me to visit the place to see their centre that I played part in establishing it.

They received money for the construction of the buildings. Unfortunately, the first construction materials that were brought for the construction did not arrive because the ship was capsized. Although, I don't remember correctly the history, but I think they got other construction materials.

Before I left the system was not yet operational. They loved our Tanzanian system that put all women together and they were connected from national level to the branches. To them it was only FRELIMO women wing that was strong and not the whole nation's women union.

So we had to write down how they manage their union, organise themselves and how to educate women in Gaza, Nampula and elsewhere. But unfortunately I did not learn Portuguese but I spoke English and Kiswahili. So I worked with a translator. In the writing we considered issues such as goals of the union, the nature of development we wanted and what we intended to do.

We improved and strengthened adult education and UNICEF loved that idea. Truly speaking, women in Mozambique did not get quality education. The system suppressed them. The Portuguese were not like British in Tanganyika; they enforced Portuguese language but for their own interests. Even a house worker spoke very well Portuguese but they had no any added knowledge that could help them. So, through adult education we taught them many things in collaboration with some Tanzanian instructors who went through adult learning. We had Mr Mpogoro and other three of four people. I was under FRELIMO and other Tanzanians went there under the auspice of the government. It was easy to coordinate because here in Tanzania we were under the Ministry of Community Development for the purpose of financial accountability, and they also decided to put adult education under the Ministry of Community Development.

The Buhare Centre is known for teaching adult women who did not get formal education. It is collected women leaders and other women who all got training on health, community development, education, tailoring, nutrition, etc. so when we opened Gaza Women Centre we adopted the programs of Buhare Centre. So, when I left the place the centre had started. I did not return there to see the progress. It is unfortunate that I couldn't go back to see the progress.

Here in Tanzania, women education was different from men education and so women were behind. At Buhare we emphasised on issues related to health, general education such as literacy and numeracy. Some the centre just for the purpose of knowing how to read and write and others joined specifically for the purpose of specialising on certain skills so that they could teach other women after returning back to their districts. That is also what happened in Gaza, Mozambique.

Here in Tanzania we were not responsible with their schools, instead they were directly under the Ministry of Education. I can recall during the era of Mrs Ligate and Mrs Kota when they were heads of the section, if am not wrong. At Kurasini they had a school that was responsible for teaching politics and diplomacy. UWT did not go there. That was their internal affairs.

Through my position as a Secretary General of UWT I was also a member of the Central Committee and National Executive Council. During our meeting in Central Committee and National Executive Council we were discussing general things and the focus was on the liberation struggles. Mwalimu could share his ideas and we contributed our ideas and views. He also explained to us how Tanzanians had helped in the liberation struggles. Tanzanian



were mobilised to help the freedom fighters who lived in the camps near them; those places were such as Morogoro where South African freedom fighters were placed. So we were discussing things in general and not going into details.

Mwalimu always asked us if we were cooperating with our fellow women and how we cooperated especially when it happened that we got invitations to attend meetings and they had no tickets. For instance, if Russians invited us for the meeting and our fellow women had no tickets we approached the Central Committee to request for the support and they supported us whenever possible. During my time we cooperated with ANC and Mozambique. We had no cooperation with SWAPO although I knew some of the leaders from SWAPO.

The voice of Tanzania was so powerful and Mwalimu was highly respected. I think if Mwalimu said anything people agreed and they never objected. They could come to us explaining that they got invitation for a certain meeting but they had no tickets and we found ways to help them. Some other issues were more internal affairs but generally I can say that we cooperated with them very well. I think other issues Mrs Madenge can explain more. She has attended many conferences and she always wanted persons from our Committee to go and attend the meetings and she represented her fellow ANC women. As I said before, although they had other professional activities they still participated in the liberation struggles to liberate their own countries.

Talking about conflicts, I think they had some minor conflicts in rural areas where they lived, but generally there was a good relationship between TANU and them because TANU was always insisting on amicable relations. I recall also when I was in Mozambique many people who had experiences of living in different countries praised Tanzanians that they are good people and they had a good relationship with Tanzanians. And that has been repeatedly all the time they had national celebrations. I beg to be corrected but I don't recall any serious conflict during the whole time of living with them in our country. May be some of my colleagues can recall those conflicts but for me as a former Secretary General of UWT I never experienced any serious conflict; may be they were undercover. However, some misunderstandings are inevitable for human beings. Also it might happen that there could be some misunderstandings amongst themselves, but they were not seen publicly.

Concerning the contribution of UWT on liberation struggles, I can say that we were contributing from our own pockets to support them because in those days we called them refugees and not freedom fighters. They were living in refugee camps and so we organised fundraising for them. That is why we had to embrace the Indian women who were more financially capable to support us. They were very good at organizing fundraising matters. Let us be honest, they were in the frontline in fundraising. So, whenever women in liberation struggles had meetings we were invited. Many meetings were held in Kurasini and we went there to contribute our ideas and we conducted fundraising and gave them money and even material contribution. Some of the women were so close to us in terms of cooperation because they were leaders of their women sections. I can remember Ms Lucy Mamphate, who was very active. Mamphate can be well explained by Mrs Madenge as you know that it has passed a long time and their names are so difficult to pronounce. She played a big role also as a nurse and as a politician. She was very active openly, not like other nurses who were providing nursing from their homes. I am happy to hear that one of the women with whom I worked closely was later appointed a Secretary General in South Africa; I am sure if it is true.

I can only say that we had national meetings where we could offer contributions. We said that this contribution goes to the ANC; and so that was a resolution and we had to contribute for our fellows. Honestly speaking, the plans and programs of that time were also objected and people had different opinions as it may also happen now; so we had instant call for the

contributions. We were inviting them to all the meetings and they explained their problems. During the annual meetings we organised donations. The donations came from the meeting and it was not programmed since we also had our own party problems and you have to recall that we were also building our party. We received support from the government. Women had no contributions for unprogrammed fundraising events; that is why we could collect very little money.

As a UWT Secretary General I faced many problems. In Tanzania many conflicts emerged during elections; there were few problems related to leadership; you cannot completely get rid of minor leadership problems. For instance, I have explained here how we cooperated with Indian women but why are they not active now? They are now complaining that we don't invite them and I fail to give them a reliable answer because I am not in the office. On part of UWT we made efforts ourselves. We were the ones looked for them. We told them that they were citizens like any other citizens and they must cooperate with their fellow women. May we chose our people and they chose amongst themselves and they chose strong leaders who were either supported by their husbands because most of the Indian women leaders were wives of the members and leaders of TANU. For instance Jamal and AlNoor Kassim, who later became ministers. So they pushed their wives to participate and organise themselves; and they indeed succeeded.

The women academics joined UWT by force; that is what I can say. They joined for the hopes of taking various positions like being elected as members of the parliament and in government. They took that as a short cut to be in power. If you go through the list of the women leaders by that time you will realised this. I amy agree with you that we might to get another approach of attracting more Indian women who have isolated themselves from women activities.

I think some women have lost confidence and some have developed fear to contest various political posts. You will always find that the same women contest every time; that discourages other women to participate. I don't know which system exists in the party that favours same women to repeat contesting without giving a room to others. This is a problem and we should not deny that; it is not good to have the same person for many years as if there are no others who can lead. Others are afraid that once they try to contest they will not be elected with several excuses such that they consider themselves unpopular to voters and other excuses. But I think, as I have read in newspapers, there is an excessive use of money in elections. That is corruption and it is difficult to substantiate that because corruption involves two people.

During the time when I served as Secretary General it was not an automatic thing that yiu must be a member of the Central Committee. But it reached a point that when you are a Secretary General of UWT you atomatically become a member of the central committee or National Executive Council. Things changed later and that is the current practice. If I am wrong you may correct me. I worked during the era of Tandau when one could be a Secretary General of UWT and you don't enter into the Central Committee; Central Committee was for vey few people; even the Executive Council was not as big. Changes have come and the system has also changed as the organization of the nation has changed because the country is bigger now compared to the past.

Therefore the representation is different now compared to the past; and the system had to change. In the past there was only one woman, Mrs Titi Mohamed, in the Central Committee; and this one woman entered the Central Committee by virtue of being a Chairperson of UWT at the national level but later the system changed; it was no longer the matter of being a chairperson of UWT but rather she was appointed. After that change of the system then two women entered into the Central Committee. Later again the system changed whereby even the Regional Commissioners were picked as members of the Central Committee. It was during that time

when Anna Abdallah became a member of the Central Committee because she was a Regional Commissioner of Morogoro. That is why these changes have made even the representation of women in top leadership to have increased. And now we have been insisting on 50/50 representation.

## Madenge, Edith

[30 October 2007]

*Mama Edith Madenge was born Edith Jeremiah Vangqa in Denon South Africa. She was a trained nurse who was also an African National Congress (ANC) activist. She came to then Tanganyika on 8 January 1960, as part of a group of 20 nurses who were brought under an agreement between TANU and ANC to come and assist in the transition period after the country gained its independence. While in the country Mama Madenge got married to Mzee Madenge and continued with her nursing career, as well as the struggle against the apartheid regime in her country. Initially, at independence she was involved in the replacing the British nurses who had to leave the country, but later she performed normal duties as a nursing officer, at the senior position she was appointed. She worked in Dar es Salaam, but also in Tanga, Mwanza, Nzega, and Same where she was involved in public health as well as the normal nursing job. She was also involved in the UWT, the women's movement for Tanzania, where she could use the international for a for women she was invited to, to voice her Party's struggle against apartheid. After Mozambique got her independence, in 1982, Mama Madenge went, as part of a group of doctors and nurses, to work in that country, for three years. While in Mozambique, she continued to work closely with FRELIMO and ANC, as part of the struggle against the apartheid government of South Africa. At the time of the interview Mama Edith Madenge had retired from nursing and was involved with other businesses.*

Thank you for asking my help. My friend Mbita has at least remembered me because we haven't met for a long time. You are warmly welcome.

I was born in Denon, it was called Denon Location then, on 16th August 1929, to Jeremiah and Louisa Vangqa, that was my grand father's name, at No. 36 Street. We were 8 children, 4 boys and 4 girls. My father was a court interpreter, my mother a housekeeper, an educated housekeeper, she went up to Std. Six. My mother and my father were separated in 1936 when I was 7 years old.

We all went with her, and I stayed with her until she died when I was coming to Tanzania. She educated us on her own. She came from a very rich family and her father was very rich, he bought my father a cab at that time but my father took the cab with him. (Cab zile za farasi wawili). I and one of my brothers would always, during Christmas time go to my father for Christmas clothes and so on. Mother never stopped us, but we stopped when he asked us to go and live with him.

My elder sister, who was the second born, got married to a head teacher in one of the largest schools in Johannesburg, a Methodist Teaching School. I was them in Std. IV 1938. I went to live with her in Johannesburg and continued with my studies at Secondary and High School. After Form Six, when I was 17, I took up nursing because I like nursing very much. This was against my brother-in-law's wishes, as he wanted me to continue with university education, but nursing was the only job I wanted to do.

When I started staying with my sister and brother-in-law, we were near a big hospital in Johannesburg. I used to admire the nurses when I saw them passing by, going to and from school, looking so beautiful in their white uniforms, and so well behaved. My sister's second child whom I used to take and bring from nursery school suffered diarrhoea and traditionally, there were medicines which were given to children. When my sister came back, the child was vomiting, diarrhoea and vomiting. One of the elderly ladies came and applied, some drug, put on the forehead. Obviously when you have diarrhoea you loose water, and because of

dehydration, utosi ulikuwa umebonyea, because it was still soft; but then we did not know. I was in Std. 6 or 7, so I can not remember well. I just watched this child, and one of the nurses who was a relative, looked at this child and said, we should take him to the hospital. My sister and I took this child to the hospital, but we were too late, and Jimmy died from diarrhoea.

When I took up nursing, when I was trained as a midwife, that was in the Zulu Natal Land, we were taught that we should not leave the patient or child when they are born. When the child is born never leave that child, do something; even if you think that child is dying, do something until that child recovers. I never forgot that, and that's how I used to do it. I would never leave a child to die, I don't remember up to now; I never had a death during delivery. Once a baby was being delivered by a doctor, we didn't realize it was a premature. So it slipped out, and the Doctor failed to catch it, but I was just on time to hold that baby. I did what a Doctor could do to save the child.

There was a time our apartheid government got sanctioned by several countries in the world, Tanganyika being one of them. After those sanctions, Tanganyikans were chased away from South Africa; so for those who got married were chased by their wives. So some left South Africa because of that reason.

On my part, I was in the Youth league in South Africa, together with my colleagues. As part of liberation struggle I had to leave the country as a nurse so that I could get the passport; otherwise if they knew that I was part of the freedom fighters I could not get the passport. The conditions were that if you secured a passport, you had deposit some cash as a guarantee so that you can come back; otherwise if they realised that you were a freedom fighter you were completely chased out of the country. So I had to leave the country as a nurse so that the government could give a passport with hopes that I will come back later.

Anyway according to the regulations in South Africa, many things were not successful because the situation was different between men and women. Men were treated differently and they were supposed to put on an identity card wherever they went even if you were a professor the identity card must worn. Men were in very difficult situation. Later they passed a law that even women must put on ID. If you went to any government office to pay for something related to the government you had to show your ID. Those IDs were called "dom pass"; dom meant ignorance. Even if you applied for a driving licence you had to show a dom pass.

So there was a time, the government wanted to remove nurses in the register. There was a single register that was for qualified and non-qualified nurses. So because of that discrimination we had to be removed from the register. I mean African nurses had to be removed from the general register and another register had to be created for us Africans. Fortunately, I was at Central Hospital, Johannesburg, where the first meeting was held, and the South African nurses gathered at the hospital where I was working to discuss what they will say if the Government called them to discuss the issue.

First we refused their idea and they left us saying that they just came to introduce, and let us think what we're going to do. So we gathered with other nurses. Mrs. Sisulu was one of the nurses. I mentioned her because she later went on with politics. The rest were nurses except me because I was in the Youth League; obviously with her in Johannesburg, because her husband had been contesting, so she was automatically addressed. So we formed our association since we wanted to have the real stand.

After that we were seriously pursued by the authorities. Then the ANC also decided to use other nurses in the strike. That was from 1958 to 1959. They were looking for ways to succeed. So some nurses were arrested in the name of the ANC, since the ANC mobilised us to strike. Later in 1960, the ANC approached us individually to come to Tanganyika for the purpose of helping the upcoming independent Tanganyika.

Tanganyika had to remove British workers in the government at different times. In other

administrative positions they were removed without problems because the replacement was easy, but in Health sector it was difficult because you cannot remove a person who is taking care of the patients. TANU talked to the ANC, whose representatives were Oliva Tambo, Yusuph Dadu, and others whose name I cannot recall; they discussed how they could find ways to recruit nurses. I don't know we were falling under which category, may be we were categorised as refugees, asylum seekers, or migrant workers. Whatever it was, but we came under an agreement signed between ANC and TANU that included the recruitment of doctors, but the first priority cohort was that of nurses.

From South Africa we were 21 nurses, although here we arrived 20 through Botswana. The 21 nurses left South Africa by bus that was used by White kindergarten, and ANC stole it. They stole the bus during the night after timing the time of dropping the kids in their homes from the nursery school. We collected people from various places of South Africa: Port Elizabeth, East London, Cape Town, Bennonina Johannesburg, and we knew each other because of our background on training, but we did not know who was there in the list of the journey because we were recruited individually. They were coming to talk to you and it was your own decision to accept or decline. For me they tried many times because my brothers had already left home and established their own families, but I was the only one left with my mother at home. I finished nursing when I was still very young and I had a responsibility to care for my mother. Fortunately when the request my mother was alive, and we were going to meetings and sometimes I refused to go. My mother was insisting to me that I should go to the meeting; she was telling me that our generation could make changes because their time was gone. My mother had got a stroke.

We went to one of the meetings in Durban, and it was in those meetings we were discussing our own affairs. After returning home, we just slept well. Later, my mother died, but I always it was a good luck that my mother died, although people don't understand me when I say it was a good luck, bu I say that because if she didn't die I could not go away, I should have stayed with her. After my mother died, the colleagues from the Youth Movement came to me, who were coming to visit me regularly because now I was left alone. Mom is not there. So they just observed that situation at home, and saw that I could not leave because of the responsibilities I had.

After the death of my mother, there were a lot of issues to be addressed including helping family members after the death of a relative, especially when the parent is not there and the responsibilities fell on my shoulders. I felt I had the obligation to go. My brothers also came telling me that I had no rights to own the house left by our mother. So, I saw it was more relevant to leave the place and go elsewhere where I can find a job that is more important to all of us.

We were give only two weeks to prepare and this time when I was called and requested to come to Tanganyika, I accepted coming to Tanganyika. So we arranged how to meet. I met my colleague waiting at Kasada, who was with Mandela and later we met with other colleagues in the bus during the night. One of our colleagues had with her sister from Port Elizabeth and she was from Johannesburg; they did not know that each was approached and agreed to come; they just met in the bus and they left their mother under the care of their one sister. She is here; she known by Mrs Shabani and they are living in Ilala. Half of the nurses who were in that bus were trained at Baraguan Hospital, but we did not know each other and no one greeted the other; we had to stay calm and quite. Abruptly, when Edith entered, who was from Johannesburg, her younger sister from Port Elizabeth also entered, they both sat in front of me. When the third came, who was trained at Port Elizabeth (the other two were trained in Johannesburg), she shouted, "Hey!, what do you want here?" I found myself mouth open! So I sat close to the people I knew very well! The other one said, "what do you want here? With whom have left our mom? She responded, "what about you? So we learnt that it was a big issue because some left their mothers without children to take care of but they were already there, they had to go.

We travelled to the border with Botswana. During the dawn we began seeing each other. I say! Each exclaimed, and you are here, and you are here! Eh! If we are to be arrested, what will happen to all these nurses? Now on our way we had to start a meeting to elect our leaders, our spokespersons. What we will do when we reach the border, what was the best way to do in order to pass the border, do we just show the passport or what, or we just to enter. We had one of the leaders who was a white person who dressed like a priest, and one was a driver who is today a police commissioner in South Africa. I never saw that white man again, I hear that he often looks for us but I am here so he cannot get me there.

So let's decide who will be our spokesperson; we were used to seniority matters, so we started to choose senior nurses especially the senior II. One said no, let's take this Edith, who is me, and at that time I was just from politics; three of us came from politics. Fortunately I was wearing a costume similar to uniforms of nurses, matrons normally put on grey, and that day I also put on grey that gave the promotion of being a spokesperson. We explained that we came from various hospitals here in South Africa and we were going to Missionary Hospitals to exchange our experiences nursing matters. So the permission was granted very easily. We crossed just six metres from the border, which was also very dangerous.

At the same time there was an election meeting in Botswana I which Seretse Khama contested as a candidate; whereas other leaders of Botswana Parties who were opposed to Seretse Khama's election, opposed ANC. Other Botswana Parties leaders opposed Seretse Khama, and as I said, ANC had an influence on those other parties because Botswana being a British Protectorate it was easy to use them politically. They had circulated many of our messages to other countries, and so ANC had to help them politically because ANC was matured politically.

So in the meeting there were leaders from South Africa, who entered through the illegal routes and leave through the same way. The one who led the delegation to the meeting was Juma Nukhwe who was the secretary general of the ANC. It was difficult to find him because of the British Police in Botswana; so they were the ones who came to see us, we met him. We had been given government houses, they were like these here, except we were twenty people living in one house; others had to sleep on a floor. Food was brought by the government of Botswana. Since they were British, they were looking after us, and others were brought by ANC. The ANC leaders were coming to visit us to see if we were all fine.

We arrived in Botswana on 30<sup>th</sup> November, 1960 and we had to leave soon after, so that we could enter Tanganyika and presented ourselves as a gift on 9<sup>th</sup> December to the new government that was to be formed; unfortunately we could not make it. It was a gift of 20 nurses instead of 21 because one nurse had left us in Botswana. Apparently she was expecting a baby and so she left without consulting us; she could have continued with us on the journey and we were able to attend her. We were told that she suffered a lot after arriving in South Africa because they arrested her.

We were received with a great joy because it was soon after independence although we were not during the presentation for we arrived late. During that time we were received by Parliamentary Secretaries. The Minister for Health and Labour was Bryson, and he was the one who received us together with other ministers like Austin Shaba, Nsilo Swai, and we could not recognise people from the ruling party. There were many government leaders who came to receive us and those Parliamentary Secretaries were not party leaders. We stayed in Dar es Salaam for two weeks for orientation and posting.

Five of us were posted to Tanga. The postings of nurses were Tanga, Arusha, Mwanza, Mbeya and Iringa. We all worked according to our professions and even the placement was done based

on qualifications. Three of us were qualified nurses, meaning that they were trained in General Nursing, Midwifery and Public Health, and all the colonial nurses had the same qualifications. So we had to replace them wherever there was a British nurse one of us replaced. I was put on the public health together with my colleague, while others went to the hospitals. So whenever a British nurse left one of us had to replace.

In 1962, there was a conference called ‘All African Women Conference,’ that was later known as Pan African Women Organization. There were African women from different countries and parties around the world who attended the conference. The conference was held at Karimjee Hall while Mrs. Titi was UWT Chairperson. Because I was here, I had to represent South African women who were in diaspora in that 1962 conference, and we became founding members. At the very same conference we discussed about the liberation of South Africa. We were affiliated members of OAU, so we were receiving support from OAU and from other parts of the world. Jeanne Sissa from Guinea was elected chairperson and she was the first leader to lead our organisation and it is still there until today. But it is now vibrant now as it used to be in the past, and women affairs are now under the Ministry responsible for women affairs. For example here in Tanzania, I recall Migiro, but I don’t know which ministry is responsible for that organisation in the country, but for sure there is a Tanzanian chapter.

After 1962, I was transferred to Nzega although my first appointment was in Tanga; I was later transferred back to Tanga. There were only three British nurses, so when the first nurse left I had to replace her, so when the second left I was in Nzega so I had to go back to Tanga.

After the meeting, the UWT was formed when Sékou Touré was still here, and during that meeting Mrs Titi Mohamed was elected Chairperson. When I was working in Tanga, I was asked to mobilise women to form UWT, although the constitution of the UWT was explicit that a UWT member must be a Tanganyikan woman. Anyway, I became a founding member of the UWT. It was in 1962, but I went to attend another meeting as a South African women representative.

When we were in Tanga I assisted the chairperson and it was like a norm for the wives of influential people in the region to become chairpersons, that was decided in order to give those women power to influence. They asked me to be a deputy chairperson who could work along with the chairperson. We kept on doing so. As I worked in Tanga I opened the clinics because I was a Public Health Officer who were responsible to manage them; those clinics were called Child Health Care Welfare Clinics. There were other clinics that were serving women from rural areas and we had camps for women who came from far places because it was difficult for them to go back home, so they had to wait until the time of delivery. So there was no problem about transport or child deaths because the pregnant women had enough time to rest before delivery.

While in Nzega I met Mr Madenge in 1965. As I part of my work, I was visiting rural areas, almost 74 kilometres away from town to do medical check ups for women. I moved with a group of my fellow nurses. Things were very fine, we had our own transport and we had a good relationship with local governments because we came from the central government.

I went to China in 1964. When I was in Tanga I received a letter from South African women who wanted me to represent them China where there was a meeting for women. By that time I had already received a transfer to Dar es Salaam, and I went to attend the meeting in China. While in China I represented South African women. We were three women from South Africa; namely, Magdalena Kheisha, who was not a representative of women from here, she came from Algeria, and Mrs Khabebe who came from here, and her husband was the ANC representative in Dar es Salaam, and I was the third woman. On my arrival in Dar es Salaam I found a letter of transfer at my cottage where I stayed telling me that I was supposed to move to Nzega, while she knew I was in China, and you could not object any order from the authority. So I packed my things and the next day I went to Nzega.



When we arrived we worked on contract basis, the time to renew the contract arrived and we had to renew contracts after every three years. At that moment my contract was over before I got married. So after the end of my contract I received a job offer to apply in Nairobi; I was going to Nairobi as a Public Health Nurse at the Institute of Nairobi. But due to the pressure of getting married I had to choose between Nairobi and getting married to Mr Madenge. So I chose not to go to Nairobi.

I stayed in Nzega where I became more powerful and influential person in UWT. We had a strong UWT in Nzega, it was even stronger than that of Dar es Salaam. Women were attending meetings and were very excited. At that time I had applied for a job in Nairobi, and I was waiting for reply; and my contract was over; and I was married to Mr Madenge. So, I had to go back to Tanga again. On my arrival in Tanga I was received with a really great meeting of people.

At that time the Chief Medical Officer was Doctor Akim and Matron was a white South African. Before that I did not say no, but for that time I said no, I was not going.' They called me for the meeting, I still insisted that I won't go. I remained here; I later sent a letter to ANC requesting if they would put me in the office, but I did not get a reply from the ANC. I received salary every month, I refused to work. I said to myself, I get salary then what do I want? It is upon them! I continued to receive my salary while I was here in Dar es Salaam working as volunteer in the office. We organised protests here in Dar es Salaam, along with other issues related to liberation struggles.

At that time, the one who was in the forefront in organising protests was Ronnie Kasrils, who is today a Minister for Defense, in South Africa. We had him here with others. Of course Jimmy was still the representative of the ANC. At the time I became a full member of UWT because I already got married, and we were transferred from Nzega to Same.

While we were in Same, Mrs Mtenga, who was then a Vice Chairperson of Mrs. Titi, came to visit UWT members. In Same there was UWT, but it was not active, she asked me to revive it because it was very active in the beginning. At that time the UWT secretary was also a Community Development Officer (Bibi Maendeleo). We had one called Hawa Yusufu, she was very good. As the District Secretary and the Community Development Officer, we worked very closely, and we revived UWT in Same. During the election, that obviously for the local women, they contested. But I was asked to contest, by then Mr Madenge was a Area Commissioner, and the District Development Officer. Any way, I contested. I climbed those hills up to place where Mgonja hail; I had visited places where even Mwalimu might have not reached.

So when I contested I was elected and one of the candidates voted for me. I got all the votes and Mrs Kibacha requested a chance to speak. She said that they decided to elect Mrs Madenge as their leader because they appreciated the good job she did; she was our colleague who has revived UWT and we did not know if UWT existed. We opened guest houses, restaurants, nursery schools; and one of the was at Station, near government houses, and another was in town. We opened more branches in Usangi, in all villages up to the mountaneous areas and we bought maize milling machines for them.

By that time we had visitors from Yugoslavia, they came to visit us accompanied by Mrs Kawawa. In our program we made some visits with Mrs Kawawa; and I was a Chairperson of UWT. We went to visit some areas on top of the mountains and later went Moshi to meet Regional UWT Chairperson, Mrs Mbowe, the wife of the late Aikaeli. After that they came back to Dar es Salaam.

I am going to tell you something which I am not supposed to say as a nurse, professionally, I have to report to the authority first but there in the village there was no authority, so we did what we could do, we were in Same then. We were at a reception, not very far from our house, Evelyn Ngayoma had come to visit his brother, and we were invited to the house. My children called to say that one of my husband's children has fallen. I knew she had malaria

but we had already treated her. And where we were was not very far from where we were, when I got there I found her lying with the tongue out, we were with Mzee Madenge, I placed her in the bedroom, I wrapped her with a blanket, and we took her to Same Hospital. The Doctor was already at the party, and he had told me to call him if there was anything. At the hospital, I went in and opened the medicine cupboard, as I knew she had malaria, and I knew this was getting to be cerebral malaria. We were not supposed to give any injection, but I gave her an injection. We have a stimulant that we give to wake up a dying person, we normally inject it on the muscles, and when necessary, the doctor will do intracardiac, I did it, I injected her straight into the heart. This stimulated her, and she said, “Aaah Mama.” She breathed, she awoke! Then Madenge came with Doctor Mgaya the Brother to Philemon Mgaya. They thought she was dead, so when the doctor came and examined her, he said. “Now the child is alive? I asked, “Why?” He said, “Why a father is crying there outside?” I said, “Tell him that she is fine.” He asked, “What happened?” I told him everything, but not the cardiac injection. That is what happened to a child, Rehema. She has just finished her Masters Degree, and she is now a Director of Local Government at Ifakara. She was in Dodoma all the time.

In 1970, the houses began to be nationalised, and since we were Dar es Salaam people, or else Mr Madenge was a resident of Dar es Salaam, we had a house in Dar es Salaam which we had taken an ANC representative to guard it for us. Now whenever they received the forms written in Kiswahili they failed to fill them. I told Mr Madenge that our house will be taken, so it is better one of us leave here. So I and the children left Same, and we came to Dar es Salaam just to protect the house so that it is not nationalised.

That was the time when Mrs Kawawa saw me again and appointed me to join the UWT Central Committee, while continuing with my work. I opened our clinic whose Headquarters were at Muhimbili. The famous place called Makuti, that later moved to Ocean Road. By that time Ocean Road Hospital was there but maternal services that were given at Makuti moved to Ocean Road; and the clinic was now known as Child Health Clinic instead of Child Welfare.

The Child Welfare Program meant that the children were brought to the clinic; a mother after childbirth brings children to the clinic, and also there were ante-natal services for mothers before giving birth; they came for tests. But it was later found scientifically that we needed to combine services for pregnant women, a baby with its siblings before 5 years, and to make sure a child below five years must attend clinic through out after every month. So I was asked by WHO to have a pilot project for Maternal and Child Health.

So I was a chairperson of that project, we formed Maternal and Child Health program in the whole country and that is what is going on now. We implemented the project together with the School of Nursing as members together with WHO. We continued that was and we created that clinic card we called it Road to Health that was carried by mothers who brought their babies to clinic. I was a chairperson who worked closely with lecturers from the University who were experts in gynaecology to create that Road to Health card in 1970s.

In 1980s I got some problems of communication with my relatives at home. During those days in 1980s I could call back home and they also called me and sometimes Mr Madenge could pick the phone and they talked to him but whenever I picked the phone they never talked to me and I decided to keep silent when they stopped talking. Sometimes I gave the phone to my daughter with whom I came from South Africa when she was nine years old and studied here and she had completed form six; when she talked there was no problem the communication was fine but only when I picked the phone they never talked. That was in 1982. We realised later that I was being taped. I didn't know what happened there back home because I had no communication with them.

The government of Tanzania had plans to send nurses and doctors to Mozambican Ministry of Health to help them as we came to help in this country after independence. So I requested to

go because I knew that by going to Mozambique that could be a good opportunity for me to regain communications with my relatives at home. They wanted permission from my husband; he did not object. So I went to Mozambique with a group of other nurses because they had a serious shortage of staff. Mozambique was once again on my side.

I worked in Mozambique for three years as a trainer of doctors and nurses. When they saw my CV, although I was a Tanzanian citizen, it was a must to indicate your political affiliation; so I was indicating ANC and TANU. I had to work in Gaza province, just near the border with our country, but they refused. During those days the white settlers in South Africa were entering Mozambique and arrested South African Freedom Fighters. There I met one man was a Lieutenant of Chief Luthuli, Mr Bozis Mabida, who unfortunately passed away, and I also met Jacob Zuma. They were not staying there but they came and left.

Unfortunately they were following my whereabouts; they found that I had met these people and they knew where I was living. I was living with Italian friends who came from Zambia and they were working for FRELIMO in Mozambique. They were running Tiper Restaurant, I gave them Tiper numbers. Mr and Mrs Casadei were working in that place. He fled to this place because he was pursued in Zambia. While in Zambia they noticed that he was sometimes entering South Africa. When he learnt that they were after him while in Zambia, he moved to Tanzania and that is where I met him. He was committed for issues of Mozambique and South Africa, so they struggled to make sure that I am accepted to enter Beira. But I wanted to make sure that I go to Swaziland where I could communicate with my relatives. But later I went to Beira whose Governor by that time was Marcelino Dos Santos; so during that time we were training people we were also invited to FRELIMO meetings to talk about liberation struggles and politics.

While in Beira I was also going to rural areas. So after staying there for three years I decided to come back after because my husband was getting some difficulties. I decided to return home although people wanted me to renew the contract. One day when we escorted the dead body, the director with whom we travelled tried to convince me to come back and he said that he could request Mr Madenge to allow me extend the contract. But it was not possible to do that.

Later in our UWT meeting one of the influential leaders within the Committee called Lucy Lameck, a very influential and a strong woman, proposed my name to attend the Peace Conference in Russia and the Preparatory Committee for that conference was supposed to meet in Madagascar. The coordinators of that conference were OAU Committee responsible for Peace Conference. I was appointed to represent UWT, and of course there were other African representatives from South Africa, and I was UWT representative because I attended PAN African Women's Organization conference.

After that conference there was another conference on Population that was held in Nairobi; I was also requested to represent UWT. I presented my paper on population with a support from a representative of South Africa. After presenting that paper they invited me to attend another conference in Nigeria on the same theme of Population, but I could not go because UWT did not understand me, they said that I wanted to travel. They did not understand that it was not about me going but the nature of works wanted me to travel. So the journey was sabotaged. The ticket came for my name but I could not go.

This is my grand child from my daughter whose photo is somewhere. She resembles me because I came with her here. I forced ANC as the condition for my coming to Tanzania that she was to come as well. They agreed that they would make sure I come with her. When we arrived here she was she was nine years. During 1952 – 55 they introduced Bantu Education. My daughter was born when Bantu Education was already introduced. We had a school in the neighbourhood; it was very close to our house. At school we were beaten and when we told our mon about that she added some strokes asking us what a mistake did we commit that made us being beaten? So when she was three-years old, she used just to

walk to school. Hatukuwa na nursery school, lakini tulikuwa na kitu kinaitwa ABC, which was actually better than nursery schools. So when she turned six, she was in Standard Four, I sent her into Lesotho because of Bantu Education. We struggled to get chances of sending our children to Lesotho because many parents wanted to send their kids there.

After I did my matriculation I joined nursing course so I decided to send her to Lesotho. Some came here and one of them is an MP. Another is working in art industry and he is a very popular person. They were together with this and others who were here have gone back to South Africa. To me I had to request to ANC because it was difficult to bring one child after another. In 1962, I went to talk to Regional Commissioner, Jumanne, who was in Tanga, when I was there by that time; and he was the one who appointed me to help mothers. I explained to him my problem and asked for a help; he agreed to help me. He said Mwalimu would come to Tanga. Five of us were in Tanga, and I remember that his Secretary was called Simba, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs was Kambona. Mwalimu came but I couldn't talk after meeting him. You know Mwalimu was able to make someone feel free. We talked to him and he gave me a chance to explain my problem; I didn't know where to start with. As usual, women start by crying. I started crying before I explained anything; he left me cry until I was okay and then I explained my problem. He said that was very simple. What Mwalimu did through Kambona they wrote a letter to Lesotho where my children were studying. That, in a way helped me because when ANC people tried to pick her from home my sister who was staying with them could tell them to go outside to play so that they could not hear the conversation; she was very intelligent.

One of the ladies with whom I travelled to China, Mrs. Kheisha, explained to me how difficult it was to get her child. I said it was okay but I vowed to find other means because there were many options. The simplest way was to pick a child while at school. After talking to Mwalimu, he talked to Kambona that they could give my child a ticket through British Governor in Lesotho. So they agreed that he had to come to Tanzania straight from the school and from home. So that was successful. But ANC changed that air ticket into a train so that many children could come through that same ticket. That decision played a very important part because that same ticket made possible for many children to come. That is how they came.

When she came here she was in Standard Four, I found a school for her while I was in Tanga. I was told that there was a very good English Medium School in Lushoto. So, she joined the school and completed Standard Seven, that time. She was very good, but the law did not allow her to be admitted in Form One in government schools unless she was the first in class in terms of academic performances because she was a foreigner. For the Tanzanians even if they were second, third, fourth etc they could be selected to join secondary education. She was not the first but the fifth in class so she was not selected. By that time I was transferred to Mwanza but I was already popular in Tanga. We went to Tanga Regional Education Officer who gave us a sealed letter to Kifungilo so that she could be admitted there.

When I sent her to Kifungilo, the sisters told me that the school was full, but I had to find the chair for my daughter. I remained silent but I didn't know what was in the letter, because it was sealed. I was directed to send her and she could be received. After completing Form Four at Kifungilo, Lushoto she was selected to join Jangwani High School and the Headmistress was Mrs. Bomani. After Form Six she was selected to study Journalism at the University but ANC said that it was enough for me; they were taking over. So she didn't study Journalism instead they sent her to Russia to study International Law and Relations up to the level of Master's Degree. She is now working with Foreign Affairs where she was transferred from the Ministry of Trade. I heard that when she at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the University of South Africa invited Ambassador Mpungwe to present Diplomacy certificates, and when she arrived to receive Mpungwe recalled her and he wondered to see her there; he said, "What are you doing here?" He added, "You are a fake South African".

I have a poultry project but it has almost stopped because of diseases that are resistant to

medicines. I was lucky that my chicken were cured and survived and so Christmas and Easter had enough to sell. I have about 100 ducks; You will come and buy, I didn't say you will come and get.

That is how we are now. There was one lady who has now passed away, she went back to South Africa and she got married to Mr Madenge's nephew. They met in Mwanza and she lived with her husband until when she was chased away by her husband. There were other who stayed here with whom we came together. There is someone called Magreth who lives opposite the Lutheran Church; she is a widow but she remained in their house. Another is called Mrs Shabani who lives at Magomeni; her husband is called Ramadhani Shabani. He was working in the Prime Minister's Office and he is now retired. There is somebody called Colonel Jele who works at the embassy; I didn't know him when he was with PAC, but I have known him after coming to the embassy.

The difference that existed between us and Mama Mzungu on how we arrive in Dares Salaam, was that Mama Mzungu was always arrested and she was not arrived to come to Dar es Salaam. As I said before that I am not so sure whether we were refugees or exiled persons or what. The only difference was that you could not leave South African without passport; so ANC had to help us through any means to make sure that we travelled. We left through a bus straight up to here and we had a meeting point for all of us. Let's say, our meeting point is at Magomeni at Shabani's premise, so everybody will find his/her own way to reach at Shabani and from there we take one transport. So from Shabani's premise the bus takes all of us; and that was the ANC's arrangement that was highly and tactically planned. First, the bus itself was stolen and nobody was harmed during the stealing because the pupils were going to school during the afternoon. The bus left during the night and it was over the weekend; so after the mission was complete it was taken back where it was stolen.

From Botswana up to here it was easier because by that time Mwalimu Nyerere wa a Chief Minister, so the government plane came to pick us. On our arrival in Botswana we were interviewed, which was quite normal. Actually what made us interviewed, apart from that plane that came to pick us, during the time of Janwalla, who was South African speaker, he was a Director of Daily News here, as a Director he wrote in the newspapers some days before we came that '21 nurses were coming to Tanganyika to train in the military'. We were supposed to come in two days, on 30<sup>th</sup> November we left home and we were supposed to arrive in Dar es Salaam on 2<sup>nd</sup> December. But unfortunately we arrived January 8<sup>th</sup> we spent the whole month in Botswana during which there was a possibility of being arrested. So the news report of Janwalla who said that 21 nurses were coming to Tanganyika to train in the military created problems between British Government and Tanganyika since it was the British who gave Tanganyika an independence. They must have asked, "you say you want to bring 21 nurses but who are those coming for military training? You are confusing us?" The White South Africans were in good relations with British. So, Tambo and Dadu had to come to explain to the government while we were still waiting for the final decision and we did not know what was going on. The negotiations with the British Government were good and the government agreed to allow us to come.

So anyway the airport that was used to land and takeoff in Botswana was among the airports used for migrants workers. There were special airports for planes that took Tanganyikans to South Africa; they landed in Botswana. So the airport that had our place was that of Botswana with a permission; and by that time Seretse Khama vied for the Prime Minister. Therefore, the Chief Nursing Officer and Director of Health Services in the Ministry had to come to verify whether we were truly nurses. Since the plan was well prepared, we had all our testimonials and CVs; and all the proofs that we were nurses were already prepared in advance and it was clearly shown that we shall go straight to work on our arrival. They speculated our CVs so satisfy themselves whether we were going to join military training or not. Eventually, we all came by plane and

were received at the airport. So our trip was what we could call official recruitment of staff as we were given expatriate treatment; we had houses although we did not get expatriate allowance.

Doctor Mtawali was a Principal Secretary for the Ministry of Health, and since my job involved travelling I was given a 100% loan of a vehicle; doctors got 75% and nurses also got 75%, except that we did not get the money. Unfortunately, we did not get on-contract allowances, neither in South Africa nor by Mwalimu Nyerere.

Some fled South Africa through their own means, because for us it was clearly arranged by ANC. I think Moddy and her husband had their own arrangements because by then she was not PAC. ANC had a good organisation of trips because it made sure wherever you went there was somebody to take of you. When we left South Africa, for instance, the bus was driven by a driver who was also Commissioner of Police, and the whiteman was a priest. But also in Botswana we were hosted in a house owned by Botswana Congress Party, just six metres from the border, and later we were moved to the Government building and by then they were still under British administration. That house that we stayed had only three rooms and it accommodated all of us twenty persons and they supplied us with food. ANC penetrated from South Africa to give us basic needs and inquire whether we had some challenges. So, that is how we entered into that country. We did not get any problem although my daughter's story was different; she got some problems. She had to wait until her colleagues closed the school because that one ticket. But she was happy about it.

After our arrival here all of us worked but every one who agreed to come had his/her ulterior motif of accepting to come. I think, as I explained before that you could not travel without a passport, no one could afford to travel so they thanked for having that fare. That is why I wished to travel with my daughter so that she could escape that Bantu Education, which was successful. On one side I knew I was working but on the other side I was comfortable that my daughter got rid of education problem. The same happened to other people, some left their children then and others managed to travel with different intentions including going to UK after the end of the contract or others planned to go to America. Indeed, some managed to go to UK and after that they wanted to come back to Tanganyika but the government of Tanganyika refused to accept them because they did not want to avoid conflicts with ANC.

I remember the government was refusing people who were passing here on transit instead they had to stay here for a day or two at the airport while seeking permission to enter from ANC offices. In case ANC office said that they did not recognise that person they referred them to me since even at my home I was working for many people. So if I said I knew the person then Kubaga brought the transport to pick me to go to the airport to testify that person before he/she was allowed to enter. Others like the late Khonu, who I think many know him, was a Laboratory Technician. There was another chemist and his wife was at the University as a housekeeper, called Msikinya and his wife, who came earlier before for their own interests. I still remember Maisele and Khonu and others I am told were teachers in Tabora; and I am told that one teacher in Tabora once taught Marealle; they were bought by their parties that I don't know.

For those who were in transit, ANC was present in every station and before you left a train station you were given a certain code and you could meet a person who asked you about that code and received you. Which I still see even during the WWII the Germans used the code language to identify themselves. That's how ANC did.

There were special persons to receive those who came for military training. They were recruited there and all arrangements were made in South Africa before they were sent here; and one of them was my cousin who died later in the battle field. After finishing there he came to Dar es Salaam, and they passed through Botswana because it was not easy to travel through Malawi; Banda could send them back, he was not supportive of our struggles at all. They

passed through Botswana and met a responsible person who fast tracked the travel processes. One of them was my nephew who was in Angola. On his arrival she came to stay with me at Upanga and later ANC came to pick him because he did not come to live with relatives but for military training. They picked him and was sent to Algeria and there was a special person to receive them. For example, even Mandela was arrested when he was arriving from Algeria where he went to negotiate for chances to receive the freedom struggles.

Later some few doctors arrived and they were posted to Muhimbili, but they did not stay longer there because it was very difficult to get the doctors. Also there at home nurses and doctors were well paid. In order to exit you had to be in active politics but one had own personal interests it was not easy at all. There were very few doctors who came here; one of them left and went to Angola where he died of natural death. We were here at Muhimbili with the the late Nzoo, who was a Secretary and his colleague specialised in medicine. Some of the doctors and nurses came here because their husbands were already here. That is why when you mentioned Dodoma I did not understand because I know we are only three in our group, may be she came with her husband through their own means. Also those who came to their husbands were in a different group and their work arrangement was different from ours. Some might have applied for job wherever but for us it was a special arrangement. I would wish to know who is that in Dodoma. I will be happy to contact her.

Recently we were invited to South Africa to receive our certificates for services. We were presented with certificates and trophies because we actually took part in liberation struggle, but not by bullet, but by syringe. All women in the camps were members of Mkonto. Many of them were soldiers who went in the battle and myself came here for nursing issues and not UWT. I worked as a nurse of Same hospital and I improved the services to the extent that people refused to go to Moshi. It was a Grade Three hospital, but I worked so hard to improve the services to make them feel like they are in Grade One.

My primary duty was nursing but because I was involved in liberation struggles, I did not confine myself to nursing alone but I wanted to contribute towards the national development and that is why I was closely involved with UWT. But there were also women who did not live in the camps because the camps had separate arrangement of services. They had their own nurses and the nurses had their own union. I remember there was one nurse who was later employed at Iringa camp; I think that was Mgagao camp. I just heard about it but I didn't know where it was. She was their chairperson and I was a chairperson for Dar es Salaam camp at Kurasini. I was also responsible to provide medical services to those who came for a short time and left; but that was like a part time job.

Also in case there was an invitation to South African women to attend a meeting somewhere and the situation at home did not allow them to go I was going as their representative through UWT because I was also a member of Central Committee of UWT. So whenever invitation came to represent South African struggles they asked Mrs Madenge to go because they said that they were not fully aware of what was going on in South African soil. That is why I always praise Mama Lucy Lameck.

That arrangement to bring nurses and doctors was made by ANC and TANU in Arusha as I explained before that the Central Committee naturally was a High Committee that discussed national issues and the national leaders were directly involved. ANC was represented by Oliver Tambo who was always here and he was the responsible with organisation of fighters in diaspora and he was the ANC President at home. When he came here Mandela was in charge of party at home and when Mandela was arrested Tambo had to go back home because he knew the party could die since there was no good leadership to take over. So there were Tambo, Dr. Dadu Yusufu Dadu, and Duma Nokhwe who later became ANC General Secretary.

The elections were conducted here. When Duma was elected to replace Oliver Tambo who was a General Secretary, he was here and the meeting was held in Morogoro and another was

held in Moshi, I recall that because I was in Same. All the delegates left to South Africa together and they worked together with FRELIMO during the era of Mondlane. Even when he came to Tanga Regional Commissioner brought him to me so that we could share issues related to liberation struggles. That is about ANC. And I know the influential on part of TANu by that time were Mwalimu, Kambona, Kamaliza, the late Bomani, Maswanya, and others.

Thank you but let me end up here so that I don't get tired of giving explanations; also I wish to have the copies of these interviews because whenever we are interviewed we don't get the copies. This time I was about to refuse being interviewed. You are welcome. You are also welcome to South Africa because that is also our home.



## Malecela, John Samwel

[Dar es Salaam; 24 November 2008]

*Honourable John Samwel Malecela has been in the frontline on the liberation struggles in the Southern Africa soon after Tanzania's independence when he was in the Tanzania's Office in the United Nations in 1962 and later as the Tanzanian Ambassador to the United Nations. Honourable Malecela was also a Tanzanian Ambassador to Organisation of African Union in Addis and Tanzanian Ambassador to UK. He also served the nation in various top positions in the government and in the ruling party including that of Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Minister in the East African Community. At the time of this interview, Malecela was a Member of Parliament of Mtera Constituency and the Deputy Chairperson of Chama cha Mapinduzi and member of the Central Committee.*

The issue of liberation struggle came for the first time when in Addis Ababa in 1963, but I was absent on that time and it was not officially formalized until the first Summit. The first OAU Summit was in June 1964, and it was held in Cairo. I remember Nasser who was hosting it, and I was there because I was then Ambassador to the United Nations, New York; at that time the Foreign Minister was Mr Kambona. After a heated debate between Nkurumah and Mwalimu on the Continental Government, then came an issue of having the Liberation Committee, because it was discussed before.

Many people did not like the idea because the Francophone colleagues, some of them, from the beginning really believed that we wanted to create terrorist groups in the African continent. But all of the same, it was agreed that the Liberation Committee must be there, but the question that remained was on the country that volunteered to host its headquarters, no one wanted to offer, but Mwalimu offered to take that responsibility and it was unanimously agreed that Tanzania will host that committee and the reason to accept Mwalimu's offer was that he was close to all countries that were fighting for independence. I recall that the Tanzanian Foreign Minister was elected to be the first chairman of the Liberation Committee, and Sebastian Chale was appointed the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee, and it was resolved that Headquarters shall be in Dar es Salaam.

It is true that when Mwalimu came back he worked very hard to establish the office of the Headquarters and at that time many countries were repeating Nkurumah's statement that Africa's independence cannot be complete until the whole continent is free. But I'm sure since the Liberation Committee was established some countries did not pay even a cent. Although in their speeches they were insisting that must happen and they made commitments; however, there were committed countries in Liberation Committee, and those were very few.

Let us first start with Tanzania's contribution in the Liberation Committee. I think the history will remain to be true although sometimes the history will not be completely written because sometimes there were things that are very difficult to be written in books. For example, I remember one day Samora came to see Mwalimu and said, "My people are very hungry, and we're in the battle field!" At that time the Portuguese had a policy called Earth Scotch Policy, through which they burnt people's farms to make their life difficult. So we had to give to Samora more than ten thousand bags of maize and be sent to Mozambique. It was so tough! Now it was not possible to say that you were going to recover the money you spent in the Liberation Committee during the liberation struggle; after we spent very little money for that purpose.

Of course not many countries were contributing during that time. Nigeria was contributing but sometimes if we must speak the truth I may say that they contributed for the sake of titles and positions. For example, they insisted that the Assistant Secretary General must be their person; they were contributing regularly. The country that was graciously contributing was Algeria; and Egypt was contributing often together with Ethiopia, and Ghana; but after Nkurumah was overthrown, the remaining governments were very keen to attend the Liberation Committee meetings, but also they lost the previous spirit of contributing contrary to their pledges.

When the Liberation Committee started, our friends from southern Africa formed their liberation parties, but the party that was well organised and well known at that time was the African National Congress (ANC). As you know, the African National Congress extended to Rhodesia, so people like Harry Nkumbula, who later became Kaunda's opponent, was an original member of ANC together with other members like Joshua Nkomo, King Sobhuza of Swaziland. For example, our Mozambican friends did not have any party and so they had to establish FRELIMO under the leadership of Mondlane.

In fact, if I speak from my heart, I don't think Mondlane had thought that the independence of Mozambique would be obtained by fighting; because he was among the high ranked bureaucrats in the United Nations and when he left to come here he thought they would be negotiating and people could understand easily. I think, Honourable Mbita, you will recall one trip in 1963, there was TANU Executive Council in Dar es Salaam there stood the late Honourable Diwani who was furious and he said, "Mwalimu, how comes the speech is delivered in Dar es Salaam, and Independence is in Mozambique ? That was not clear. So it's like he was telling them the truth.

The struggles for independence in southern Africa really came to change when Samora decided to train the youth for fighting. They were sent to different places, but later we came to realise that there were two camps in the world, the West and the East, they called it the cold war. So they found that it was not possible; thus they decided to train those fighters in our country, and so we established the camps. The first camp was in Kongwa, where FRELIMO were trained. They were the first to go there and they were trained as freedom fighters. They were later followed by SWAPO under Sam Nujoma.

Then when I was working at the United Nations I learnt that those who were coming to the Decolonization Committee were delivering long speeches that were not heard. Anyway, then things started to change. Later, then came ZANU, under Chitepo. Remember that Chitepo was a lawyer, Director of Public Prosecution in our government. He later established ZANU to fight for Zimbabwean independence; and at that time there was also ZAPU under Joshua Nkomo. This Joshua Nkomo became too much Russian oriented, and could reach far.

So you can say that the intention to establish the Liberation Committee in Tanzania was to have few committed people who were willing to work together in order to encourage and support our fellow so that they could be trained to fight for their independence; so that they could go and work in their own countries. And it is true that when FRELIMO went back for the first time they fought hard. I remember those who were in the front line such as Samora, late Mabothe, Shipande and Gwebuza. Although they were very young, but they were really the ones who fought hard. Then there was one man, I do not know if you remember him, he was killed in Malawi; he was carrying weapons through Malawi, he was tall and fat and he was a member of that group but unfortunately he was betrayed and killed, without even being known.

So when this war started it was indeed the beginning of changes and Tanzania at the time was seriously blamed. For example, in those days they were drawing the Chinese Dragon whose tail was in Beijing and its head was in Dar es Salaam. It' would be fine if one day you come and take photo at navy base, or you can just say a slipway, where people were building small boats; and the foreign countries were saying that there is a Naval Base in Dar es Salaam, where all the

weapons were unloaded from the ship. But if you go there you're going to realise yourself that it was just a propaganda. However, we continued training them very well. We had some good military officers who were very good at giving military training to the freedom fighters; there was one man who is still alive and who trained Namibian army, who was later a Morogoro Regional CCM chairperson, Colonel Mwisongo. He did a wonderful job of training Namibians.

Now let's go back to the issue of financing the Liberation Committee. I really think that your guardian knows about this very well. It was always a problem. Later our fellow Zambians, because they were near us, they were in the frontline like us, and they were contributing very well. But the propaganda against Tanzania were awful. For example, at one time we were told we squandered their funds. The meeting took place here in Dar es Salaam, and Mwanga who was the former Zambian Foreign Minister spoke strongly against our colleagues describing them as Microphone Revolution, that they gave a lip service to the liberation struggles.

At that time we had a very formidable opponent, the Foreign Minister of Lesotho. I have forgotten his name, but he was thought to be a man from South Africa who migrated to Lesotho and became the Minister for Foreign Affairs. If you consult the archives you will find his details. He came here in Dar es Salaam and attacked us very much. On the part of the Francophone side they supported the entire Liberation Committee's talks. But really on the issue of money I don't know if we had any country that was paying physically; and since you worked in the office you will probably see records showing that Guinea was with us. We were very sorry for Guinea because of the many problems it had inside. It was really a sacrifice when Guinea contributed money.

This issue of training the freedom fighters actually went very well. At first Portuguese thought it was only a joke but they later realised that it was a serious war, but later the war intensified. I remember our FRELIMO colleagues, often with the help of our people, especially those in the border, were forced to walk five to ten days, up to twenty carrying their luggage on their heads. But we must acknowledge the spirit of our fellows who had the courage to initiate the war for the first time. For example, there was one film FRELIMO's people that I happened to watch about how they really prepared themselves for the war. Fighting in the battle field and at the same time filmmakers recording the events of ambushing the Portuguese and kidnapping was not a simple task. So briefly this war went on, and they were accused of bringing communism in southern Africa.

For South Africa the situation was very difficult due to its terrain, as you can see it. Although they tried hard, but guerrilla warfare was very difficult to wage. So the places where we could strive and got huge successes were first in Mozambique and later in Angola, Cape Verde, and Guinea Bisau; but in South Africa was very difficult; and I remember the South African Communist Party made some attempts that were remarkable. For instance, one of the most horrible and threatening incident to the European countries was when they bombed the oil-producing plant. They had invested a lot of money but it was blown up.

Talking about military support to the Liberation Committee, indeed there were some countries that were very willing to provide support, including China. You will remember that those countries that were willing to give support also wanted to be in the war frontline. The Russians were very eager to go support us but with a condition that they should be allowed to be in the war zone, but we refused that condition and we did not allow them, even the Chinese wanted to be in the war zone. But later I think we had to go for the Chinese, they entered in the war zone because they were the ones who supported us in the military training camp at Nachingwea. We accepted the Chinese but we could not accept to work with the Russians in war front. We were worried about the accusations that would come from the Western countries on the allegations that we could be preparing for Communist Revolution.

But at during those days, the Western countries were giving a lip service to the independence struggles; they were never serious about the struggles. For example, they were

telling weapons to Apartheid South Africa and they were helping South Africa economically. The investments and equipment for the largest companies like Anglo-American companies, RioTinto, De Biers dealing with diamond were from the West, then they claimed to support the independence of South Africa while they kept on supporting the South African white regime until the last minute.

On the part of Asia, I said that China helped us very much; but also Algeria helped us during the liberatio struggles especially on issues of arms because they were capable of buying modern weapons from Russia. The Algerians were good people. Mozambique was very far from them but they brought weapons up to Dar es Salaam before they were transported to them. We unloaded the weapons on their costs; that is why there was a time I proposed to Mwalimu that we should give them coffee and tea after the ships unloaded the weapons so that they should not go back empty. Mwalimu told me that they were doing all those things with great love and they were not expecting anything in exchange of that.

Another country that was helping us was India, though not often. It really helped us financially, and especially when we were towards the end, and you can remember the struggles were intensified, General Mbita can recall when we went to India and saw Mrs Gandhi. It was a secret mission but for the record purposes it is good if I explain this. We went to Australia and we found that Australia had NATO rifles that were very powerful, and because you, my colleague, are able to remember when Mwalimu asked Whitlam, by then he was the Prime Minister, to sell us the guns. He refused saying that he was not allowed to sell the guns to whoever person except to another strong Commonwealth Country. Therefore, Whitlam sold them to India, and we had to take them from India. By that time I was a Chairperson of Liberation Committee, and the chairmanship was on rotation based on ministerial position; since I was a Foreign Minister it was my turn to be a Chairperson. We went to India and talked to Mrs Gandhi who bought those guns and sent to us secretly. Those guns helped us very much.

Concerning other problems that we experienced with freedom fighters; you cannot believe that some of the freedom fighters were sometimes ready to sell guns for an exchange of alcohol, or for small items. So it was necessary for our Government to prepare some people who pretended to the smugglers who bought those guns so that the guns were not scattered all over in our country.

Let me go back again to the past events concerning liberation struggles. South Africa explicitly helped the Portuguese in Mozambique. But after Tanzania established a Training Camp at Nachingwea; things changed and the camp was really effective. And at some point our own Tanzanian people supported FRELIMO. We must admit that there were changes because in 1973 President Kaunda held a secret meeting that involved Tanzania and Zambia who held discussions with South Africa that was represented by their Foreign Minister and High-ranking military Generals who were responsible with Liberation Committee; on our part Mwangana and I represented Tanzania. South Africa told me, “Malecela, go and tell your government that we are withdrawing our soldiers in Mozambique because Portuguese are not encouraging or mobilising people enough; instead they were deceiving people that once they win the war in Mozambique they would give them land, so much land, and so they would have a very big land. Now the young fighters once they experience a difficult situation in the battlefield, most of them were surrendering. “We don’t want our soldiers to taste defeat because we have realised that you will defeat the Portuguese”. And those who surrendered in the war zone we sent them to Isanga – Dodoma and later on there were silently released because Mwalimu did not like to trade them in.

So South Africans did not want their soldiers taste the defeat. And in fact they withdrew their soldiers and accused Tanzania that they saw our soldiers on the front. I asked them why they were boldly saying that? They said that since they started supporting Portuguese in Mozambique's liberation war, they had never seen the soldiers who kept on moving without

retreating. They added that they used to see Mozambican soldiers who were not well trained and who kept on moving forward in the battlefield. They said we must have sent some soldiers to help them because they seemed to be well trained and experienced. I think after 1973 the South African withdrew their troops in Mozambique.

Other incidents that are worthy to recall include those happened in Angola. In Angola there was Augustino Neto who was doing well, but Holden Roberto, who was Mobutu's puppet, was causing us a lot of troubles; not only in meetings. He came, I think to the meeting in Nairobi, he said that he had created a government in exile. So he made manoeuvres and OAU recognized him and his government, but he was neither fighting inside nor bringing anything. I later became a big problem because we could not recognize any other Liberation Movement while we had already endorsed the Government in exile. But later Tanzania decided to recognise and support MPLA that was under Augustino Neto. I must admit that those fighters from Portuguese speaking countries were very knowledgeable. People like Dihandrado when they started speaking they philosophised things and they had higher level of philosophical thinking.

Coming back to Holden Roberto; in 1973 Mwalimu and Kaunda entrusted us with a responsibility. It was Elijah Mudenda, a Zambian Foreign Minister at the time, Nguza Karl-Bond, then Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mobutu's regime, and I who went to reconcile Holden Roberto and Augustino Neto. We went to talk to them for two days. We realised that we were wasting our time because they were in two parallel lines. But one day an idea came; we said that these were Angolans and they spoke one language, and they were colleagues and knew each other well because in the past they studied together in the same school; although Augustino Neto branched off to the East; he joined Eastern Countries. We decided to find a room in which we put enough food for the whole day, and we made sure the room was self-contained, we closed them in so that they could talk until they agreed. We did so, and about six in the evening they told us that they were ready.

I must admit that I have never see such a moving scene like that. Those people entered into agreement and they agreed to work together, they hugged each other and they literally shed tears. Since they spoke in Portuguese, we did not understand them. So, Elijah Mudenda, Nguza Karl-Bond and I were happy that we accomplished the task given to us and we sent to see Mobutu. At 9 pm we met Mobutu in his home. Some of the things that happened in Africa were really terrifying. We saw Mobutu with two briefcases that were all packed with dollars. He took one briefcase and gave it to Augustino Neto; he told him to go and fight, and another briefcase gave it to Holden Roberto.

Afterwards the Chinese came to support us in a common strategic plan, but it was not possible because there were some other people who did not agree with Augustino Neto. For example, you remember Chipenda. Chipenda took a small group and broke it off. So the peace negotiations and agreements did work because Augustinho Neto saw that his movement was thwarted. Although that did work but indeed those people were very serious in the struggles.

The Angolans were the ones who supported Sam Nujoma because before that it was very difficult to find ways to penetrate into South Africa. Augustino Neto and MPLA were very strong, they allowed SWAPO to be in Angola so that they could try to go into Namibia and it was the same MPLA that brought the Cubans. The history shows that after the Cubans came to support SWAPO and MPLA things changed to better. First they started tasting a real defeat; and so they realised there was a need for negotiations. So the movements that eventually broke down the Portuguese were those of FRELIMO and MPLA. ANC were trying hard but they had a lot of problems inside. In Zimbabwe we had similar problems; Nkhomo and the late Chitembo did not sit on a negotiation table for a long time. Sithole was in UK for most of the time; he was a Reverend. I knew him very well especially when I was in UK and for the first time I met him when he was a student; he had some personal problems.

Coming back to Mzorewa, Chitepo, Sithole and Nkomo, Mwalimu tried his best. They came to Dar es Salaam and continued with the negotiations that later bore some fruits. They formed a coalition called ZANU - Patriotic Front (ZANU PF). After that union there happened one very unfortunate incident. The supporters of Joshua Nkhomo shot down a plane called Fokker-friendship; I think it was South African passengers plane. That incident sparked commotion at international atmosphere. People complained that it was the worst incident. But all in all, ZANU and ZAPU were united and they had a union called Patriotic Front; and indeed by forming the patriotic front they were able to move very well.

Unfortunately, you will recall that the late Chitepo was killed by bomb blast. Mugabe took over from him. The private sources informed me that the wife of Chitepo believed that a person who killed her husband was a freedom fighter called Tongogara; that is just a supposition. Mugabe did not like to stay in Tanzania. You can recall this Kaunda Road, starting from the beginning where Bagamoyo Road starts, those houses on your left until the monument were for Nkhomo's people. During that time when Mugabe came he stayed for a short time; he preferred going to Mozambique. Honestly speaking, Mugabe was not a Tanzanian favourite. He had his own reservations, but I don't the justification for them but he was not very open to Tanzanians. During that time when he went to Mozambique, I think he formed a kind of a kind of alliance with ANC, because you could find that Zuma, Mugabe and Machel had a common front. Concerning the Tanzania's contribution that is what I can explain.

Now let me explain about the United Nations. In December 1961 the United Nations formed a Decolonisation Committee. You will recall that when Kruschev came to the UN he presented a Resolution No 1514 that was on the formation of Decolonization Committee that shall be responsible with the matters of decolonising Africa. Some countries supported the resolution because the thought that to to decolonize Africa through UN would be through peaceful talks. Fortunately, I was there as a Junior officer. I was a Junior Second Secretary in our embassy. When the committee was formed there were 17 countries that formed that committee and Tanzania was among them and the first chairperson of that committee was Indian Ambassador to UN called Jaar. He was an old wise man; truly he had a good beginning. In that committee there were some African countries including Tanzania, Guinea, and Mali. We also had other countries which I call them burden such as Ivory Coast. I call them burden because most of the time they created chaos and conflicts within the committee.

The Decolonization Committee was under the United Nations and so there was an advantage of publicity. The freedom fighters were coming to the committee and we were hearing them as petitioners, and most of the time they were explaining the atrocities they were facing in their countries. It was unfortunate that during that time I came to be acquainted to people like Joshua Nkomo and Sam Nujoma. I remember Sam Nujoma came for the first time as a very young man. They was another person called Burumba Kerita. They worked very closely but later they became big rivals. But people like Joshua Nkomo where coming and explained about bad things that were happening in their country. At the same time FRELIMO appointed Marcelino dos Santos to be their spokesperson on Foreign Affairs, so he was attending all the meetings, to the best of my knowledge I don't think if he was involved in the war. If he participated in the war then that participation might be more theoretical, including coming to the UN and deliver speeches. But his speeches helped him in the case of publicity. South Africans were coming, for example Oliver Tambo came several times and at that he was coming with Mbeki, who late became the President of South Africa after Mandela. And also we received people from Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and from Zimbabwe we also received some delegates. At one time I remember came a White Rhodesian Prime Minister from Rhodesian Federation, whose name was Sir Edgar Whitehead, I think he came to the Committee in 1962. When he was asked a question,

“When do you think Rhodesia will get independence?”. He said, “Not within the next thousand years”. It is true he said that. The good thing is that he made that statement to the Committee, and there must records of what he said because we had verbatim records.

In the United Nations we had two Committees that were helping Africa from a point of view of marshalling world opinion to try to pose a challenge to the international community to support the independence struggles. That Liberation Committee that was called Committee of 17, it later became a Committee of 24, after requesting more members to be added and in 1966 the number was added from the previous 17 to 24. The second committee that was very helpful; and it was the Committee for Apartheid; We first requested the Committee to be formed in the United Nations, which will mainly deal with the issues of racial discrimination in South Africa. Because we were trying to fight against racism so that Africans could get right to vote; and if they voted they were the majority. On the other hand the Liberation Committee was waging war, and at the United Nations it was assisted by these two committees that were contributing by shaping the global opinions. We worked very hard; for instance we had to travel to Latin America and we visited to Brazil. Our intention and purpose were to go to Brazil to attend on the Committee on Apartheid, because they did not support the Liberation Committee. You should understand that Brazilians are basically Portuguese and even their language is Portuguese. Even in the UN they were opposing us but when we discussed the issue of Apartheid they agreed to support and they were against the racism. We visited them in 1966 and we had a seminar that was attended by many security organs present in Brazil, so we got enough publicity in Latin America. Briefly that was I can explain. This is a very wide area and there are many issues.

The Tanzanian position was always to speak for liberation of African continent; so wherever we went for the conference our message was always the liberation of Africa. In Commonwealth, or Nonaligned Countries, we had prepared in advance our draft re-resolutions before we went to the conference. For example, in Tanzania we were the first people to submit a resolution to the Non-aligned Countries, saying, "To recognize the legitimacy of the struggle of the liberation fighters to liberate their country". Even in the past, these freedom fighters were regarded as terrorists. Tanzania struggle to find ways to portray the positive images of the freedom fighters and avoid the use of the terrorists. Now these were not terrorists because they were fighting for the noble cause. That is why in 1973 during the conference of the Non-aligned Countries, in Algiers, Benbella was overthrown by Boumedienne. The Chinese were coming to that meeting for the first time. Mwalimu had already gone. Now the question came to delegates whether to continue with the meeting or to postpone it. Members had to remain silent and think about it but Mwalimu insisted that the meeting must proceed saying, “it is okay our colleague is overthrown from the power and who overthrew him are his country men. It is true that Benbella was in frontline on these struggles, but who has overthrown him is the Chief of Defence Forces called Boumedienne.” So the meeting continued. On the part of Cuba Castro himself came and he strongly argued with Gadafi. It was during that time when Gadafi overthrew the Libyan King and he became a leader while he was very young. I think he overthrew the government when he was hardly 36 years old.

Tanzania was taking a leading position in supporting liberation struggles, and we stood for that in all the meetings we attended; we attended Non-Aligned States and Commonwealth conferences. For example in 1961 when Commonwealth was just started and we got independence on 9<sup>th</sup> December we were admitted as members of the United Nations on 14<sup>th</sup> of December 1961. After that there came a Commonwealth General Assembly when Mwalimu said, “you either admit us as members and South Africa is removed or otherwise we don't come.” And people thought that if Mwalimu could stick to the guns then others will follow him. They knew Ghana would follow likewise Nigeria. So, it would have been the break-up of the Commonwealth. Therefore, they persuaded South Africa to accept pulling itself off the Commonwealth and things moved on. Even in conferences with our friends

from Asia we made sure that Tanzania spearheaded the issue of liberation struggle. Indeed, in every platform that Tanzania got we always went with an banner of African liberation.

There were two men who were very stubborn and whenever Mwalimu was dealing with them was facing a lot of difficulties. One of that person was Mzorewa. To everything that Mwalimu said he reacted by saying it was irrevocable. So Mwalimu nicknamed him Mr. Irrevocable, until one day when he told Mzorewa, that even Pope in Rome does not say things are irrevocable; that is impossible. Savimbi was there but we really knew that Savimbi was imposed by the Portuguese. He wanted to come to the Liberation Committee but we did not accept him; he wanted to come to the UN we did not accept him also. I remember the first meeting of Savimbi to come and talk to African leaders was held in Zambia and Savimbi came to see Mwalimu and Mwalimu agreed to talk to him. But he was not giving satisfactory explanations to the questions that were asked. For example, I asked him, “where do you get the weapons?” He said, “I use the weapons captured from the Portuguese”. We had some meand to verify whether he was speaking the truth or not. We has our own people who were highly trained in reconnaissance, and they were able to probe on Savimbi’s activities to see if he was truly engaged in the fighting. Even in the OAU records there is nowhere we recognised Savimbi or UNITA as movement. He came to Lusaka to hold talks with Mwalimu as a Chairman of Liberation Committee, and the intention was to persuade to join Neto and have one stronger army if he really fought. He could not do that. We could not tell him to join with Holden Roberto because we knew Holden Roberto was a puppet of Americans. But we loked down at Savimbi because he was knew he was a puppet of the Portuguese. And indeed the things he was doing proved that there were just words. Savimbi was never a genuine freedom fighter, but a Portuguese creation, and the Portuguese wanted to create a confusion so as to stop people from fighting for independence. The second bad thing with Savimbi was that he wanted to introduce tribalism in the country and if you start imposing tribal feelings on people then liberation struggles will eventually fail. It is true that he came and we held talks with him but he lefy without reaching a resolution. He was an arrogant person and a person of showing off anon top of that he had nothing genuine related to liberation struggle but he was building tribalism. Because of his tribalistic tendencies there were more problems emerged, and right from the word go he was supported by the Portuguese and later was supported by South Africa. He derailed developments in Angola until the time he died.

I must explain one thing about this issue of African liberation. It was not possible to every person to know everything because naturally issues of wars cannot be known to everybody. I personally happened to know more about Savimbi when he came to attend the Lusaka meeting to meet with Mwalimu; and honestly speaking the delegates of Lusaka meeting wrote him off completely and after that he went back home. Now if his people were training on our soil that I cannot know. What I know about Savimbi is that in all analyses that were done by OAU and Liberation Committee and even that of Decolonization Committee, there is nowhere UNITA is recognized as a movement.

There were so many parties that requested to be recognised and approved. For example, we had FLORINA in Namibia, and Burumba Kerita came with proposal of their own party wanting to be enrolled as a liberation party. In Guinea Bissau there was another party demanding recognition and applied for support, and we refused to accept them. You will recall Chipenda from Angola who was very influential and there was a time he formed his party he wanted us to accept it; and at that time the situation was volatile, in the sense that Neto lost seriousness and he moved back in his struggles, so there was a pressure on that. We resisted and said no, we had to support where there was a serious liberation party. Where we were forced to recognise two parties was in South Africa, where we had an ANC and a PAC. There was a pressure to recognise other other parties but we resisted.



I would like to say that, for us who worked closely with Mwalimu, and especially when it in the Liberation Committee, we must truly acknowledge that Mwalimu had a special heart, and the highest level of tolerance. We were helping these people but they went out there abusing us. We're staying all night long, for example the issue of votes in Zimbabwe, they had to stay the whole night negotiating. Almost the whole night, we discussed whether to accept or reject. Any way, we agreed that there should be voting. Thanks God it turned into our benefit, Banana and his people won.

Let me talk about this issue of Simango. It is like this: sometimes people have been blaming Mwalimu for things that are not true. Simango was not a freedom fighter; he was pretending to be a freedom fighter while he was a big puppet of western countries; a dangerous Simango. He was a puppet of Portuguese and we knew about his movements. We knew where these Portuguese were meeting him and what they were discussing and what came next. So we did not hate Simango but for your information, we saw that Simango had similar plans like those of Savimbi, to bring tribalism in Mozambique. During that time Machel had already reached a good stage of liberation; he fought Portuguese and they admitted that he meant the business. Now Simango came with his group. And for your information, the government arrested them and were detained at Dabalo, about 85 kilometres from Dodoma city centre, and I can even send you now to take photos of the houses in which they stayed; it is now turned into a police station. They were sent to Dabalo while blindfolded. They stayed in that village for more than a year and by that time Samora strengthened FRELIMO. When we found that it was a good time to release Simango because he could not do any harm and he went back powerless. So people should understand that Mwalimu did not love Samora; after all we love people who deliver and does what is required. The other thing is that Samora was going into frontline and came back with Portuguese captives and we sent them to Isaka Dodoma and we negotiated with Portuguese quietly and they came to pick their people. Until the end the Portuguese decided to overthrow their government because the government was run by people who did not realise that there was a war fought. So people like Simango were well known from the beginning and we were aware that they could cause problems.

Nkomo wanted to divert its movement towards Russian inclination and he had hopes that he could get weapons from Russia; but we did not like that because the western countries could point a finger at us saying that Russia was in Africa. We could get more problems if they could come and fight physically on our soil. More often Nkomo was theoretical. I am not sure if Nkomo had ever dared to infiltrate into the war zone to see fighters fighting and what was going on there.

When they demanded Mwalimu to relinquish his chairmanship of the Liberation Committee they knew clearly that Mwalimu was a think-tank of a liberation struggle in Southern Africa. For example, he could call a spade a spade, and without Mwalimu, even SADC could not be established. We discussed with Mwalimu and later he went to meet Kaunda and after their discussion things happened. So sometimes Mwalimu dared even to reprimand Kaunda. For example, there was a secret meeting that we met with South African Foreign Minister, on our part it was me and Mwanga. Kaunda wanted Mwalimu to go and meet the apartheid government. Mwalimu told him, "No Kaunda, if we do that thing and later on our fellow African leaders know, then that will be the end of the liberation struggle. We shall be considered as hypocrites. So he he refused. But after Kaunda pleaded guilty for that Mwalimu told him that, "I will bring the Foreign Minister secretly." I really left secretly and the pilot who sent me was Brigadier Haule, former Chief Pilot of the Government. Kaunda, you know, he was too much of a Christian. He never drank tea; he always drank milk with honey. So the softness of his heart could not be compared with the hard attitude the liberation struggle that Mwalimu had. On hesitation to recognise MPLA

government. We reached a point in the Liberation Committee that the issues of formation of transitional Governments were complex because once you formed a transitional government you will have to spend a lot of money. It was sometimes difficult to support the Foreign Ministers in their trips because wherever they were going we had to prepare the grounds first before they accept them. We had already learnt the problems with Holden Roberto, who had already declared his Government in exile and we recognised it in 1964 during the meeting held in Nairobi. We realised later that we made mistakes and we entered into a big trouble because we could not recognise other people since President Roberto could come and claim that he was a president. Our hesitation to recognise Neto was based on our belief that once you formed a Government in exile, the struggles cannot move on. I will be in record to have spoken that after Neto had formed the Government in exile, the graph of his activities in Angola went down tremendously. Actually the graph went down to a point we said, "Is it still worth it?" Therefore, we learnt that the tension to recognize Neto was based on the reality that if people recognised you as a freedom fighter it could not be a good thing to go around and pronounce yourself as a President of a country that has not even attained independence. That is the reason why we hesitated to recognise him and it was not Tanzania alone but all other serious countries hesitated. Algeria hesitates because they also had a similar experience with Tunisia. Tunisia, at certain times Bourguiba declared his Government in exile and went to live in Egypt. No, these issues of Government in exile and liberation struggle are the two things that just don't go together. Even in Mozambique they wanted to do that but we told them that it was not a good thing.

Murtala swayed the pendulum but since Tanzania was a seat of Liberation Committee, most of the time it was like *if you can't win them, you join them*, as long as they don't deflect from your main objective. I recall that during that time Tanzania and Nigeria had disagreements on Biafra; so we said this should not be another problem on our part. But as a principle, it was wrong to recognize a Government, from a liberation movement, in exile.

I will tell you that Tanzania had no hesitation. And you will recall that in the beginning I said that we dealt with Simango because he wanted to introduce tribalism. Now whether you like it or not, the Portuguese in Angola had already sowed the seeds of tribalism. The Portuguese knew that Savimbi had his tribe, Holden Robert has his tribenand MPLA was a party that was not built on tribal backgrounds. So, Tanzania in every Liberation struggle, we always stood for unity. You will recall how we dealt with Zimbabwe. First, we made sure that we forced Mzorewa to form a coalition with other freedom fighters although he was a Bishop. We worked hard to make sure that ZAPU and ZANU are united. We did the same in South Africa and at the end we realised that our t hesitation was proven to be true.'

It is true that Angola declared independence, and many other countries jumped into recognising that independence, but it took time for Angola to settle the matters and the problems have existed until ten years ago; they had a long time of civil war. So you cannot point a finger to Tanzania. By that time we fought hard to make them united, it was easier to deal with Holden Roberto but very difficult with Savimbi who came from a resource endowed part of Angola that had diamond and coffee. When Angola settled down properly, it was indeed after the coming of Cubans who helped to settle the matters.

The issue of tribalism needs special look and we need to have a separate persepective without mixing it with other issues because by mixing it with issues you will not be entirely correct. For example, in East African Community we had reached a stage of being a good example of unity in the world. Why we were an example? First, we had a Secretary General who was elected without any problem. The organization of American States took 15 years to get a Secretary General, while we elected him only once. If you read the report of Kawawa who led the commission that surveyed all over East African countries to collect opinions on whether they supported the political union or not, the majority of Kenyans supported the

union followed by Tanzania and Uganda were the last. But unfortunately it was the Kenyans who spearheaded the collapse of East African Community. It was a clique of few people like Njonjo, Mackenzie and the company. It was hardly ten people who colluded and said they wanted to break it, and they found a weaker point and realised their plans.

On the issue of economy, I think it is wrong to compare it with tribalism. Tribalism is the worst vice and I say that for our neighbours who have embraced tribalism are in difficult times; and despite the economic problems we have they can still come and learn from us. So the issues of economy we better treat them economically in order to avoid bad sentiments. The sentiments about independence are quite different from other sentiments and we always said if I am free then why not you becoming free? So there are people who have helped the nation to become independent but the economic developments take time. For example, I don't see if COMESA will bring economic development to African continent; I don't believe that. But what I think for a long time it will be a talking shop because I don't see any relevance of Tanzania and Djibouti benefitting each other economically on matters of trade.

Therefore, economically I think this first approach of reaching an agreement with your neighbour on matters of economy and trade will eventually attract another neighbour and so on as it has happened with the East African Community. We started with three countries and now we have attracted Rwanda and Burundi, but we need to be very careful. For example, the Burundians and Rwandese want to join East African Community for the sake of free movement so that they can access land in Tanzania. Once the Tutsi comes then the Hutu will also come. So on matters of economy we have to be extra careful, otherwise we can end up forming something that will actually suppress us instead of helping us.

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## (The Late) Mbita, Hashim Idd

[Dar es Salaam; 26 April 2008, etc.]

*Brigadier General Hashim Mbita hails from Tabora where he got his primary and secondary education. He joined Cooperatives in Mwanza where he worked from 1958 -1959. He joined Information Service and worked from 1960-1965, and during this period he attended various trainings on journalism in Tanzania, UK and USA. He was later appointed as a Press Secretary of the first President, Mwalimu Nyerere, from 1967-1968. He joined the military 1968 and the training in UK he was commissioned in 1969. After that he came back and became the TANU General Secretary the post he served from 1969 -1972. He was appointed Executive Secretary of the Southern Africa Liberation Committee in 1972, the work he worked until when all southern African countries got independence in 1994. After that, Brigadier General Mbita was appointed Tanzanian High Commissioner to Zimbabwe from 2003- 2007. Honourable Mbita started being involved in liberation struggles since 1967 when he started working under the Father of the Nation Mwalimu Nyerere who had a big vision of Tanganyika's role in helping other countries gain independence. The vision and goals of TANU were directed towards that direction of helping other African nations. When he was appointed to work in the African Liberation Committee, he was ready to translate what he was doing at the national level into the international level, especially African Continent. His experience and expertise in the military and diplomacy makes the narratives on the roles of Tanzania, frontline states, southern African countries, and the Liberation Committee to be the precious treasures for the memories and experiences about Tanzania's involvement in the liberation struggles of southern African countries.*

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### The Previous Life

First of all let me express my sincere thanks to Prof Kimambo and Prof Temu and you team for meeting here with the purpose of hearing from me about what I can remember related to work you are doing now. I must admit that I myself feel very humbled to be part of the history of our country and our African continent. I am an old person now but I have spent my good time on this earth. I was born in Tabora in 1933 and I was considered as the first born of my family because my parents had another child before me who died when he was two months old. My mother was a house wife but she was a good participant of various social activities in her community. She was an artist; she could sing and dance.

My father was a clerk of the Railway Corporation. I think his education was not that much good that could qualify him as an educated person. He was born, I think during the beginning of German occupation; so he attended classes for three years at the German school. But it seems they had programs to train people for their work, so they focussed much on arithmetic and writing.

So my father knew how to do calculation and he was very good at writing. I can actually say that if he was living in the present world he would be among the best persons who in writing. He was using both hands, and you could not distinguish his handwriting. He started working in the German army during the first World War in which he was responsible for signals. That was the first job he was taught, but the war ended and the Germans left. He joined the Railway Corporation and by that time the railway reached Kigoma. So he was posted to Kigoma

### Railway Station in 1921/1922.

I don't know about his feelings on children but what I can recall that when I was growing up he sent me to Islamic School (Madrassa) where I studied for seven years. By that time my father was transferred to Tabora it was unfortunate that the colonial government had not built any primary school in Tabora and the religious teachings were given more prominence. The only primary school that was popular in Tabora by then was White Fathers Primary School, owned by Catholic White Fathers. Those who know Tabora, that school was at the present National Microfinance Bank; that is the place where White Fathers built the Primary School, just in front of the Tabora Cathedral. The Muslim parents were reluctant to send their children to that school while the missionaries used that school as an opportunity to expand their religious influence. So we did not get an opportunity of going to school in early years. Another school was built by Moravians and it was called Bush School. But that Bush School had only standard one and two. But also it was not easy for Islamic children to join it.

The school that came to be known as mother of primary schools in Tabora was built as a support to Chief of Unyanyembe near Itetemia and it was called Native Administration School. From the place I was living to Tabora town when the school was located it was so difficult for me to walk because it was a distance of about six miles away. So letting the child to pass the bush made parents more anxious about their safety; they were not sure if their children could return home safely. So, we did not go to that school.

But I joined Muslim School during the beginning of Second World War in 1938, and I stayed there until 1944 when I completed my studies at Muslim school. Fortunately by that time the war ended and the western countries who were supported by Italian Mussolini defeated Germans under Hitler. We received Italian and Dutch male war captives who were sent to Tabora. So the camp was built there for them; they were treated as war prisoners. There were about ten thousand Italian war prisoners. The government decided to use those prisoners to build a primary school. I was very lucky because the plot that the government chose to build the government school was at the next door of our house. I got an opportunity to join that school in 1945 when I was 12 years old when I started standard one. I continued in the same school until when I joined senior primary as preparations to join secondary education.

Tabora School was opened in 1925 for the children of chiefs. The British government established that school for children of chiefs and there were fewer classes to start with. So the children of the chiefs were transported from different parts of chiefdoms in Tanganyika to join that school and the classes were added every year until when it was a secondary school. The first pupils of that school included Thomas Marealle, who studied there the school was opened. Other first pupils include Kidaha, Lugusha, Adam Sapi Mkwawa, who came from different parts of the country. Since the school was established in 1925 for the sons of chiefs, other children who were there in Tabora could not get chances to join it. The sons of chiefs were trained to serve the British colonial government. The school was close to us geographically but very far to us in terms of opportunity to learn because we did not belong to the chiefs. Most of Chief Fundikira's children studied there except Abdallah. There was a time Chief Fundikira was sent to exile in Bagamoyo and it was because of that background Abdallah was sent to Tanga and later to Makerere. That is what happened during those days.

I am grateful that I spent a long time there in studying during which I was able to make more friends who came through Tabora School. I stayed there for four years. So I met children of lower and upper classes at the Muslim School; and when new pupils came I was already in senior classes. At Tabora School there was a tendency of people feeling proud of being part of that school. I think it was a school that colonial government decided to strengthen and promote it so that it gave quality education. When we joined the school there were two types of laboratories; the first laboratory was junior school and another for senior school.

Junior school was from standard four up to eight and senior school was from standard nine to twelve. Those laboratories were separated based on subjects; and these were for chemistry, physics, and biology. In fact there were enough laboratories and everything you needed in the laboratory was found and all equipment functioned properly. You could get acid and alkali all the time. If a teacher wanted to teach about animals then the specimens were always there; even specimens for reptiles, birds and other species were readily available in the Labs. You really spent your good time at school because you learnt everything there. There was a beautiful garden and students learnt about gardening, flowers and so on. So after leaving the school although you didn't continue with biology but you had already gained much from biology classes.

At that schools students did start specialising in subjects earlier instead they took all the subjects. It was with an exception when we entered standard eleven and twelve when we had three subjects as optional. Literature was an optional subject; and if someone did not master it he was allowed to abandon it during examinations. Additional mathematics was also an optional and there was another optional subject called health and additional sciences.

Putting aside academic issues, at school we had also other many opportunities that helped to mould students. We had scouting and students involved themselves in scouting during their extra times. There was a school choir in which people learnt piano and singing. We also had a brass band, sports like football, hockey, and athletics. During those days we used yard as our measurement system; we did not use metric system; so we had one hundred yards, two twenty, four forty, eight eighty yards etc. in addition to that we also had miles but these days they speak about kilometres or cross country marathon. So all these extra curricular activities were open to all students and they were encouraged to participate in activities that they felt more comfortable.

I participated in the brass band. I learnt to use all the brass band music equipment but I preferred to beat fast drums; and I later became drum manager. So I conducted the whole school band. But also I loved sports. I was not a good athlete but I never missed running. There were very good athletes during my time and I can recall one person called Masakeliga who was a sprinter. He was a bit fat but he run one hundred yards very fast. My class was very outstanding in sports. We had our sprinter called Christopher Tumbo. He was very good at two twenty, hundred yards, and four forty. He represented our school at the regional level during the territorial athletics. I participated in the provincial games during which I met a person who later became my life long friend. We met for territorial games in Mwanza. He was from the Northern Province, studying at Old Moshi Secondary School. We became friends during those competitions and we left each other without knowing that one day in future we could meet again.

I remember to have participate in the academic competitions after very two years; from standard one up to standard four. When we entered standard five, six and seven we had provincial and territorial examination competitions. Once you passed in standard seven then you joined standard eight. Each grade had its types of employments and everybody if you failed in standard six the only job that one simply got was a forest ranger. If you reached standard eight and failed in standard nine you went for Teachers Grade III or joining postal services as telegraphy attendand, or things like that.

Now, when we reached standard ten it was really hectic. Even the professors present here will tell you that they passed through the similar experience. Standard ten examinations might be similar to the present day O'level examinations. We had serious preparations for that. If you take the standard ten exam paper of 1952 or 1953 and tell the current O'level or A'level students to do it you may end up getting only forty per cent who can pass. It was so hard to

prepare for standard ten examination. During those days the schools with Standard ten were few including Tabora School, Minaki, Pugu and Agha Khan. Only four schools had standard ten to twelve classes. We had to work hard to pass that examination so that we penetrate to standard eleven and twelve. So when the results came and you were selected to join Tabora, Minaki or Pugu it was a joy to the whole family and your village that their son has been selected. There was a stiff competition in passing that examination.

Even the teachers who were appointed to teach in those schools were really capable even the ministry of education recognised them as the best teachers. Even the teacher himself felt very proud to come and teach at Tabora School because it was a prestigious school and he would want to maintain that respect. I remember one of my teachers who was posted to our school as a punishment because he was considered as rude. That was the late Steven Mhando. He nearly punched his headmaster in Dar es Salaam, and so they decided to send him to Tabora to be under Mr Clark who could discipline him. Although he was rude but he was very capable of teaching. Mhando was very good in English language. I don't know where he got that talent but we all knew that he spoke very good English. During those days we had very few dictionaries; the most famous dictionary was that of Michael West. He had memorised the whole dictionary one hundred per cent. He was also very good in History and current affairs. By the time we were preparing for standard ten examinations, he was not available because he was politically charged and he hated the white people and he did not come to the class. He could stay in town for three days without coming to school and one day when he came we complained to him that we might fail his course; he assured us that we could not fail. We asked him how could we pass while we had missed classes for a long time. He kept on assuring us that the syllabus was too short and he could cover it within three weeks. When he came to the class he brought newspaper cuttings from Europe and New York so that we could read and have global current affairs. So we covered the syllabus plus general knowledge. After that we were more informed and our capacity to express ourselves was improved.

For other subjects such as Kiswahili we had a teacher from Tanga who had completed teachers' college and taught for a while in some schools in Tanga and they found him good to teach at London School for Oriental Studies, whose name was George Magembe. He was sent to United Kingdom at London School for Oriental Studies, where he taught Kiswahili. While in London he took some studies and actually he was one of the reknown teachers of Kiswahili, not only for standard ten, but also for Cambridge Certificate School.

We also had the late Haruna Said, a simple small man but very competent physics and biology teacher. He was one of the first African teachers who came from Makerere in 1938. So he also taught the Father of the Nation and his colleagues at Tabora School. An the last teacher that I remember is Cuthberth Tarimo who taught us chemistry in standard twelve; he was brilliant scientist. He went for further studies in America for Master of Science and there he became one of the top best students for three years and he received prizes, which included a car. Yes! He came back and we had a very good teacher. We also had good English teachers; they taught us a good British English. Therefore, we can say that what the education did to us only God knows; but generally we were not left ignorant.

After completing my standard twelve I decided to continue with mechanical engineering. Actually when I was a house prefect, I was asked to choose the gift I wanted and I told them that I wanted a book on motor mechanics, which I have till now. I always keep it. But I didn't get the outcome I wanted. So I eventually lost interest of education and interest in employment.

After staying at home for a long time I met one old person called Mbuji who was our neighbour and who frequently called me to see him. He told me that there was a warranty to travel next day to go to Mwanza to start a job. The same day he came to see my father and told him that there was a job at Mwanza Cooperatives and I told my father that I was going. I took the warranty and went to Mwanza where I was employed as an assistant co-operative inspector in 1958.

Since I had what we call aptitude test in mathematics, especially in general mathematics, I performed that work and it was a very interesting job because we were dealing with some simple figures, mostly ni addition, subtraction and division; very simple arithmetic. But the volume of the arithmetic was so big.

My first immediate officer was Mr Maharage Juma; he just died about two years ago. He was my first immediate officer. I was later posted to Geita district, but Geita district was a very small district by then, even the houses were difficult to get; not only government houses but even private houses to rent were scarce. Before being posted to Geita District I had already made some friends in Mwanza and I got an opportunity to meet influential people in Mwanza and in the co-operative. One of those people was the late Paul Bomani and Bhoke Munanka. Fortunately during my search of the house to rent, Paul Bomani told me that he a house to rent. So I rented his house and I enjoyed very much.

I was posted there with a young person from Mahenge, whose name was Martin Mgalula, with whom were given one union to supervise. One union was called Itetemia Bhageni – meaning a union that frightens the foreigners, especially the Indians, who were in fact the middlemen. So we had a very big volume of work because the primary co-operative societies that were under it were almost fifteen, and we were only two and we had no means of transport except our feet. The district had three unions tatu and we were given a car only once in a month. And that car could move you from point x and it never brought you back to your station because it took one week to return. After three days you finish your work and you cannot stay there for the whole week; so after finishing the work you start travelling on foot back to your station, or you take a lorry that transports cotton and you go back.

The work was very challenging and satisfying at the same time because we first dealt with financial matters, then with the wealth. Cotton is a wealth and money at the same time. They considered cotton as one of the nation's biggest export and income earner. So we worked efficiently and the government was very clear. During that time we had two types of inspectors; government inspector and federation inspector. For instance, KNCU had its own inspectors; Victoria Federation had its own inspectors; Bukoba Buhaya Union had its own inspectors; Nyakyusa had their own inspectors and their own union; but also the government inspectors were answerable to the government.

And the code was very clear. I thank God that during our time there was no embezzlement of public resources and if you were caught stealing you would regret that. So whenever I visited you cooperative that day I put a stamp on a book to mark that was the end of records for that day and you had continue next page with fresh entries. We also inspected the safe to count the money and compared it with the money in your cash box. After finishing inspecting the accounts the first day then the next day I prepared trial balance and I had to make sure that it balances. If I prepared trial balance and it balanced I left you free but if there were some errors I called that person and asked about the errors and that person failed to give clear



explanations we reported him to the police for further enquiry. During the hearing of the case in court I could bring my trial balances and present the evidences based on what we discussed on the day I visited your cooperative. However, the rate of stealing was very minimal; we can say it was almost nil. During those days people contributed for the Victoria Federation buildings in Mwanza. We contributed five cents each and we raised millions of money enough to construct those buildings. But today people could have diverted the funds and it could be difficult to have such buildings today.

That was my first employment. I worked there until when I quarrelled and the reason for that quarrel was that after working for one year and half I got an announcement of other posts in the government gazette; it was a weekly official gazette. One of the posts announced was that of assistant co-operative officer; not one post but many officers were needed. I read the qualifications and I took the form and filled it. I applied to Mr. Green who was a Regional co-operative officer. After reading my forms he called me; he was very arrogant. He asked me if that was my application and I replied yes it was mine. He asked me further, "Who do you think you are?" I asked him what I was lacking in the qualifications he told me that, "There are people here senior than you and they have not applied." And I responded, "Ask them, don't ask me". He told me, "I will not forward your application." I said, "Fine give it to me." I was very angry. Mr. Alexander who was a cost accountant. Had already recommended me to go to Scotland to study cost accountancy. Since I was so furious with what happened I ignored the offer and told Mr. Alexander that I am looking for the first exit opportunity. He insisted that I should not leave.

Two months later I saw another announcement on the public relations officer trainees, under the chief executive officer. This time I filled two application forms and filled them carefully; one I posted it myself through a register to Dar es Salaam, and I sent the remaining to the same person. I told him, "you can send it if you want and you can trash it if you don't want to send. So he sent it through register because he was not permitted by the laws to stop sending it. I was invited for an interview in Dar es Salaam. So I was given a warrant to travel to Dar es Salaam.

I told him that I was travelling to attend an interview. Maharage Juma felt that he is going to miss one of his junior officers, and Mr. Alexander also had similar feelings of loosing me. As I was going to Dar es Salaam for interview they created a trip. Immediately on the first day of my arrival in the office I found a warrant for me to go to Kabete co-operative school, in Kenya. I was not sure about the results of my interview.

I went to Kabete on 1st January in 1960 where I joined East African Co-operative College, located in Kiambuu. I stayed there for three months and I did not know that I was selected to join Information Department. The letter was dispatched to Mwanza from Dar es Salaam and they did not inform me while the Executive Secretary was waiting for my arrival.

I was at Kabete with my fellow trainees, and I joined Kibere football team and played in the Nairobi city league. So I was already known there through games. Even the principal of Kabete was very happy with me. When it was later known that I was at Kabete, the Chief Secretary sent a letter to the Principal telling him that he was supposed to give me a ticket to fly to Dar es Salaam. Principal called me and said, "If I were you I would not go. Information? Any one can do it. You remain here, because there is a big future here." I told him, "I really love it. But if you knew how I was treated in Mwanza, you would know there is no future." I told him that it was not about the future alone but my concern was how I reached

there. He told me that he got an order from the Executive Secretary that I should go back to Dar es Salaam, and I will regret for that decision. But I was convinced that I will never regret although I loved the job that I was leaving, but for the open issues in future I did not know what the future had in store for me. At least I already loved my previous work that I had already done.

During those days workers of Railway corporation striked and they were led by Kasanga Tumbo and his friends, including Namfua. So there was no travelling from Nairobi to Dar es Salaam except through Lake Victoria up to Mwanza and then to Dar es Salaam. So I tried to do that. I came to Dar es Salaam in April 1960. I joined the department of information that was under the Ministry of Education about thirteen or fourteen newly recruited officers. Some have died, and some few are still alive but all of us are now retired.

So I was posted to the department of press in the Ministry of Information and Education. I started to attend journalism course, but on the job training. Our leader was a British whom I came to learn later that he also learnt journalism in the hard way, because he had just basic education. He began as news paper vendor in UK and later was trained and became interested with journalism. He began by being in the office where he was trained and he was later posted to East Africa where he started working in Mombasa with the East Africa that was published in Mombasa. He later applied for the job that was announced by the government and he was selected and later became chief press officer; that is George Rocky.

I came to learn very very late, after his death, that he was a Jew but at that time he was saying that he was a man from Cornwall in the UK. He was a very good friend of mine. But he did not express that to me but I got those details after his death because he left a will that he must buried at the synagogue. From there people knew that he was a Jew. He was a very hardworking man and he was the first Press Secretary of Mwalimu. I worked with George Rocky until when he was appointed to work as Mwalimu's Press Secretary.

In nineteen sixty two I went back to Tabora on leave to get married. While in Tabora I was informed that there was a relieving transfer, because the officer who was there was going on leave. So during those days if you were on leave, even if you are an officer, you could take a long leave. So the man had taken a leave of six months. He was my fellow Tanzanian from Nzega; he was home on leave from Tabora to Nzega. To me that was an opportunity to stay at home for a longer time with my wife at home. While in Tabora I got an opportunity to know Tabora region very well. Western Province was the largest province in the country, with eight districts that have now become four regions, if I am not mistaken. The districts of the Western Province by then included Tabora, Urambo, Nzega, Kahama, Kibondo, Kigoma, Kasulu, Mpanda, and Sumbawanga. These all were part of Tabora.

When I was there I got an exposure by visiting the whole province. The exposure I am talking about cannot be clear to the present youth. I had bought my vox wagon beetle that in 1962 I used it to travel from Tabora to other parts of the region such as Sumbawanga, Nzega, and Kahama. The roads during that time were not paved. I that car I had file cabinet, type writer and papers. So when I arrive in Nzega I did my works and in the morning I posted the letters to Dar es Salaam and continued with my journey to Kahama. I worked in Kahama and the next day I proceeded to Kibondo and later to Sumbawanga and then going back to Tabora and visited the post office to collect letters. At the post office you carry your correspondences, you come to the office, you open one by one, you file and then you start acting on them.'

I stayed in Tabora until September 1962 and then I had to go back to Dar es Salaam to the press

section. I worked in the press section until 1963 when I went to UK for study tour because the office of public information gave that opportunity to go for a study tour to Britain. We were four journalists who came from Tanganyika. I recall them being the late Sam Mdee who joined Daily News from Pugu Secondary School, Kasembe from Radio Tanzania and Salum Mzuri from Uhuru newspaper. We were invited by British Information Services to learn how newspaper work is done there. From London we were posted upcountry especially to south-west, starting with Southampton, then to Cornwall, and Bristol where we also met some dignitaries.

We were scattered but later we met in a small town called Exeter; it was a very interesting place. I received a very interesting remark from an old lady. The Mayor of that place organized a lunch for us and we attended that lunch with Bishop of Exeter. There was an old lady joking that how do you find Britain? I said it was ok. She asked again, do you find it interesting? I responded, "Yes, really." So my utterance of the word "really" impressed that lady who joyfully jumped out, "Really?" She said, "These people have better English than many people here. Who taught you English? Where did you study English?" I told her that I studied it in Tanganyika. I was astonished that she remarked a word and it became an issue. But those were the experiences.

I came back to the information services where I started working as press officer and rose to ranks up to senior press officer. When Mr. Rocky left the office for the State House to become a press secretary I succeeded him and became in charge of press section. During that time, the department released a minimum of five press releases on government activities every day, for the public consumption. And we sometimes send some of the press releases outside the country, and those were under my control. We had enough staff who could disseminate news about Tanzania locally and internationally. During those days we had no fax, instead we Cable and Wireless as our agent to send news to Europe. When George Rocky was about to retire, Mr. Mwambenja was sent to to get attached to him. Mr. Mwambenja had been to Makerere, and he was sent to assist Rocky. But also at one stage it was decided that there was a need to send press information people to our Embassies so that they could communicate properly with media and societies of the receiving countries. Kwa hiyo Mwambeja was posted as a Press Attachee in London. So he had to briefly work at the State House to understudy kustudy George Rocky.

There was a visit of Indira Gandhi to Tanzania and by that time I was a press officer in charge so I organised the the press coverage when they were in Tanzania. I remember when I was asked to present press release of Indira Gandhi in the prensence of my President and I had to work on that. There were a lot of media people, because during that time the Tanzania's profile was very high. The entourage of Indian Prime Minister was followed by the whole world media. Among the journalists on that day there was one from America. When it comes to America they had an eye on me; I don't know why. They sent a director from American Press Institute of Columbia University who wanted to be a correspondent. I talked to him and I was very very busy because I had to attend about five journalists. We discussed and let each other; but just a short time after this, an offer came from the Americans and they invited me to attend a training seminar on newspaper management under the office of the American Press Institute. I told them it was okay but they I asked them to send that invitation to my director, who in turn would send it to the Permanent Secretary; and they would decide. So, it was agreed that I should go.

I went there, and in fact it was a coincidence. I had to leave and go there but at the same time I lost my mother. So I said I would not go there immediately. That was in 1965. I went there after the funeral celebrations of my mother and on my arrival there I realised that I was together with

two persons from East Africa who came from Uganda. One of them was called Matovu: I don't know where he is. From Nigeria they were eight, one from Congo Kinshasa, two from Malawi, two from Zambia, One from Benin, one from Mali, one from Sierra Leone, and one from Ethiopia. Those were invited Africans. So we attended the lectures and discussions at Columbia University.

When we went to Washington there was one young lady who was an American Cultural Officer, you might remember her. But apparently she was a CIA girl. She had organized a short function at Dublin Plaza Washington. We went there and drunk and she pulled me aside. She asked, "How are you? Would you like to stay here? I think according to the directors of the institute it is recommendable and they were thinking about you. Why wouldn't you stay for a few years course?" When I explained to her about my situation she said, "No you can think about it. You can bring your wife if you want. I remained silent.

When I got back to New York they called me that I had a discussion with so and so on the possibility of staying for one or two years' course. I told them that somebody mentioned about that, but I asked them if the Americans were so interested, why didn't they write to my government and make that offer to the government? They were not satisfied; so they came again. Somebody came to me to discuss about it and asked me what type of stipend I could get, and even that wife would be able to come there, and they also gave promises about my little child. I said these things were too sweet for nothing. I asked him how many others from that course were remaining for that? He said he did not know about others, but at least he knew about me. He asked if I was ready and I replied that I was ready, as long as that decision was made by my government. I did not stay. I told them about the situation that was facing me and I could not remain in America without coming back because I went to America after my government allowed. I told them that if my government at home will allow then I would go back; there was no problem.

Upon my arrival in the country then two months later I was transferred to the State House to be Press Secretary under George Rocky and after one year I took up as a full Secretary. I had a wonderful experience to work under the later Mwalimu Nyerere. First, he was clear, simple, straight forward, honest, and he was ready to engage you in the discussion in case he found that you had job related problems or personal problems. He was ready to understand your human weaknesses even professional problem. And if he perceived that the problems were genuine he had no problem, but if you wanted to be clever he would get you. I am grateful that I performed that work with my satisfaction and there was no cause to cross paths with him. I made mistakes sometimes but he forgave them.

One day we had a trip to Tukuyu, we had a public meeting and I had already filed a story to Dar es Salaam to the information service and to the Radio. In the evening at the residence of the DC the news came out and part of the story there was an attribution to him. He asked, Mr Mbita, was it me me said that? I said I might have made a mistake, I apologised to Mwalimu. I had to examine myself because I was really ashamed. I felt very bad.

I organised a visit of an author of the books called *We Must Run When They Walk*. They also had a chapter on *Tanzanian Nyerere*. The author is called William Edgar Smith who was also a correspondent of New York Times and Time Magazine. He came specifically to see Mwalimu because he was so much moved by his statements and positions. He wanted to write about this man; and I was his press secretary when he wrote the letter. I told Mwalimu that there was an American writer who wanted to write about him. He wanted to come not for short interview because he could do interviews time to time, but he mostly wanted to take

part in Mwlaimu's travels in the country so that he could learn from him on how he interacted and talked to people; how he was doing things; and how he mobilised his people. He said, "Is that person not a CIA agent?" I told him, "Mwalimu, "whatever he is or not just give him chance."

So he came and we travelled with him to Musoma, Mwanza, Tabora, Kigoma, Sikonge and all over. He had heard many stories, and most of the stories are in that book. One area if you want to understand what Mwalimu was, read that book, *Tanzania's Nyerere*, the first title was *We Must Run While They Walk*. There is its Kiswahili version that was translated by Paul Sozigwa.

I worked with him and fortunately at the coming of Arusha Declaration, I was his press secretary. Those people who want to do research properly on that one they should go beyond the Arusha Declaration itself. We visited Singida in the beginning of the year after his annual leave in Musoma and we had our own leaves in our places and he told us that he would be leaving Musoma on the new yea. We were dispersed except those very close staff .

So on that day we all went to Musoma, and from Musoma, we travelled through Singida to Dodoma and from Dodoma to Arusha. It was in Singida at the village called Ngimbu, somewhere I can't remember well, where Nyerere started publicly indicating his thinking that perhaps led to the germination of Arusha Declaration. I think there is a tape on that as it has been hinted by Mzee Mtemvu, because the late Athuman Magoma was there on that journey. I think he might have recorded that speecj. I remember there are a lot of stories about that if we can search in the paper archives of January 1967 especially some story regarding Ngimbu. We recalled Ngimbu speech in Arusha because it was loaded with things that were going on in his mind.

After arriving in Arusha through Dodoma, we met those ideas that came out in Arusha. From there we had a real cabinet in the ruling party. People like Mzee Rupia and Ndossi were the rich people in TANU at that time. Mzee Rupia had already that Rupia big building at Mnazi Mmoja; he also had already negotiated a loan with the First Permanent Bank; he had billions by then. Now, Arusha Declaration was talking about nationalization. It was like people were developing an appetite on wealth and property. Mzee Rupia was sure that he was honest because he took a loan, and now he was going to be subjected to this suffering and put together with fraudulent people. It was a real tough time. I remember that Mzee Rupia that day snuffed that usual. That week was a rough week. But the intention was to establish integrity, ethics, simplicity, and whatever you may call. It was a testimony.

From there after arriving in Dar es Salaam I made a mistake. I think having seen what was happening there, I decided to write an advisory letter to Mwalimu as his Press Secretary and Chief Advisor on public relations telling him that he was embarked in in tough job. I said that he should count on support from his colleagues, instead he had to find ways to appease them so that they don't disrupt. But the major task was how to handle the youth because they had neither blemishes nor wealth and so they had nothing to lose, so he should get hold of them so as to make them clearly understand the concept then we would have a future. And that was the message.

He read it but he didn't reply to me. I felt that I was supposed to popularise the declaration and one of my hobbies is to write Kiswahili poems. But for the last four, five years I had not written often. I remember to have written some two or three when I was in Harare about election. I think that was in 1994/95 but I later abandoned writing. During that time I approached Mwalimu with a suggestion to mobilise poets in the whole country to write about Arusha Declaration because many newspaper readers loved to read poems. I requested him to

allow some funds from his vote so that we could invite them from all over the country and come to Dar es Salaam to stay for two or three weeks to discuss and resolve that Arusha Declaration should be a subject to be taught to the whole nation. We wanted to give them a challenge on how they could contribute their views on Arusha Declaration. He agreed and so we invited the late Mzee Waziri from Tanga, the late Mzee Tuwakali from Dodoma, Akilimali Snow white from Kigoma, and others came from Mtwara. Most of them came because it was a great honour to be called to the state house to meet the president who tasked them. Then after one year there was a huge influx of poems on Arusha Declaration. You can visit them in the Kiswahili newspaper archives you will find poems about Arusha Declaration.

Those two incidents I think were the ones that removed me from the State House to being the press secretary of the party. So I must say that the last job I had applied for was that of cooperative to information. I had never applied, or thought or lobbied for any other job thereafter. I had been shunted this way, that way. So I started working at the Headquarters of the Part and I began holding talks with media houses, especially radio stations on the policy for the nation. I agreed with that I will start a radio program called *Mtu Kwao* for pupils and students. The beginning was hard because teachers hated me; they thought that I introduced something to expose them against society. There were a lot of ignorances among the youth about our country. I aimed at motivating them to know more about their country, the administrative system, even the structure of the constitution; I wanted people to cherish working and know their surroundings. The program became popular, especially to pupils and students; there were even competitions for that program; one secondary school competed against another secondary school. The questions that were asked made some of the teachers feel shy because they exposed the ignorance of their students and they were aired live from the radio station. The students were seen so foolish because they could not respond to simple questions and teachers were challenged. We asked them simple questions like “who is Chief Adam Sapi?” Now a standard ten or eleven student failed to answer and another student from another school was given the same question. It was a challenge to teachers because they had to realise that they were not giving their students good information. They only blamed that TANU people had brought that program to disgrace teachers. I remember my friend called Mung’ong’o asked me, “You, what are you doing?” I told him, “I want you to teach these people, that’s all. Teach them what you were taught.”

I remember there was one guy who is now retired, General Hamisi Semfuko, was studying at Galanos secondary school in Tanga or something like that, he was the first to form a group that supported Arusha Declaration. He walked on foot together with his colleagues from Tanga to Dar es Salaam to present their support to Mwalimu, and thereafter the whole nation was ablaze with solidarity walks to support Arusha Declaration. During that process I was still in the State House, but on transition to move to the Party’s Headquarters as the press secretary and Paul Sozigwa was transferred there to replace me. The handover was during the solidarity walk from Butiama to Mwanza to support Mwalimu. I left Butiama while I was already appointed as a party’s press secretary. I went to Butiama one day later because I was still here putting things in order, I thought the travel will be in the afternoon so I flew from Dar es Salaam to mpaka Mwanza. Then I got a bus to Musoma then I got a lift to Butiama. On arrival at Butiama I was told they were at Kiabakari. I started my own march from Butiama to Kiabakari.

When I arrived there I found an interesting story. Chief Emeka Anyeoku from Nigeria was on a mission to see Mwalimu. And he had to go to Musoma and from Musoma he was told that Mwalimu was at Kiabakari. Now, as he was talking to Mwalimu after arriving at Kiabakari I

also arrived there. I remained quite but Mwalimu saw me and asked me “Hashim, where are you from?” I told him, “I have just arrive after walking from Butiama because I was late to arrive there and you had already left, and I have covered my distance from Butiama to here. And from here we shall walk together.” He laughed and told Emeka Anyeoku, “You see this fellow, he has just arrived. You know I am in the route march. He has just decided to march from my home to here and we shall continue from here.” Emeka Anyeoku also said, “Yes, this is very good. I also march in the golf course.” Mwalimu asked him, “How?” Emeka Anyeoku said, “Every week I march twice, I also march.” Now you can see the difference in political thinking.

From there we marched through up to Mwanza. But I did a double work; the of handing over to Sozigwa as we went along; but also I had to organize the conference in Mwanza because I was party’s press secretary. During that time, the father of Lawrence Masha, this Minister for Home Affairs, had been party’s press secretary before, but he was dismissed by Chonge. The post fell vacant and so I went to fill in that post during the time when Arusha Declaration was a topic of the day. Mwalimu decided to end the solidarity march in Mwanza, otherwise there was a wide public support, every person was ready to march, and it wasn’t good.

During that route march many things happened; some were weak and others very strong. Physical strength of people come out through that march. Even Mwalimu himself was afraid that may be there will come a time security personnel will stop him from walking because he started developing blisters. Some people like Munanka, Mokiwa, and Ngogo developed blisters they could not walk further. Fortunately the security could not stop it because the whole team was interested in finishing the march. The leader of that route march was General Sarakikya, the Chief of Defence Forces (CDF). He was the one who determined distances to break so that Mwalimu could take a rest. In the morning the started the match together.

I managed to survive that march in the sense that I was able to walk to the break points. We had breaks after evey few hours; for instance we walked from 5 am up to 9 am or 10 am and we breaked until 5 pm when he started marching until 8 pm. When they breaked I took a landrover to Mwanza to organise conference. I came back at 5 pm to join them before they leave.

After finishing march and the conference and things were all fine, marchings for the support of Arusha Declaration were stopped there after. When I came back to the headquarters the idea was coming on instilling some military aspects party staff. How did we go about it? Mwalimu called Sarakikya and they resolved that Mwalimu had to nominate some people from the party. Very shortly he told him that there were people ready for that. There was a chance for people to go to UK for cadet training. Never did I think that I will be one of them. I think Mwalimu got some names and then Sarakikya added my name. I think that for two reasons. First, somewhere in my narratives I told you that I had one friend from different school; that person was Sarakikya. When we met during standard ten and eleven for sports in September and October 1955 and 1956 we became good friends and when I met again with Sarakikya our friendship revived and lasted up to now. He knew what I wanted. By the time he and Alexander Nyirenda joined the army the headmaster also asked me to join them. I refused because I had quarrelled with him, and so I did not take his suggestion as a genuine suggestion; I thought that he wanted to punish me. I refused his proposals to join police, prison services, and even teaching services. He told me, “I will not help you”. I responded that I did not need his help. That is why I stayed at home for a long time, and partly that was the reason. But also partly, I think that I was lucky that I could survive that route march without a blister and every time they breaked I did not stop but instead I left for another work. I only

got a rest during the night. I worked during the whole day.

Now, the question that was lingering in my mind was about the person to replace me when I will be away. Two things were happening at that time, and our relationship with UK was broken but we were warm up slowly. Mwalimu called me to his residence at Msasani and told me, “I have decided to open our consulate in London, you will have to help us there. It is not an embassy but a preparation to open an embassy later. But if they will allow to have our embassy then I will appoint you”. I went back home and told my wife that it seems we are in packing track; we are moving to London.

I had my younger siblings in my house so I had to find a boarding school for them so that they had to go home during the holidays. I went to ask Peter Mwombela for assistance and he accepted. Five days later Mwalimu asked me if I shared with my wife what we discussed. I told him how did my concern him? “If there is any message just tell me, the the question whether I shared with my wife does not concern you; what did you get from there?” He said I have changed my mind, go and see Sarakikya. I left there and went to see the CDF. I told him, “I am directed by the President to see you” He laughed very loudly and said, “From here you go to the military camp”. I asked him, I am going to the camp?” He said, “yes you are going; did he not tell you?” I responded, “I was just told to report to you”. He said, “that is the message. If you are not ready just go back home, but tomorrow morning you have to report to Mgulani camp”.

So I went home and told my wife don’t pack our things. She asked about the reason and I told her, “tomorrow morning you will drop me at Mgulani camp as you will be going to your work and we shall meet again when God wishes”. I reported there the next morning; I drove the car myself with my simple bag. On my arrival they told me, “you have arrived, just leave your wife to go and enter inside”. I entered and my wife left. I was accompanied up to the tent and I was told to wait for Seargent Major who will give me some instructions.

After a while that Seargent Major came and picked me to Quarter Master, I was given a uniform and put on it. So I started a new career. That was me new career, and the new recruits were coming. We were about one hundred and five recruits. So, I started training and the language was right turn, left turn, quick march, mark time. I think soldiers when they realised it was me they suspected that there was a serious problem with me but I tuned myself to observe all sides so that I could service. Indeed after two weeks that company sir major became my best friend to some extent. He was not highly educated but he was in the army for over thirty years and he was familiar with the military; he was a smart fellow. But his military IQ was above average; he knew all the soldiers. Just after thirty six hours or forty hours after joining the military training he could know you already together with the section, your tent and he could ask you what you are doing if you are away from your duty station. He was the one distributing things in the morning during the master parade. If in two hours later he finds you in wrong place he would ask you what you were doing there. Is a soldier dodged the camp and went to town and suspects that you are recruit he could easily trap you because during the period of two weeks of military training a soldier is like a machine. If you are on the way he will just give a command, “halt”, then wherever you are you will react to that command because you are machines. So, even if you are from a different camp he will ask you to shom him a gate pass. He will wait for any military vehicle to pass and put you in that up to the camp and he sent signals to those camps that your soldier is here.

Our government spoiled him later in the sense that it promoted him to the rank of military officer. It was gazetted that once you are a commissioned officer there are things you were not



supposed to do, but he was doing those prohibited things. So they removed him from the camp and transferred upcountry to be a regional militia training officer; am not sure if he was transferred to Shinyanga, or elsewhere. They made another mistake of appointing someone who was Lieutenant to be a District Commissioner. He wanted to parade that District Commissioner because he was a lieutenant and he was a major. He was not ready to recognise that a District Commissioner was a presidential appointee and he was a military commissioner.

But he worked for his nation very well. The first thing for was that he was able to prepare in advance for master parade within half an hour; you give his ration demand for the day and he sends it to the quarter master. The food was prepared, stores were taken care of and he was always so happy. He was telling me that in the military you have to be very smart otherwise they will steal your things and the things that were stolen in the camps were not going out of the gate. So, during the parade everybody had his own things in a complete set. So, don't worry; don't panic. So I stayed there for three and half months and my trip was ready; I left for UK for further training.

I left here in September to go there for a military course; it was during the full winter season. And I will never forget because I think the training was very hard and I was the oldest in the course. The only people who would beat me in age in that course was the commandant of the school and the sergeant major of the company; but even the chief instructor was younger than myself. I was above thirty five; I was thirty six and the youngest was seventeen years old. So he was like a child to me in the same course. It was trouble. The first challenge was to build stamina. I am grateful that I had built some stamina at Mgulani and in UK they were very tough. I remember that very first day to join I was with Kitine who was still very young graduate. The very first day to join they gave us uniform and we had to march five miles. And the winter, of course, was very tough in UK during that time. We were training in different camps and all were difficult places; one place is called Daltmore where we had an exercise seventy two and there was a serious snow. In the previous year some two Nigerians had died there. And that is normal because the military doctrine in the training course there is an allowance of two percent casualties and if that happens nobody raises eye brows; and if it doesn't happen they are surprised; and if it happens they say that was expected. Yes, so we did that and the other one was exercise in Wales. We had nine exercises in Wales. We exercised in the sheep farm and we killed a lot of sheep because during the night we missed targets by mistaking the eyes of the sheep with the moonlight because in the snow they look similar.

I also had an opportunity in that course to participate in peace keeping in Cyprus. It was in Cyprus where I learnt about what the real military occupation means. The British has a capacity of military barracks to take in two divisions in a short time. So, if there is any operation you wanted to send you had to stop over in Cyprus and carry over the planes. Even if there were thirty planes they were all carried and loaded within one hour and they will be in their barracks. You can't see them in the streets. And the British were running a full administration in Cyprus that was under Makarios; they had police stations, prisons, courts, hospitals, and barracks. So the criminals were transported from UK to Cyprus after being tried in the British courts and send to prison in UK and later evacuated by the British government.

I came back and I joined the army. So I was commissioned in 1969 and was posted to the Head Office. I was assigned the duty of information officer that also covered education in a way. I was later removed from headquarters to Mgulani barracks to be a political education officer. There the sense came to me why Mwalimu was talking about having his people in the army. There was a general feeling that needed to be dispelled, that the armies conducted coup d'état because of the mistrusts with the politicians; the armies did not trust politicians and politicians did not trust armies. During that time there were several coup d'état in Ghana and

Nigeria. Therefore one of the jobs that I had to do was to bridge that gap, and to restore harmony. Among those who worked with me in the department was Major Kitundu, but he had no skills of how to deal with young officers. Whenever there was an argument between them he quickly presupposed that they were anti-army, anti-party, or against something else; while in reality they failed to communicate properly. I would start engage them in the mess. We would have long discussions. I first told them that many were trained in UK and in British schools were not taught about starting the coup d'état. In the military doctrine there is no single lesson known as coup d'état, may we it is created because of the local conditions. So after that experience we continued working harmoniously.

We opened Cadet School; and we started it at Mgulani Police College and their First Commandant was General Kiwelu and he was later succeeded by Lupogo who later increased the number of youth for cadet school. It was after this experience I was transferred again from Military Headquarters to the Party Headquarters to be an Executive Secretary of the party when Pius Msekwa was transferred to the University of Dar es Salaam to be a Vice-Chancellor.

I was a Director of Education at the Headquarters of Tanzania People's Defence Forces when the Chairperson and Commander in Chief told me he wanted me to go to the Headquarters of the party. The next day it was announced that Pius Msekwa was appointed to be the Vice Chancellor, and Dr. Chagula was appointed to the cabinet. So I went to be the National Executive Secretary of TANU. That was quite unexpected to me because I had switched and I thought I was going to settle down in uniform. There I found many challenges but I had to settle them. The first challenge was the Arusha Declaration that became so vibrant during those days. The language of that time was on fighting against the exploiters and imperialists.

As I started the work, my immediate challenge was on party servants because I was now at the level of command although at a certain time I was a publicity secretary under Pius Msekwa who was a National Executive Secretary. I was working in my information and news department, but now I had to take-over the whole thing, and during that time Political Education was one of the big subjects; so we had a Department of Political Education led by Rev. Ishengoma. I am told he is no longer. He had people like Kingunge Gombale Mwiru, the late Gisler Mapunda, the late Shabani Kisenge and Paul Kimiti as his assistants. Paul Kimiti had been moved from the Ministry of Agriculture where he was trained in Agricultural Public Relations. So those were the publishers of magazine called *Kilimo cha Kisasa*. So, they were moved to the department to reinforce Publicity in the Political Education department. They had to teach people how to combine Politics with Practical life. We had serious programmes and one of the Departments that were very hot was Political Education Department; and Mwalimu kept in close touch with this Department. He had a lot of consultations with people from this Department to get a feedback on people's feelings about Education so as to know where to change, and where to have sides to this knew element so that Arusha Declaration can be instrumental in shaping the economy and be understood to citizens. So, this time I got in another battle on a famous Article 15 that was highly misused by the Trade Unions; my friend Professor Temu remembers this because a Member of the Parliament representing workers. They used Article 15 to make it as a big topic. I gave it a different interpretation contrary to what workers interpreted because we discussed in the National Executive Committee and basically they agreed that rights go together with responsibility. To me Article 15 was truly more cumbersome to workers; they were supposed to fulfil their responsibilities before they claimed for their rights. The most difficult thing during that time was that when workers were told to work they complained that they were harassed, mistreated, humiliated just because you insisted on fulfilling the responsibilities. So to me that was a huge contradiction.

I fought against that spirit within the party and I abolished it for party's servants because

even in the party we had Assistant Secretaries who decided to withdraw their membership from trade unions, and one of them was Josephat Gwao; who came from the Local Government Trade Union as a Secretary at the Headquarters. So the party ordered that every region must be independent by looking for their own bus that would transport them to attend the Party's General Assembly in Dar es Salaam. We categorically decided that there was no extra transport from the Headquarters. Still allowances was a problem; they requested allowances. The party's workers were pushed and mobilised by National Union of Trade Associations (NUTA). They went to see Mzee Rupia and Mzee Dosa, saying that, "this soldier is managing us as if he is in the military, he does not want to recognise our rights". Those elders came to see me and I told them, "I thank them for their concern but they were members of the Central Committee, and they were not supposed to interfere into the inside issues. I they should continue with the preparations of the General Assembly, but the issues they raised were within my ability to sort out". Those young men after hearing my responses they became very angry and they vowed that they would boycott the next day and the drivers will never go to pick the delegates; and the workers will not come to provide services to the delegates. I also reacted by saying, "okay send back the delegates and the meeting will be held tomorrow as it was planned". Whether they riot or not I will still tell the chairman that the meeting is still there. The delegates who will be in the meeting will do everything and those who will not be present will have to explain why they did not attend".

My response shook them somehow and they had no means to reach Mwlaimu by that time. The next day around 9 am we had fewer members other members took taxis and came. So the situation turned against the workers because they knew that the members will not support them. After that drivers changed their minds and rushed to the place and took the delegates on their way. By quarter to ten the hall was almost full. In the evening after the meeting I told all people that those who planned to boycott should stop that and we could discuss their grievances after the meeting.

I prepared a meeting with them after the general assembly. I was tipped that one of my officers was the one who mobilised others to boycott. So I tasked him to organise a meeting of all workers. I ordered him to prepare Board Rules, Terms of Service for the party, and all fringe benefits that were prescribed. I told him to review them; and it was very good as he picked them out very well. After finishing he brought them to me and I read them carefully and after that we went to the meeting. So whenever they asked a question on a meeting and regulations I told him to read. During the third question I rose myself and responded, one of the participants said that he will take it no more and added "Honourable General Secretary, this man is wasting our time. He was ordering us to things while he knew the whole truth".

I told them, "he might have forgotten because he was also a human but the truth was that the little money I was paying you was against the law. I decided to give it to you after asking it from the bosses. Since we have already made a mistake I will tell the accountant to deduct from your salaries so as to refund the party's money". I told them that all the future decisions will be made because of what they did. I told them workers had responsibility to serve delegates; there was no negotiations of the service contract; you either do it or you don't. If you have a genuine just raise it and never turn your personal problem into universal problem so as to gather support from others.

So we had to agree on Article 15 within the party because it was a problem of one or two people in most areas of the Trade Union who wanted to amass support of the others so as to fight against

the strict Management by labelling it as the one that does not recognise the rights of workers and instead they are harassing/exploiting workers.

So I continued working there and the things that we established during that time and people complain about them today. I am sorry to say that people's memories are so short. Some who complain now are so new; some of them were not there in 1970s; 1972, 1973 since my youngest son was born in 1971 and he is now 37, with a family and children. How could he know issues that happened in 1970? You can't know them. Unfortunately even those who have plenty of resources that make them know they don't bring out instead they burry away and release things which are funny. I am saying this because the recent CCM General Meeting in Butiama has been given so may interpretations, so many expectations' as if there is something very knew coming in our national politics; that is not true.

We had a meeting of National Executive Committee in Iringa, in 1970. We prepared a booklet on Politics and Agriculture as an implementation of the resolutions of that TANU NEC meeting held in Iringa. We also had a NEC meeting in Kigoma. I think in 1971 we had NEC meeting in Tanga. We had intention of changing venues for the NEC meetings. That is why after that NEC meeting in Mwanza other meetings were held in different places. The aim was to give chance of members of NEC to see what was happening in other regions. The region has an opportunity to organise the meeting and host members of NEC from all over the country. One week before the meeting the members were distributed to the districts and the districts distributed them to various divisions and stayed for three days intermingling with citizens and learning about economic and political situations in those areas. When they came to the NEC meeting their understanding about that region was much broader than before. The intention was that they went there without being paid allowances; they stayed with people and ate what was available there; and there was no money to buy beer. Contrary to present practices, we did all those without incurring any costs.

By that time our current president (Jakaya Kikwete) was still at the university when I was at TANU Headquarters. I left TANU office in 1972 when he was either first or second year. After completing the university he has not known any other employment than in the party. I think he saw in some records how we were doing things; and that is why after that National General Assembly he decided to convene a NEC Meeting in Butiama where the Father of the Nation was born. That is fine, very significant. But all that were to be political, were pushed aside and something different was raised, and an enormous creature was found, that was called Butiama Conference. Unfortunately it is really confusing until now and it is very sorry that in the media there are very junior people with very little background knowledge. To them it is fashionable to look different without any historical background.

Pius Msekwa tried his best to put things in order together with other party leaders but he was not being understood; the big media houses even BBC sticked to their guns; I don't know which agenda did they have. Only members of the NEC had rights to know the agenda and not outside people. Why looking for NEC agenda while you are neither a member nor CCM member. During that conference the major debate was how to make a socialist society. Mwalimu in one of the Central Committee meetings said, "colleagues, I don't understand why people are strongly against our socialism. Which religion whose foundations are not built on socialism. I am a Catholic and I have not seen any other people preaching about socialism other than Catholic priests. Their no property ownership in the Catholic Church, staring from Pope up to a monk/frater. No one with personal property in the Catholic Church. Now these

Catholics who have indeed gone to school and well educated feel that capitalism is a bad thing and the church does not tolerate that. I don't know Bible well, and some of you here know it better than me, even Jesus had become angry against people who were doing business in the synagogue and had beaten them and chased them away. So what is that new we request from the citizens?"

Therefore, we had to organise a seminar for religious leaders on socialism. As a party's Executive Secretary, I got that privilege of presiding over two seminars; one was in Tabora and second was in Peramiho. Mwalimu himself opened them and there emerged big intellectual contradictions between "Marxists" and how Islamists Sheikhs interpreted "thesis", "antithesis" and "synthesis"; it was very interesting.

Mapunda was very eloquent and since he studied in Russia he had enough time to learn about socialism and was able to explain about it. One of the Sheikhs listened attentively and later asked, "Chairman, let us stop for today and continue with the discussion tomorrow". So, we left that day and the next day I asked that Sheikh if we could continue. He said, "Yes I am okay. Mr Mapunda yesterday told us that boiled water evaporates but if you put hot water in a cold temperature they become cold. I wanted him to explain more more about that". There was Sheikh Hasnu Makame, the then Minister for Tourism and we asked him to take a chalk and explain to that Sheikh whose background was from Unguja. Hasnu stood up and gave an explanation by using an analogy of three married couples. He gave an example of one couple of Fatma and Ally, another is of Juma and Khadija, and he mentioned another couple. He said in the fact that Fatma and Ally are partners is what we call thesis and antithesis. The man in this first pair wants children likewise the woman but they don't get them. In the second pair, the woman does not like to bear children while the man wants, and they get children. In the third pair, the man doesn't want children but his wife wants children, and they don't get. "Now, tell me what he wanted to explain is that scientific knowledge is limited because it is based on a theory that is not applicable in every situation.

In that seminar there was Archbishop Mihayo from Tabora. He kept silent all the time but he later raised up and supported what was explained. He said, "Truly, we ignore these things in our religions; our followers are just dragged with simplistic explanations. We have got these problems in our church and in our society because it depends how prepared we are." That seminar helped us to mold and remold lectures on politics to citizens and religious leaders.

In the second seminar in Peramiho we focused more on the discipline; and there was one priest who was very stubborn and he was popular for being stubborn. So that seminar was a good opportunity to speak his mind because he had a feeling that top leaders of the church suppressed them. Now he started explaining what he wanted to say, he said, "Before I speak anything let me ask my church leaders present here that if they will find me speaking things that are contrary to church ethics they just tell me to stop and I will stop". He was muzzling them. After he got a chance to speak he said, "this time the situation in the church is so difficult because there are a lot of political interferences and if you are found to love politics you are punished by being posted to the remotest parishes. You walk ten miles to another village of three or four people; you can't stay in places with many people to exercise your freedom of expression". New things which came out were very interesting.

At the Headquarters we also succeeded in improving the discipline of our workers, particularly the aspect of meeting the deadlines and dissemination of information; these things were very

loose in the the party. Leaders of the party had to pay visits to meet people; doing various things and there was a need of minimum code of conduct, and insisted on that always. I made sure that those who had no duties should not be in the office at a required time; forget about them. So, I was quite strict; and I myself complied with the rules unless there was something, otherwise, at 8 am the office was open and I am on my chair. Sometimes I got out of my chair and stood outside the office to see who were coming late. They did not love that. It wasn't soft, but I told them if I could come, so could they. Transport problems in Dar es Salaam affect every person but we did not want to make that as an excuse. We had a very good administrator, the late Toby Mweri; from Pangani. I instructed him and we agreed that people should not bring transport excuses because when we advertises jobs and shortlisted people for interviews we told them to come at 7.30 am and people came on time even if we started interviews at 9 am. If they were ready to come at that time during the day of interview why not for other working days? So we trashed that excuse; but we remained with the problem in the regions.

Writing of a party reports and activities in the regions was a challenge because by then the Regional Commissioners also served as Regional party Secretaries. On my part as a National Executive Secretary of TANU and other officers at the Headquarters were mere party employees. Now, if you dispatched instructions to the Regional Commissioner was also a Regional Secretary he/she was in turn instructing other officers under him and eventually they brought the reports that were absolutely non existent; just a fantasy or person's imagination. So, I took some youth from the Headquarters and assistant secretaries and myself we went to visit the regions to see what was going there. The first visit was to one of the regions I asked the Regional Commissioner where were we going? He told me that all the reports were there in his office and everything was okay. I told him, "fine but I wanted to visit the districts and few party branches, and talk to staff of the party". He told me that he would instruct the district party secretary but I kept on insisting that we must travel together. He gave excuses that he had some other government activities but I told him to postpone those so that we travel together. He really felt shy when we visited some of the branches asked questions to the secretary of the branches about the meetings and told me that they held meetings but when I asked him to bring the file there was no single paper in the file that had minutes of the meetings. This was repeated at district level; it was repeated in the Regional Office level. I told them that there was no need to continue with the tour, I came back to the Headquarters and dispatched proper instructions.

That was a message to other regions and the party activities were revived because others were afraid of being ashamed like their fellow Regional Secretary. During our times things were different; if the district wanted a car it was not the duty of the Headquarters to buy it but it was their duty to raise funds and the Headquarters booked it from the dealers; if it was a Landrover then we booked from Cooper Motors. So once the district had already collected the money the chairperson came with a secretary and if they had already recruited a person they came with him/her and we called Cooper Motors to ask if the car was ready and we went to pick and register as TANU property. So there was little temptation to divert the money and the party's activities were done properly.

You will recall the issues of liberation struggles were tightened in 1963 after the establishment of Organisation of African Union until 1971 and 1972 when fewer African countries were still fighting for their independences. Many countries got independence between 1958 and 1964. After that there were many complaints about Tanzania because the Headquarters for Liberation Committee were in Tanzania. There were ideological

differences between Nkrumah and Nyerere that emerged in 1963 but also there was a dispute on the proper country to be the Headquarters of Liberation Committee; some said it should be Accra and others proposed Dar es Salaam but finally Dar es Salaam was chosen because of the being in the proximity with other African countries that were still fighting for independence.

It was like a coincidence because those things happened when Kambona left the country after Arusha Declaration. During that time there were some allegations of affiliations between the Portuguese government in Mozambique and Oscar Kambona from Tanzania. During the liberation struggles, the Portuguese planes from Mozambique dropped the papers with messages from Tanzanian airspace to implicate Kambona with his campaign or clandestine plans in the country. Therefore, that was a source of anxiety; but also the presence of Liberation Committee was another source of anxiety to other African countries. I don't know to what extent those complaints reached but I remember in 1972 there was an OAU Summit in Rabat, Mwalimu did not want to go. He appointed the Vice President Honourable Kawawa to lead Tanzanian delegation to the summit. Apart from the then Foreign Minister, Malecela, I was also supposed to accompany that delegation to Rabat. The meeting was tense and it was also for ushering changes in OAU since we had to elect a new Secretary General. The founding Secretary General Dialo Telli, a Guinean citizen had completed his tenure. During the election process to get a person to replace him, the government of Cameroon proposed a person. I learnt that African politics have a lot of problems. The person who was proposed by Cameroon happen to talk nonsense; may be it was a slip of the tongue; he said that he was among the best three Africans to speak beautiful French language. That statement irked the leaders from Francophone countries. They complained to President Ahmadou Ahidjo who also became so angry after being informed about that but did not tell his nominee. So that was a candidate known by many but the President had silently picked another person as a candidate. He silently delivered a message to each president individually that he had removed that person and proposed another name and asked them to support that person. This how Nzo Ekangaki became the Secretary General and his colleague became frozen. I did not know that I was soon going to join them.

### **Joining the Liberation Committee and its Contribution to the Liberation Struggles**

We left Rabat and arrive here hardly two weeks passed before I was told that you are going to be an Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee. I was enjoying my post in TANU very much. It had put me at top political limelight in the country and fortunately I was working harmoniously with the members of the Central Committee and National Executive Council. When I was appointed I was overwhelmed by encouraging messages from all over the country and some sent me gifts. It was very interesting. From the beginning of August 1972 I moved into the Liberation Committee. In the recent past we had invited some representatives from the liberation movements who stayed in the country to come and attend our meetings because TANU had identified itself as a liberation party. If you read the minutes you will find that. That is why we invited liberation parties to be observers and sometimes we gave them chances to speak and appoint their representatives. So through those three or four meetings that we invited them we had already established relations with the representatives of liberation parties who were living in Dar es Salaam and sometimes they paid a courtesy visit to TANU Headquarters. So when I went to work with them in OAU I was no longer new to them. We had challenges in the Committee because member countries did not contribute as it was required. But because I had a military background I had to talk to the freedom fighters and they agreed with the

situation because the funds were very little. I talked to my national military to support them and the army agreed.

The third day after being appointed I went to see the Father of the Nation because according to the regulations of the OAU the Mwalimu was the Guardian of the Liberation Committee because its Headquarters were in Tanzania. The president of Tanzania had all the mandates to appoint the Executive Secretary without consulting other Heads of States and he informed them about his decisions on the Committee. He had full mandate on the Committee and based on that fact I was not directly answerable to OAU rather to Mwalimu. So I asked Mwalimu what were his aspirations and their expectations from me, and what were the things to be given priority.

Mwalimu explained to me that I should be close to the freedom fighters so that I should know their real and imagined problems and advise OAU on how to address them. The sentence was simple, but was too loaded. So I came back to the office and asked my colleagues about the clear picture of the situation and I found that there was no money and so I went back to Mwalimu telling him about the financial crisis in the Committee because I had nothing to help the freedom fighters. So he directed that I should be given about 20,000 pounds; which by then was so huge amount. But that was also a practical demonstration of his seriousness.

I started meeting individual leaders of those liberation parties. The first to meet was Chisano who was a Chief Representative of FRELIMO in East Africa. My first message to him was about going to the war front as soon as possible. He accepted my message and went. The second person was the late Augustino Neto; we talked but I did not give him a quick proposal. There came other representatives from ANC, PAC, SPLA, other liberation movements from Djibouti, French Somaliland and from Namibia there were two liberation parties of SWAPO and SWANU. So I was close to these parties because they were my clients until when I was removed from that office. After one week Chisano called to inform me that he had delivered the message to Samora who was in Niassa, but he was planning to come pick me so that we could go to the war front in Mozambique. He came and we talked very well and that was the establishment of personal and lasting friendship with Samora. We agreed and planned a date for that. I told him that I would go with few people and preferably at least with one journalist. He agreed and said that was a good thing.

During that time, Daily News was nationalised and its first editor, Frene Giniewski left and the second editor was the retired President Benjamin Mkapa. I phoned him because we knew each other when he was at foreign service and I was at information services. I told him that I wanted to meet him and have a talk; either I go to his office or he comes to my office. He told me to go to his office. I went there and explained my concern to him that I had a delicate journey and I needed to have a trusted journalist to go with. I told him that I was going to Mozambique to see what FRELIMO fighters were doing in the battle field. I wanted a trusted journalist who could clear on a matter and not betray us. He told me he was going to call me back, and the following morning he called me, and told me he had somebody. He said that he could not give the name of that journalist but instead I had to go back to his office to explain more about the mission. The following morning a young journalist came; it was none other than Generali Ulimwengu. He came to me and I told him that I was happy to receive him and I told him that we had to travel that day in the evening or next day in the morning. I asked him if he had any problem. He did not know where we were going because I didn't tell him in advance. I asked my colleagues if the preparations were ready because I took my officer from Department of Defence, who was



an Egyptian Ahmed Shekely, who also picked a military expert from the Headquarters of our Defence Forces, who was Captain Makaranga. Another person was a doctor who was assigned to help them with First Aid, and take care of the casualties. So I wanted to be with him to take note on the ground assessment of medical requirements in the war front. I told Ulimwengu to come next day afternoon because I was told that preparations were ready. He asked me where we were going I assured him that I was not going with him to dangerous places because I was also going.

The following day I told him to go to the airport where we took a flight up to Mtwara. On arriving in Mtwara he realised that we were on a different type of mission. In Mtwara we visited various FRELIMO establishments. They had a beautiful Hospital that was supported by SODETO, an organisation from Europe, that had experts from Hungary and Italy. We met serious war victims with different serious wounds. But still we were going to cross to Mozambique. We left for Masasi camps because we had a mission to visit all camps in southern Tanzania. We went up to a place called Mkunya, near River Ruvuma. We were alerted that everybody should get prepared because we were crossing to Mozambique that night. By that time Samora was free so we crossed with him. The next side we had people like Guebuza, Chipande, and others waiting for us. We went down Makonde Escarpment and arrived at River Ruvuma at the midnight. So around 1 am towards 2 am we were already in Mozambique. We crossed into Mozambique and we were in Ruvuma River basin; we walked until 4 am when we started climbing the other side of the Makonde escarpment. By morning we were already on Mozambican plateau; and so the episode had started. We met highly motivated FRELIMO young fighters; with very good morale, and it was incredible to see those young people. It was something you should see!

The plateau had big forest and already this was an area that FRELIMO had commandeered and control. There were Portuguese patches, but they were not at will to get out of those corridors because they were not capable. We walked a long distance that day and until 2 pm people were exhausted, but we had been inspired to see those young girls who were the life-line of our journey; they gave us food and they carried water, firewood and pots. So they had camping points where they pitched the kitchen and cooked food. While waiting for food we had tea; at least you get a cup of tea. By the time we finished eating we had to rest and the journey began in the evening. One hour before you start, the women soldiers started their journey not only with their pots but with their firearms. They should be in the position to defend themselves as well, you see. The young men were also in their small platoon, and all were in the war. The information was already relayed to the next camp informing them that we are going to sleep there. The next morning the journey started at 5am while female soldiers began at 4am for the next post. On the way we met Mozambicans who were carrying their crops to sell to Tanzania and they were trained well to come and sell in Tanganyika or Tanzania. In their country they had barter trade and no other markets, so they had to cross to Tanzania and some of them had to spend three days walking to sell their goods and buy salt to carry back to Mozambique. It was an experience that showed the hardships and the commitment of the freedom fighters and the support they got from the citizens who suffered a lot.

While in Mozambique I told Tembe to meet one woman whose husband was brutally killed by the Portuguese. Since she witnessed that brutality, she decided to join the army and from there she straight joined FRELIMO Camp. She fought to the end, and she is still alive. I told Tembe to talk to her because she would give a good story. The journey I made at the level of Liberation Committee, that was the first one; but for the level of Tanzania that was not the first one. You could get more stories from him but unfortunately his health has deteriorated. You can also get

more from Ferdinand Ruhinda who was a journalist of Uhuru and Nationalist newspapers and he also worked with Radio Ghana. By then we had exchange program of journalists between Tanzania and Ghana. I remember about three of our journalists went to Ghana, Ruhinda, the late Kamanga, and Peter Msungu. Ruhinda went to Niasa Province with a military delegation from Egypt but their performance unfortunately was little bit poor, in the sense that the team leader was a General, who got sick within three days and they had to bring him back and that was the end of their journey.

I think the Portuguese got information that we were there. I think there was a wrong character within FRELIMO who was an agent of Portuguese; he started giving them our exact position. He told them our position like certain degrees east, west, and the meridian point; those sort of things. So the Portuguese knew that Samora was with OAU senior delegation. They could not allow this mission to take place successfully; so we were under the trail of the Portuguese. We started to notice spotter planes flying very early in morning, coming around where we were. But we often used field craft, so it was not easy for them. To us it was just very simple, a standing human-being in the wilderness and a tree, have no difference. You just receive an order and stand still! And we remained in that posture for one hour. So when spotter plane makes rounds they failed to get a clear picture of whether they are human beings or trees. After it disappears, you start your movement, and you change course; and so we survived in that way.

It was a tough task, but with two very close shaves on our mission. One, we visited youth camp. This fellow had sent them some information that we were going to visit youth camp but I think we out jumped his time. We went there one hour before the time that was planned, so hardly 15 minutes after leaving the place, the camp was bombed, and many children were killed. I think at the office of the Liberation Committee there is a fragmentation of a bomb that was picked from the scene, and I came with it from Mozambique, just to remind ourselves.

Another incidence happened when we approached Beira Base that is towards the coast area, near Mashimba de Prior, Northern Mozambique, a place that is called by Mozambicans as Pemba; there is a district called Pemba. At Mashimba de Prior we met a contingency of FRELIMO that was coming from the attacks. It was under the Section Commander called Fondo. If you remember when Patrunapa came here we talked about Fondo, he said he had passed away. I met him last time in Mozambique when he was coming back with lootings. Among the loots there were pistols that was used by one Portuguese officer who was killed and they took his pitol. As they reported that incidence to Samora when they came from the Base Beira, he presented that and Samora told me, "Mbita, take this." I have that pistol till to-day. So intend to send to the army so that it should be kept their as an archive.

Since the Section Commander emerged a triumphant after beating the enemy he wanted to report that victory to Samora and his OAU delegation because they knew he was around. Therefore the Portuguese intended to retaliate, and they were well prepared for that. But thanks God that even FRELIMO intelligence was alert; so we got wind of the impending attack. We moved away, and through out the following day they came. They came in the air, and they had tanks on the ground, bu they they found nobody. We had left and we had moved to other areas. So this was another second episode which would have meant serious set back to FRELIMO. When we came out, after the two weeks in Mozambique, I told Jenerali to write a story of my visit to Mozambique, and I held a press conference here in Dar es Salaam and I narrated the story of our visit to Mozambique. It was given a tremendous publicity internationally, and that encouraged freedom fighters not only FRELIMO fighters but also

others from elsewhere in Africa. The message was sent that OAU had been a witness to this; it enabled the Liberation Committee to and my office to canvass for resources from Member States. We had seen what we had been told about liberated areas, and we had lived in the liberated areas in Mozambique. So this even brought the movements closer to the office, that we were now a legal alliance, and they could now even divulge to us, at least to my office, and me in particular, whatever they thought I should know. They had faith that we were together in arms.

After one month I travelled to Guinea because I wanted to see the progress of liberation struggles in Guinea-Bissau so as to find ways to assess the situation and see how they could out of that. I was received by the government. We had a small office of Liberation Committee in Conakry that was helping freedom fighters in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. I had already seen the Portuguese in the southern part and now I wanted to see them in the northern part. It was a very good welcome in Conakry because I requested for a courtesy call to President Sékou Touré. He was another Nyerere of his own type, at that time. I think their commitments were similar despite the fact that one was Francophone and another from Anglophone, I think they had something in common where liberation was concerned. He was very kind, and he had similar character like that of President Kaunda. If Kaunda or Sékou Touré welcomed you to his home for lunch or dinner he will serve you everything you need on the table. They were very fatherly and nice. He prepared lunch and he asked me if there were problems in the Committee. I told President that I just started the work but I cannot deceive you, there is a serious shortage of funds. He asked again, "How about Guinea?" I told him, "Unfortunately they have not delivered." He immediately called the Foreign and Finance Ministers and asked them, "This man here says we haven't paid. What happened?" So by the time I finished my journey in Guinea, the money was there. They told me it was good you told us otherwise we shall hold you responsible for suffocating the struggle.

Guinea-Bissau is small country and a bigger part of Guinea-Bissau country was under the sea level. So when travelling to another place, the crossing of the river depended on the high tide and low tide. So if you are in dinghy or canoe and the low tide came while you have not crossed you look for the nearest bush to hide yourself, otherwise you will be sitting ducks to Portuguese. I did not meet Cabral because he had travelled and instead I met his Deputy, who later became a President of Cape-Verde. There was a Military Commander of PNC Guinea-Bissau, Joao Vieira, who is now a sitting President of Guinea-Bissau on the second term, who recently survived coup d'état, and was later elected president. Vieira was a young fellow full of strength, full of energy and very committed. People in his country believed that he was a witch doctor and they believed that Portuguese bullets could not penetrate his body. In the forest he put on a short walking with his gun and pistol. He was a commander. It was in that country that I was exposed for the first time to 'hammock'. That country is a low land, so every soldier had a 'hammock' as part of their luggage. In the night you tie your hammock to different trees you pass. So we used hammock to observe the battle in the war zone. Truly the Portuguese were under pressure. Spínola had difficult times. In these minutes of the Liberation Committee, one of them is here; so if you get to read, it will tell you the full story of those visits. These were written extensively for the Liberation Committee Report that I presented the reports of my visits to Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau in Accra, in January 1973; that was my first meeting to service since August 1972 when I took office.

I must tell you, because of those visits, the Accra meeting, I think, was one of the best attended meetings of the Liberation Committee, because all leaders of liberation movements attended. Samora was there, Chitepo attended. It was Nkomo and Mugabe who were in prison. Jackson Moyo was there, I think Savimbi was there, Neto was there, Cabral was there too; even people from French Somaliland, Djibuti. Mzee Edwardo was there, Rene of Seychelles was absent, but his former Secretary General, was there. Most of the liberation

movements' top leaders were present, and it was just unfortunate that soon after that meeting Cabral was assassinated. We had just come from the meeting. It was hardly two days after I arrived in Dar es Salam I received news that Cabral was assassinated in Conakry, so again I had to fly back to Conakry to bury him.

The decisions of that meeting also made a turning point on the activities of the Committee and the struggle as a whole. The Accra Declaration laid a foundation of OAU to be in contact with solidary organizations, and sympathetic movements outside Africa because we decided to go and say "Thank you" to countries that supported liberation movements up to that moment, and we asked for more support. From there we started having OAU official teams. Previous to that, liberation movements did not want OAU to be involved. They thought that the support they received could be directed through OAU and they would not get support. It was a big task in Accra to explain that OAU was going to take their aid but to add more aid to their struggles and the goal was to make sure the whole Africa supported them.

So we strated our trips to Scandinavian countries, China, Soviet Union, North Korea, India, West-Indies, and Carribean countries, including Cuba. We did not visit solidarity organizations in western countries but we went to all countries that we thought were not allies of the West. The first team was led by Foreign Minister of Somaliland, Abdullah Garre, who was tall, very eloquent and popular during those days; his name is in the report. You will find it. We went with him to Russia, China and North Korea, and we had the previledge of being received by Chou en Lai in China, and by Kim Il Sung in North Korea. Later we had another mission with Malecela, and we went to the West Indies and India, Cuba, Jamaica, and Guyana. The other team was led by Foreign Minister of Cameroon; they visited Scandinavian countries, Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Denmark. There was another visit led by Ugandani Foreign Minister Atimo Ettiene who went to Yugoslavia and all the Baltic countries. We went to say, "Thank you. Please continue, the struggle is not over yet". So these are the highlights of my first days in the Liberation Committee. I thought I was not going to last long, but it went on and on, and I lasted there for 22 years. I was a young man when I started, but all my energy was exhausted by the time I left. I say, my youngest son was one year when I got in; when I got out he was finishing his University degree. So all his growing-up life, I was working in the Liberation Committee. One thing I can say, despite that long time, I never found it monotonous. The job was very challenging; politically, militarily, and psychologically, because it entailed quite a cross section of things to deal with. With the liberation movements, the war struggle was just one element, but the whole struggle had a lot of other components.

There are things if not available during the war then problems escalate and it becomes difficult to project what will happen next. Fro example, the liberation movements had no hospital, and they had fighters who were injured. It was part of my responsibility to raise funds for medical facilities for liberation movements. It was not only medical facilities? How could we get personnel? Do you keep expatriates or you train your own youth to handle the situations in rural areas? So I talked to one doctor and travelled with him to Mozambique. We asked him to open a para-medical school for teaching first aid services before going for more serious medical attention. The soldiers themselves could not handle those situations in the battle field. But we ended up giving full term course to Medical Assistants. We raised funds from WHO, from UN, UNDP for the school in Morogoro. We went into discussion with UNDP, UNICEF, UNESCO, Intellectual Property Rights, and all sorts of International Organizations. Other issues needed a mandate of the General Assembly, so I had to raise those issues in the Liberation Committee to pass the resolutions to be presented to the Council of Ministers, that in turn could pass a resolution which can be taken by Member States of the UN in the General Assembly, or

ECOSO, UNESCO General Council, and WHO Council. We had to get all those things, so we became a jack of all trades and master of none.

We did that and sometimes we quarrelled. Africa desk at the UNDP was handled by a very good African from Cameroon, Mr. Michelle Dukin. He was in charge of UNDP Africa Programme at Headquarters, and he was a wonderful gentleman. I remember there was a time, I don't think if it was deliberate, but I think it was just accidental, UNDP posted someone from New Zealand to head the country office; this fellow was a racist of the worst order. It did not take longer time before we clashed with him until I wrote a letter to Dukin telling him that from this day my office will not cooperate with UNDP because it was useless to us. Michelle Dukin was not amused. After receiving that letter he did not take a week before travelling to Dar es Salaam; we discussed and two weeks after he left, that man was transferred and my position was vindicated because he was sent to Pakistan; and he did not last six months there, because Pakistan didn't want him! After him the sent a Ghanian, unfortunately he died here in a plane crash in Kilosa while on a Government Mission with some other UNDP officials. He became the first African UNDP Representative to Tanzania; Apiadoo was a very good gentleman from Ghana.

We also began to train students, offer scholarships, and we even introduced vocational training programs. The big beneficiaries of vocational training were South Africans who were trained at Dakawa, and if you have time you can talk to mama Anna Abdallah; she was a Regional Commissioner in Morogoro, and we worked closely with her especially on land acquisition for ANC people. We managed to have three institutions in Morogoro. One is Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Centre; the second is Dakawa Vocational Training and the third was also a sort of Vocational training at Morogoro town; mainly for furniture and pig keeping, poultry and agriculture. All these were done for liberation movements. The PAC people had a big farm at Ruvu Mashuguru and a Training Camp near Msata. They were typically in a village and not in Bagamoyo town. Therefore, all those things were done.

In our country we had many liberation movements camps; but the major ones were two; namely, Nachingwea and Mbagao. In the beginning we had a mother of all camp that was in Kongwa; no liberation movement fighters who never passed through Kongwa. It was like a meeting point and a place where people had a rest before they proceeded further to their designated camps. SWAPO and ANC had stayed there for a long time; FRELIMO had spent more time in Bagamoyo but they went to Kongwa for education purposes and they later moved to Ruvu and finally to Nachingwea because of the proximity. I haven't visited Nachingwea for a long time but the stories I hear don't give me peace of mind, because we developed that place during those days. Muhidini Kimario was a Major and my officer who was in-charge of that SDU whose Headquarters were in the present building used by Ethics Commission near Zambian High Commission.

The government helped to execute my duties effectively. It gave me some Units to assist me one of those units was SDU that was an important link between me who was in charge of Liberation Committee and Tanzania People's Defence Forces because we could not leave the military activities operating in our country to be managed by different authorities. An organ entrusted to defend and protect all military hardwares in the country is the Defence forces; everything must be under the custody of the military. Although I had my full knowledge to decide on everything but you cannot run war matters without having an intelligence unit. Intelligence unit was a small department under the Prime Minister's that helped to conduct those aspects. Another important issue is that I had a free hand to consult any arm of government; if there was a problem of Education, I would see the Minister for Education straight. Perhaps that was real a

help, that I could see highest authorities in the country and discuss with them how we could help those people and sometimes even contributing extra resources that were meant for Tanzanians and be used to help the freedom fighters. Also in terms of security we had police in all camps, and they were under police jurisdiction of general peace and security of the citizens. If there was a problem then the Police covered those areas at a short notice. In fact there was a clear commitment when it came to helping the liberation movements. I did not face a real reluctance, may be because of strain.

There are some people on their various spheres of operations who have more information than what I can offer because I was not there by the time which they were faced with problems and sorted them, out the best way they could and perhaps I only learned of the success that came about, so I could never know how the situation was. When Tanzania accepted to host the Liberation Committee it came with a lot of responsibilities. Those freedom fighters were facing a lot dangers because they were targets of their adversaries, their colonial powers; they could eliminate them as they did with Mondlande. So, when the government accepted that duty it was aware of the responsibility to protect them. And partly I think that was the reason why the security services were extended to the Executive Secretary so that he could not be too presumptuous on things; he had to make decisions while being aware of some issues.

Most of the aid for liberation struggles came from abroad because we had friends who whose economy allowed them to support us and they had industries for military weapons and other goods. Tanzania only provided specific needs during emergencies when the battle continued and liberation movement run shortage of weapons and it took too long to wait for the weapons from outside the country it was always a wise decision for them to contact the government for a help. It was not advisable to let the gains slip away because of time. Stopping war while soldiers have already moved had repercussions on our country because the war could cross border to us; an enemy is better controlled when he is not in your territory. Once the enemy enters your territory it becomes difficult to control because he becomes part of you. The government worked hard to protect its boundaries because the detachment in a long border is a huge commitment; it needs budgetary commitment to provide services to the whole military division in the whole country's borders. You will find them scattered and divided in groups of 20, 15, or 40, and they need vehicles and other services such as communication system, etc. Also the soldiers had left their families home that must be take care of. Therefore all these social commitments were to be taken into account, and the government considered those issues too. So it was not a single expenditure but a lot; that is why you can hear about six month detachment period; there should be a recycle of soldiers. In reality there were so many expenditures that the government incurred without claiming anybody.

Liberation Committee did not receive any cent from the countries that hosted the liberation movements. For instance Tanzania, Zambia and Guinea never contributed cash to OAU because those countries had enormous tasks by hosting the freedom fighters in their countries. Some people sacrifices their lives in Mozambique; other participated in blood transfusion for the wounded soldiers from Mozambique at FRELIMO hospital in Mtwara, Tunduru, and elsewhere. You cant quantify such support because rescued the lives of soldiers who had lost blood during the fights. How do you put monetary value on life? So Tanzania had enormous contribution in these liberation struggles and I thank God we had a very committed president. He was a gifted person who mobilised Tanzanians and made us united. Mwalimu through TANU and and later through CCM, managed to mobilize us and when I left my post in TANU in 1972, CCM came five years later, in 1977. I was in the Liberation Committee for 5 years when CCM came. So all that time I know is that it was Mwalimu's motivation in TANU. His vision both for our independence and African independence was far ahead of almost the universe because he

could talk that language of liberation. They agreed, they could differ after it, but he could maintain and put his concept in a perspective. He made our country know and respected; it is our duty to maintain that respect because that is part of our history and we cannot pass it over to others; we have to maintain it.

When we established military camps for freedom fighters it was found that there was a need to have a military officer in the office of the Executive Secretary who could advise on real and imagined demands and the reality on the ground and how to assist movements in the camps. But there was another officer attached to the Executive Secretary who accompanied him in all OAU meetings and captured some aspects of military struggle that needed more attention. By the time I entered into the office there was Captain Mtahangarwa who was leaving. I thought we should interview another officer to replace him, who was attached to the Liberation Committee, and he was the one who established the Nachingwea military training camp.

After entering the office I realised there were some frictions in the office. So I went to discuss with CDF Sarakikya and I told him that there was a need to prepare a standing policy of how we could pick military officers to join the Liberation Committee. I knew that it could be an opportunity to train them on diplomacy because by working in the Committee they could meet people from different countries who spoke different issues related to operations. Moreover, they could have an avenue to learn how others raise issues in the meetings. They could learn how diplomatic wars operate in practical terms because other institutions brought their military personnel to the meetings of the Liberation Committee. So it would be best for them to learn those things. We agreed in that meeting with CDF that military officers will be seconded for a period of two years, unless the Executive Secretary requested that officer extend the stay for another six months or one year, whatever it may be. Otherwise after two years he had to leave and another came. So under that system, a military attaché from TPDF was deployed all the time, until when we closed our activities in 1994.

So in those camps there was a TPDF unit that was ready to support them and to keep them alert; they did all things that were required to be done by a military officer; they went to the master parade, and other military exercises to make them alert. These units were under Logistics and Training Department, but also they had a coordination of SDU, that was an offshoot of Logistics and Training Department. These, under normal situation, were responsible to keep them alive and prepared, and they knew the requirements in the camps; and usually they had to conduct an assault exercise. Let's say there are two thousand freedom fighters and you wanted only two or three battalions to go for exercise, therefore they needed five or ten thousand bullets. These logistics issues were dealt by SDU; but you do not need to go to all these, because we said that logistics aspect was taken care of. There was an armoury that was kept on request and after the exercise it was accounted for. It was only when you failed to get empty shells it was concluded that there were mistakes in calculation but otherwise all empty shells must be brought back to account for the use of bullets to avoid the diverted uses of bullets on poaching and other crimes. This was a difficult job but I must tell you that the people from TPDF acquainted themselves exemplarily well.

The thing that I am most proud of was the people from SDU. They transported weapons to all places and there were no complaints about theft or illicit deals of the weapons. We transported weapons to FRELIMO so they left Nachingwea and no bad records were reported. They went to ZANU through Zambia; to MPLA through Mshiku Western Province in Zambia and to all those places we passed through Mbeya and then crossed the border. Now some of the weapons needed special transportation method because of the nature of manufacture. Some weapons needed plenty of water and if the war zone had no water we needed supply of water by using donkeys and we got a support of donkeys from Sudan. Those donkeys were transporting water during the night but the problem was that they were crying during the night. To address that problem we had to request a veterinary doctor who removed their vocal

cords and after healing they were transported to Zambian border to wait for the arrival of weapons and carried them to the field.

Another aspect of relationship between the Liberation Committee the Intelligence Department in the Prime Minister's office was that I was given security services under the auspices of the Prime Minister. There was no contradiction about that but actually it was helpful to the Executive Secretary. I was also careful and prudent in dealing with their requests because when they demanded something and I knew that the government had already given I did not refuse but rather I had to wait until they was a real demand of those goods. If you brought them abundant materials they misused and sold them to nearby villages. Things like soaps, blankets, plates could be found in villages. They used them in exchange of alcohol.

We knew those situations and we recognised their major basic needs and sometimes as a means to remunerate their lives we provided certain services in exchange of other services that were unavailable by that time depending on what was available in the stock by that time. Some times we got a whole container full of clothes from Jeddah specifically for Frelimo. They had their Tailoring Department that was used to make their uniforms. So, there was no contradiction with that Committee in the Prime Minister's office. The best thing is that the Executive Secretary was able to know what was available from the Government side. The Government side was able to know what was received from XYZ. So you can hold them until another time. So during the whole time they were logistically well managed so that you mitigate unexpected crisis.

Let me say this, one thing, may be I am different. You know my attitudes are a little bit peculiar. I don't have regrets. I enjoy challenges. At every time and place I found a challenge. The only place I actually regretted to leave, was the Co-operatives. I loved that work very much. I didn't want to join the military because I hated the military. I thought the headmaster had a sinister mind. Until his death he was my friend and even today I talk to his widow. I think I am the only one who talks to his widow. When I go to UK I make an effort to see her in her home. The last time I visited her with my wife when our son was graduating in 1994. After graduation the next day we left Reading and went to their place which was near Southampton. We had lunch with them in their house and stayed there the whole day.

May be I had also a rather natural soft spot whatever it is, and I had a very strong faith in Mwalimu. I would never believe or think that he would do something of betrayal manner. I thought that he saw something that would be helpful to do and he let me do it, really. I must say I have never trusted a person like I trusted Mwalimu, honestly. I later worked with him in a Burundi conflict reconciliation team, and I was in charge of one committee in the military aspect. And what they are trying to implement now are just what my team recommended.

We have a duty of building up a new awareness and a new society. And this has been my motivation on this project, that we will be able to bring out the values of our mentalities, of our role model to this new generation, to know where we are coming from, how we reached here. If there are flows we did in the past we should be able to be guided against so that we bring a new commitment for our countries, continent, and the humanity in general. This is perhaps my hidden feeling on this project. I believe one people who will be reading these books will appreciate the treasure that is contained in them and say, "This is where we are coming from. Why are we here? We must have got lost somewhere." This work must be able to say that: There is where we were going. We are here, so come back. I expect we will be able to depict that, from whatever that may come out, for the future generations. It is difficult I know, but one thing I am grateful is that I have not forced or taught my children. Some spent six, eight years abroad, but they are all here and I thank God.

The transition to Arusha Declaration was made manageable this way. If you wanted to be in leadership you then have to shade off some of the things which are not compatible with



leadership ethics at that time. So some left the party and continued with their lives; no body was bothered as long as they didn't interfere, but those who tried to interfere met with the arm of the government. Some of the leaders like Rupia and Dossa were left with their properties and continued with leadership after realizing their background. When Mwalimu was in African Association before TANU after leaving Pugu and moved to Dar es Salaam he sometimes walked on foot and when he was going back he was carried by Dossa Aziz in his car. So with this background you can not just discard. Rupia and his colleagues were the first to contribute their money to pay for Nyerere's ticket to go to New York to address the UN General Assembly to petition for independence. They were not after anything from the government and even after independence none of these people wanted a position in the government. They were happy to remain in the party. Therefore they were recognized and honestly speaking if Mr Rupia's properties could be nationalised then he could died prematurely. He could ask what is wrong with my wealth? Have I stolen anywhere and what is wrong to be rich? The issues for those who entered politics and all of a sudden you are wealthy.

I think the time will come. If a train derails from Dar es Salaam to Morogoro; to set the train back to its railway line, do you think it is the matter of a day? No, it requires massive work to put it back in its original shape. The only problem is that the derailment has been left for so long, to the extent that it was seen to be normal, and to question it now becomes abnormal. That is where the problem is. Of course may be I am a strong believer of the Arusha Declaration and with that I may be untruthful to myself, but I say that in this country we had to compare what imperialism had made and Arusha Declaration had wanted to do rather than reacting on how Tanzania came to embrace nationalization that started with the banks. Banking system is nerve centre of economy, and it was nationalized. By doing that you control movement of capital from Tanzania to outside. What was received we enjoyed. If you want to know better read Andy Chande's book, *Mashujaa wa Afrika from Bukene*.

Until today what Tanzanians have benefitted? Don't you see that their expectations on Arusha Declaration are now realised? People are silently rejoicing the fruits of Arusha Declaration and others also witness the impact of ignoring it. Don't you see that poor are easily manipulated this time by the rich people and Mwalimu had warned about this. And Mwalimu until his death after every month was reading Arusha Declaration and he had never seen any problem with. He was serious, the Arusha Declaration prohibited exploitation and the simple explanation of exploitation was this: if my labour is worth two hundred thousand shillings and you gave me sixty thousand there you really exploit me while knowing sure that if you paid me that two hundred thousand as my real labour and still you can continue with your profit, and I can also live happily. If you can afford educating your child, let us say, in India, and I cannot afford sending mine to Mnazi Mmoja, that is really unfair. That is what the Arusha Declaration was saying that people should be self reliant and exploit others. That is what I understood to be the spirit of the Arusha Declaration. Now Zanzibar Declaration has come just because people thought that they prohibited to accumulate wealth, so that was an outlet to justify a lot of excuses.

### **The Contribution of Tanzania in Liberation Struggles**

I don't know how can I start explaining the contribution of Tanzania in the Liberation Struggles in the Southern Africa. As I hinted before when I was talking about various positions I held during my public services, it is so difficult to explain the Tanzania's contribution without linking it with the political direction of the country. So starting from the point when Tanzania declared itself that it could not alienate itself from the liberation struggles, so Tanzanian politics under the late Mwalimu meant to liberate the African continent. Nyerere was a visionary leader who formed TANU that had similar goals. In his first writings, that you can the first TANU

testaments as they are in the Bible. Although I am a Muslim and in the Islam we have pillars of faith but in Christianity they have commandments.

Among the principles that TANU included the principle that Africa is one and we are all one who shared happiness, joy, sorrow, difficulties and we had to work together to address our problems. So, TANU focused more on how to address African problems especially to participate in the liberation movement. The Southern Africa had more challenges related to struggle for independence; let us say starting from Somalia going southwards. By that time Ethiopia or Abyssinia was considered as an independent country because it was under King Haile Sellassie. So Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Mauritius, Seychelles up to Cape Town were under different colonialists.

The noises of Tanganyika when it was fighting for its independence and methods used by Nyerere to lead TANU send a message of hope to other countries that were still under colonialism and they had not thought of intensifying their struggles against colonial powers. The politics that were going on in Tanganyika were non violent between the rulers and the ruled. I can remember that the situation in Kenya was tense and Mau Mau was formed. So there was a big division between the British colonialists and the ruled.

In Tanganyika we had platform politics and political activism whereby people were encouraged to demand for independence without being violent. That is why even other leaders of liberation struggles were attracted to come and learn from us. The Kenyans came but the most attracted countries were those from the southern part of Africa, including the countries of Mozambique, Zambia (Northern Rhodesia), and Malawi (Nyasaland). These were the first to come. The part of Burundi, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo (Congo Leopoldville) were under Belgium and they had a different colonial structure compared to the countries that were under Portuguese like Mozambique. The countries under Anglo-Saxons included Kenya, Uganda, Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia up to South Africa.

There was a good understanding with Mozambicans because the people in the southern Tanzania and those of northern Mozambique are closely related because their languages are mutually intelligible and the larger part of Mozambique borders Tanzania and the boundary separated the closely related tribes; namely, Mmakua, Makonde, and Yao who are found both in Mozambique and in Tanzania. You can say that each tribe was divided into half and that the half is in Mozambique and another half is in Tanzania. So the political activism that was going on in Tanganyika encouraged them to start. So they were motivated and Tanzania helped them and you cannot quantify that assistance.

Tanganyika was the first country in the region to get independence. Mwalimu aimed at bringing unity because to him unity was our strength and division was our weakness, and he tried to influence the politicians in other countries such as Kenya and Uganda to work together. We were all under British colonialism but Tanganyika was a trustee territory under the United Nations while Kenya was a crown colony – wholly owned by British government, and Uganda was a protectorated colony under the British. The colonialism in Kenya was stronger than in Uganda and Tanganyika and British presence in Uganda was more felt than in Tanganyika. So Mwalimu worked hard to influence other leaders in Uganda and Kenya to forge a unity because we were one and he was ready to push forward the date for Tanganyika's independence to wait for Uganda and Kenya. That could send a message to colonialists that we were one.

That call was good but I don't think if the colonialists like it and that why they were not ready to see that dream happen. All efforts to make sure that we all get independence at the same date were thwarted and at the end Tanganyika got its independence earlier than Uganda and Kenya. Even in 1963 when OAU was established still Kenya was not independent. Kenyatta was in jail and the late Oginga Odinga was a political leader represented Kenya in OAU meeting in Addis Ababa.

That gave hopes. After getting independence, the UNIP became a new party for the people of Northern Rhodesia that was initially called African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia, and Malawi established their own party called Malawi Congress Party, and came to open their offices in Tanzania. So we accommodated them and gave chances to express their concerns about problems of colonialism they faced in their country. We gave them security assurance and they opened their offices here even FRELIMO had also opened their office in Zambia; and Mondlane came to open his office here.

Since its independence, Tanganyika has been in the frontline to support freedom fighters and welcomed them to Tanzania and were given a platform to tell the world about the colonial atrocities that were happening in their countries. They opened their offices here but they were not capable financially. That is why TANU had tried hard to support them by raising funds and food to make their lives easier.

The government also started contributing some resources and most of the time they were support at the levels of diplomacy because the government had opened embassies in various countries and some countries opened their embassies in our country. So Tanzania used that opportunity to open the doors for freedom fighters so that they could correspond with other countries. The government spoke for them in various platforms and there were some achievements.

When the Organisation of African Union was formed it was almost the same time when the Liberation Committee was established. Tanganyika was the first independent country to be close to the countries that did not get independence and secondly it showed its readiness to receive freedom fighters regardless of the repercussions of supporting them by sabotaging its independence. It had not developed any defence techniques that could protect itself from the enemies but they still believed on our country's commitment to support them.

There were many calls during the establishment of Liberation Committee. For those who can recall, Egypt under Abdel Nasser was known for its African liberation politics. We also had Ghana under Nkrumah who was very popular and famous and the trend showed that the Liberation Committee could go to Cairo or Accra because they were more vibrant on these liberation struggles. But after doing a through analysis of the situation it was finally resolved that the Committee must go to Tanganyika and Mwalimu Julius Nyerere accepted the task. They opted for Tanganyika because it was more accessible to southern African countries.

Unfortunately the frictions started among the African countries complaining that the decision was not unanimous and some of the delegates complained that they did not decided freely. So the political tension existed around that resolution. Fortunately, the Father of the Nation led our country very well and he gave instructions and a clear vision of what Tanzania was able to do; soon later that exercise was clear to almost all countries and they consented about the Headquarters of Liberation Committee. From there we started receiving more freedom fighters.

There were serious efforts at the international levels to call the freedom fighters as refugees. So Tanganyika refused to call those freedom fighters who had their offices in the country as refugees but those who were not affiliated to any political party but came to seek asylum were regarded as refugees and the government requested support from the High Commission for Refugees to assist in opening the camps for them. The freedom fighters were not in the refugee camps. Tanzania provided land for them to train their people politically and they were mobilised for the independences of their countries. So Tanzania allocated areas in Bagamoyo district in Coast region, Kongwa in Dodoma, Morogoro, Mtwara and Ruvuma. So the places for freedom fighters were scattered all over the country. Some of the places were used as military training camps and others were designated for providing education where they opened schools and others were used for building hospitals and dispensaries. But also there were places where they

opened children camps.

Also the government set aside some spaces in schools and in the university specifically for the children of freedom fighters and that was part of preparing them for taking over leadership positions in their countries. They had also to be trained for various professions to serve their people. But apart from their hospitals they were also received and treated in our public hospitals as normal citizens. All these were done to show our support to the freedom fighters.

Here I am explaining all these things at the level of inside the country. But we also opened the doors for them to enjoy at the diplomatic level. We allowed them to use Tanzania's diplomatic offices to present their issues to the international community. We also supported them by giving Tanzanian passports that enabled them to get visa for studies abroad. We also gave diplomatic passports to their leaders who were working in the offices and they were supposed to travel often as part of their mission. So they were treated as Tanzanians abroad and not a simple Tanzanian but high profile Tanzanian.

Also their workers had opportunities to travel and some of them had visa for shorter stays, such as military students who came from the liberation parties. So they travelled abroad and came back after shorter stays. Some got chances to attend other courses other than military and the visa that were given were for single entry. Also sometimes the students went as a group abroad for a study tour or conference. So such different passports were released in thousands. If you get a time to visit national archives you will see these.

Tanzania also had delegation to all political conferences in the world especially for Non Aligned Movement, Commonwealth, United Nations, and Organisation of African Union. In all these meetings Tanzania had delegations and their message was always on the call to support liberation struggles. Tanzania was there to speak on behalf of those parties and presented their statements and call for support.

So it was known all over that Tanzania was championing liberation struggles and the presence of Liberation Committee was a justification of that policy towards liberation struggles. It reached a point some African countries sent their high profile delegates to our country. The ambassadors who represented those countries were those with higher credentials.

In that way Tanzania was well known as the Headquarters of liberation struggles. So they treated Tanzania as a Meccah of liberation. This on other hand created enemies as many spies were also coming to do espionage. Countries such as America, UK, France, German and China appointed serious and experienced ambassadors to Tanzania who did not focus on diplomatic issues but also on other issues of interest to their countries. Tanzania became a cradle of liberation struggles and movements.

Most of the prominent and power media houses in the world had their presence in this country. We now have many newspapers but we don't have international correspondents while during those days there was no international media company that had not representative in Tanzania. Currently we only have respondents for BBC while during those days we had all including AFP, Reuters, Voice of America, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation but I don't see them these days. We also had the presence of correspondents for Financial Times or the Guardian of UK. Tanzania was lucky and internally it was united. The good thing was that we had single party system although that system did not please people but they were transparent politics. But with the situation that prevailed during that time there were heated debates as if there was a multiparty system. The decision of having one party system by then was necessary because the country was still young and the spending for many parties could be averted by having one party system and in fact the presence of one party helped very much to champion the liberation struggles and probably with many parties things could be so difficult.

The Tanzanian contributions on the liberation struggles were heard in all conferences especially in the meetings of Non-Aligned States, Commonwealth countries and in United

Nations. Whenever Tanganyika talked about liberation struggles in Africa we were heard. I personally witnessed during the closed meeting in the UN or in African Group deliberating on issue that is to be presented to the UN General Assembly, some countries could categorically say, "We have nothing to say but we support what Tanzania has said". That was a great respect that Tanzania got .

So Tanzania had a vision in Commonwealth countries and everywhere. Due to that reason some big countries were happy to see that what Tanzania stood for also their thinking. But sometimes those countries became angry when Tanzani stood firm on issues that were not in their favour. It was safe to be on the side of powerful nations but it becomes worse when you caused a disgrace to the powerful nations. But Tanzania was not afraid of that; it spoke vehemently and unafraidly when they touched the independence of Africans and African continent.

So Tanzania did a great job first by ensuring that its boundaries are well protected to stop enemies from entering the country pretending to be our friends while inside Tanzania. Now if Tanzania was attacked then who could encourage the freedom fighters? Thus, Tanzania had to protect its boundaries especially on the side where refugee come from. We made sure that our borders are always safe.

In order to create a safe and secure environment for the freedom fighters to learn, Tanzania had to devise to protect them. So it used it defence and security organs to support them. Until today you can find that there are traces of trainings from Tanzania in countries of Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, and Angola. We trained professionals in security and secular services such as teachers, doctors, engineers, lawyers, police, immigration and prisons. Today I remember we have one Tanzanian in Namibia who works as Chief Consultant of Prison Services in Namibia. I read his column in the Daily News called a Letter from Namibia. His name is Nyoka; he went to establish prison services in Namibia after getting independence. The first Namibian prison warders were trained here; even some from South Africa and Zimbabwe. So, all these are Tanzanian contributions that are not publicly known.

Another contribution was on media campaign to mobilise people. Our media played a great role to disseminate information about what was going on in our country and encouraging the freedom fighters to keep on moving. Radio Tanzania did a wonderful job of informing relatives of freedom fighters back home about what was done by their children in the country. The radio taught and spread propaganda on behalf of the liberation parties to the southern countries and to the whole world. External Service of Radio Tanzania was the English channel and it was heard from Tanzania to the whole world and so people all over the world came to know what was done by the freedom fighters. Those freedom fighters were taught how to prepare their own programs and aired them. That was a commendable job because first it demoralised the enemy and secondly it boosted the morale of the freedom fighters after being heard in their own countries. That is was part of the Psychological warfare; as the adage that goes; *a hero is always a hero among the heroes*. If a hero is surrounded by cowards his heroic spirit disappears.

Another thing that Tanzanians did was the whole morale to support the freedom fighters; leave alone what was done by the government, the Tanzanians had also supported them. And this was vivid during the war in Mozambique when the wounded soldiers were crossed to Tanzania to get treatment. Many Tanzanian youth donated their blood to rescue the lives of the wounded soldiers. So it was not only political relationship but also blood relationship and many people survived in Mozambique because of the blood donated by Tanzanians. That was a great support from Tanzanians in the liberation struggles.

In the beginning there were fewer and smaller schools in Mozambique but after independence in 1975 they expanded the provision of education services. Before 1975 the larger part of trainings were related to FRELIMO; as I hinted before that they had opened their

school in Bagamoyo and another is the famous Centre for Foreign Relations, at Mgulani, which was a secondary school. Several people studied there including the ex Mozambican Prime Minister, Dr. Pascal Mocumbe when it was a secondary school. Another is the current Mozambican Ambassador to Tanzania, Zacarias Kupela.

Others did not have schools like that; so we had to find scholarships for them to study abroad and come back. So even the secretaries had to go abroad. But after 1970s our Tanzania colleges started admitting freedom fighters in the programs. Those colleges included Teacher Training Colleges, Medical Assistant Schools, and Secretarial Training Schools. Many Zimbabwe secretaries were trained at Secretarial Training College in Tabora. I have met three or four of them; two were in Addis Ababa working with OAU during the end of 1980s. they told me that they studied in Tabora and they are now in international levels.

The past five years I met one South African young man who was the head of one of Medical Services department; he was accompanying his Minister for Health. We met and went for lunch at Sea Cliff. He asked me, “Mzee you don’t remember me? I studied here.” I asked him, “When were you here?” He said, “I studied in Morogoro with Dr. Kasiga. I took Medical Assistant Course, and I passed and late rmy party sent me to Cuba for medicine and I qualified” He got his basic education on medicine here in Tanzania; in fact there are many of his kind. That minister for health did his internship at Muhimbili National Hospital after coming from his studies in Russia. After that we employed him as an instructor in Morogoro. When you will meet people such as those and when you meet Paul Sozigwa you will be told many things because he worked from the source.

In 1980s already Zimbabwe got its independence and we had to shift a focus to Namibia and South Africa. Influx of people from South Africa increased because eof the access with Mozambique, Zimbabwe and also Botswana. The outflow was huge especially after SOWETO uprising in 1976; we received many youth from South Africa who remained here and others went to Nigeria. Nigeria opened schools that could admit South African youth and provide them education up to university level. Even Obasanjo testifies this in his interview because during that time he was a President in 1976 after the assassination of Murtala.

Also ANC people went to Angola but the country had civil wars; so Tanzania was the only peaceful place for them to stay. Zimbabwe was not a favourable country because it wanted to consolidate itself and in Mozambique the civil war started when RENAMO started fighting against the government. Zimbabwe had no ideal environment for accommodating them. So we had to find places to educate them. This becomes very important when you will be talking to mama Anna Abdallah; she was the Regional Commissioner of Morogoro at that time. The land was allocated for them and it was from Mazimbu up to Dakawa; my office of Liberation Committee and that of Morogoro Regional Commissioner; in fact it was the Regional Commissioner who played a pivotal role of getting that jungle land for ANC to cultivate and later build their colleges.

The college was built at the outskirts of Morogoro, which is now an extension of Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) at Mazimbu. It started as a very small unit of ANC and later developed it into carpentry shop. Afterwards, the government of Sweden built Solomon Mahlangu Secondary School which was handed over to the government by Oliver Thambo and the government handed it over to SUA.

At Dakawa ANC was given agricultural land and they produced enough crops to the extent of getting surplus that was sent to their fellow South Africans living in Angola. They had enough livestock after buying hybrids from West Kilimanjaro and from Zimbabwe. They had special funds for transporting cattle from Zimbabwe up to Dakawa. So after leaving Dakawa, they left both Vocational Training and High School. So these were the supports from Tanzania to freedom fighters. We made them feel at home and the improved their skills and transferred them back home. To the underdevelopment to many Africans, that was like a drop in the ocean. If you want

to get more clarifications about the supports you can track those people if you take trouble and you will get them.

Well, it is not simple for to give a critic on those initiatives because I was part of the government and the party, but I can't say there were no weaknesses; but as far as the whole process of supporting the liberation struggles I can't remember the weaknesses.

The major challenge was mobilising all Tanzanians in helping those freedom fighters. When you deal with human beings such as Tanzanians, it became difficult because they also had problems and they expected the government to address them but they felt that foreigners were benefitting more from the national resources. We have witnessed recently what happened in South Africa where xenophobic feelings have emerged and the foreigners were considered as people who have benefitted more with their national resources than the local people. That could also happen here but we did a great job to make Tanzanians understand and move together. I think that is the challenge that I can remember.

Internal problems in political parties is a normal things. The important thing that Tanzanian and the Liberation Committee did was to rescue the situations in those liberation parties by settling the matters before they became worse. We took precaution when we helped to resolve their internal factions. Sometimes we had to send away some problematic figures, who destabilised the situations and caused factions. We held meetings to discuss some of the differences but when we found difficulties for the sake of liberation struggles we had to take serious steps like sending away trouble makers. So whenever we got evidences that there was a person or a group of people causing factions and undermining the liberation struggles we looked for the country that could receive them and locked them there so that they don't go to the war zone. So we did that to South Africans, Namibians and Angolans.

But for us as the Liberation Committee we agreed with their parties that they should be assassinated but must be safe without harming them and some of the pleaded guilty and requested to be readmitted by their parties. Some of them came back to their countries. There is a big case, very brilliant case, I think Dr. Thonchi can explain well. There was Andrea Siphanga from Namibia, who was one of top SWAPO leaders. I think it was either Norway or Finland that received him and stayed their until after independence. He is back in Namibia, jobless; he is complaining but they did not execute him. He is alive. He was with his fellow betrayals. These things were there and I believe that Tanzania deserves a credit on the way it handled them. Even to the hundreds of Portuguese captives in Mozambique were not executed instead we put them in custody in Mbeya and we later moved them to Dar es Salaam. And that was a big problem during the handing over of independence to FRELIMO government because FRELIMO fighters did not execute the Portuguese captives while the Portuguese killed all the FRELIMO captives. It was a big problem because FRELIMO had people to hand over while Portuguese had no people to hand over because they killed all the captives.

There was no party that was spared from internal problems. The biggest problem after independence was the split of ZANU. After the death of Chitepo the split of Zimbabwe was very serious. If you will refer the conversation with Frontline assistants and the African States you can get a logic of what happened. There was a time I was forced to take unofficial command on freedom fighters of Zimbabwe. Even those who came from outside the country admitted that there was a serious faction in the party. That happened when all the leaders were in jail and the war was halted but tactically it was difficult to resume the war later after stopping it. I told the President, the Father of the Nation about the situation and we agreed that there was no need to stop the battle. So we called the commanders who were outside the country including Mujulu. We told them that the fighters must continue in the battle field and so we prepared a plan.

We sent them through Zambia and sometimes we even crossed Zambia without informing the Zambian government. Others entered through Mozambique and others through Malawi. It was alright with Mozambique because we used ships from Zanzibar more than five trips. At Dar

es Salaam port we dropped some of them whom we suspected to be traitors. I remember we dropped one three times but he struggles through his means and got in the ship but we still found him and dropped. They called that Mbita High Command; but I reminded them that they should not fight for Tanzania's independence but their independence. We later succeeded to flee Mugabe to Mozambique and the war continued.

But serious problems were with Angola. It was roughly in 1974 and the beginning of 1975 when various revolts emerged within MPLA. There was an Eastern revolt, another was a revolt against absolute professionalism of Augustino Neto; there were so many types of revolts. Despite the fact that they were depending on Zambia, and their most liable base was in Zambia, but reached a moment even Kaunda and Neto did not meet. Neto lost trust on Kaunda and Kaunda complained how could Neto execute people on his land; he organised Kangaroo courts to kill people.

Nyerere called to inform me that Kaunda wanted to see me the next day for an emergency meeting. I told Nyerere there was no plane on that day but he insisted that I must travel. I got a plane to Zambia and attended that emergency meeting. I had to stay there for two weeks to reconcile factions within MPLA to the point of making them accept their mistakes and Dr. Neto agreed to release those who were waiting to be executed. We had also to visit the camps in the Western Zambia, at the border with Angola. I sent a report to Kaunda that things were moving well and we agreed with Dr. Neto that he was going to show me the camps and see the people there. Kaunda said he did not believe that and I assured him about that progress. He agreed to give us a plane. The pilots were from Pakistan and there was no threat to Neto's security. We agreed with Neto that we shall meet at 6.30 am at Lusaka airport. But Neto left at 4 am with his Landrover and they drove more than five hundred miles from Lusaka. The Landrover was more dangerous because he had a drum of petrol inside it.

He found us already arrived and he said, "I thought I would come here on time." In that place I found an anthill that had a tunnel in it and those people were locked there and there was a security around that anthill all the time. On top of that anthill there were anti-aircraft guns; and they were ready to shoot down any plane that comes there. All those things were happening in Zambia! So we stayed there and held discussions and fortunately at about two in the afternoon his MPLA soldiers arrived from Angola to report about their operations. They were coming with captives and spoils that included beer and cooker. For the first time I saw Portuguese cooker from Angola. They were happily singing with high morale. They slaughtered a cow and while eating we continued with our discussions. He said, "these are very bad people". I told him, "Please release them because you need to maintain good relations with Zambia. If possible hand them over to Zambian government so that they can be jailed. And you will be free to see them anytime in jail but you cannot do that to these people; it is not good". So, they released them and handed them over to Zambian government and they expected to be repatriated afterwards.

The similar situation was happening here in Tanzania though not to higher magnitude. It was difficult for the government to track what was happening in the camps although we had soldiers in those camps. We nearly faced similar problem in Chunya with PAC people. They could tell you that so and so have left the camp and it is not where they are while they have been killed in those camps and they kept silent and the soldiers did not know what was going on inside the camps. Imagine even here in our country, people are dying and buried in our prisons and nobody knows. Freedom fighters were not prisoners rather we were training them as free people. It was the code of conduct that was forcing them to be in the camps. They had their leaders and we directed them about restricted areas and sometimes a TPDF camp could be one kilometre away from their camps. If the TPDF soldiers were in the freedom fighters' camp it meant that they were in their office. So in good faith we understood that they were not here to fight against Tanzanians. They had internal problems based on their personal differences, or



sometimes can be biological or tribal differences; anything may crop up in there. They settled their disputes internally; and outwardly you could find things are okay but inwardly they had quarrels and sometimes we saw people injured because of fightings. You can never tell, because as human beings, they were not always fighting for political reasons but may be for love relations; nobody can tell.

If they had serious political issues it was easier to note. In the camps their first contact was not a TPDF commander; instead they reported to their Chief Representative, who had a mandate to deal with their issues and he was placed in Dar es Salaam. Their Chief Representative had sometimes to travel to the camp and held discussions with them to resolve any issue that emerged. He was the one who hinted to us if there was any problem existed. Sometimes he could remain silent if the problem was not serious and sometimes it depended on the nature of relationship established with him.

There was a person called Rex Nhongo. He was a young fellow who became part of my household. He could come to town and get everything he wanted at my house and whenever he got a problem he could to my office and I helped him. Sometimes I directed him to see Mr Matiku to help him. This was done to an extent that there was a time when I was in Zimbabwe, the time when Mr Matiku paid a visit to me, they wanted to accommodate him and book suite in a hotel. I told them that it will not be possible because Mr Matiku did not know English; I told them, "he will stay with me". When they heard that he will stay at my home they brought crops although it was against the rules to bring food to the Ambassador's house. The reprimanded the security guards but they excused themselves that the crops were brought specifically for Mr Matiku. I told Matiku that it was not allowed to bring food there and I ordered him to go and eat that food with the guards outside; he refused but insisted that. The next day, Rex came to my home and took Matiku to his home. He bought him two pairs of suits, a pair of shoes, and a tie. He also bought clothes for his wife and he gave him some pocket money. When I arrived at home Mr Matiku told me that Rex came and picked him and ordered his secretary to send him to the shops where he chose those things.

That is relationship because we can communicate, and I must say that he did me favours. Rex paid for the education of my son Mbata and Ibrahim in Zimbabwe. My close relationship with them enabled me to know their problems. Even when we were in Lancaster House I knew what was happening.

Concerning Mgagao you can ask Mama Anna because she was a Regional Commissioner of Morogoro during that time. But also there was another young man called Selemani Alawi, who was Morogoro RPC can explain what happened. The Zimbabwean freedom fighters fought among themselves at Mdagawa. We had separated them already between ZAPU and ZANU, so the fighting did not take place in their camp; ZAPU training centre was in Morogoro, and ZANU were moved to Mdagawa. When they organised a Joint Military Command, they had to be combined, so some ZAPU youth from Morogoro went to Mdagawa; and some of the ZANU youth from Mgagao went to Morogoro.

The conflict started in Mdagawa. By the time I got the information I rushed to the place and I found so many people were already killed and buried in two feet and three feet tombs. We exhumed many bodies. I told Mzee Matiku that we had to go to Morogoro. We went to talk to those youth at Kingolwira Prison. After the discussion with them Mzee Matiku said, "Do you know that we shot the rock with a gun and the bullets have not penetrated". Meaning that what we explained did not penetrate their minds. The next day we slept in Morogoro. In Morogoro we met one young man who met his colleague from ZAPU on his way; he took his pistol and shot that young man on the road. That is why when we wanted to take some of them and send to Mozambique through Nachingwea some of the refused because they feared that will be killed because those who were in Mozambique were predominantly ZANU and ZAPU was a

smaller element.

There were two liberation armies, one was ZANLA that was ZANU Liberation Army and another was ZIPRA for ZAPU. Out of those two we had to form Joint Military Command. ZANU had no command, although it was the one with bigger war front it did not want that war front to cease. ZIPRA was engaged in the form of a future regular army. The ZAPU tactics were to put pressure until the end and there would be a breakdown of law and order. That is, we wanted formal military confrontation, and ZIPRA should move in as a regular army to take over the country.

ZANLA focused on enhancing the regular war so as to weaken the enemy forces. The major ZANLA command was here. Another command in Zambia was closed after the assassination of Chitepo. After Mgagao Declaration there was no leadership. The political leadership was a vacuum, and we tried to create a political leadership out of a military leadership. But we had to make them accept that there was a political leadership. Then efforts to have Joint Military Command started; we called Sithole, Nkomo and Mugabe to make that process accepted. We had to tell soldiers that essentially their goal was to deal with political decisions and policy making. Let that political leadership come out and you should take instructions from the politicians don't make politicians take instructions from you. It was from the Joint Military Command we had the late Jason Moyo from ZAPU and the late Muzenda who was the Vice President. It was through their joint effort we united them so that they should kill each other, but still ZAPU proposed that everyone should go back to his original group. Unfortunately ZAPU took most of their people and moved to Angola. They joined ANC in Angola as Authentic Liberation Movements. Don't forget there was this concept of Authentic and Non-authentic Liberation Movements. Authentic Liberation Movements were MPLA, ANC, ZAPU, SWAPO and FRELIMO. Non-authentic were PAC, and ZANU; these were the non-authentic in the language of the struggle. Those who were authentic were recognised by Soviet Union with her allies. Non-authentic were recognised by China mainly, and partly by Yugoslavia who was not adherent of Eastern Marxism. So it was a thorn in the flesh of the Soviet Union as much as they were not a loving child of the West, except during the Second World War, the West loved Yugoslavia; they were called *wonderful boys of Tito*.

### **The Frontline States**

Concerning the Frontline States we need to understand that they were not equally described; they differed in many ways. In the southern Africa we had Tanzania and Zambia. Unfortunately Zambia was surrounded by countries that were still under colonialism. On the east there was Nyasaland (Malawi) and Mozambique; in the south there was Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Bechuanaland (Botswana), Namibia on the Caprivi Strip and on the west there was Angola. So it meant that Zambia was surrounded by two colonial powers that ruled those countries; namely, Portuguese in Mozambique and Angola, and Britains occupied the larger part – meaning – Malawi or Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia and Botswana. They had no direct influence in Namibia but they ruled it through the hands of South African Boers who ruled Namibia.

Therefore, Zambia was a centre of liberation struggles and indeed the alliance between Zambia and Tanzania was a source of helping the freedom fighters coming northwards. Historically the politics in Zambia, South Rhodesia and South Africa were all under the movement called African National Congress. So there was African National Congress in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia; and Northern Rhodesia. Therefore this movement united these countries during the beginning of liberation struggles but unfortunately in Zambia the leaders of that movement quarrelled; the leader of the faction was Harry Nkumbula who decided to separate from Kaunda and others who were in Northern Rhodesia ANC. Because of that division UNIP was formed in Zambia, and ANC was left to exist. But UNIP happened to more vigorous and eventually led the country into independence. The political situation in Zambia resembled

that of Tanganyika with its TANU. So there was a smooth communication between the governments of Zambia and Tanzania.

Since Zambia was close to those countries it could not welcome the freedom fighters from all those countries, so instead it had to be a transit route and became a recruitment centre for those who came from those countries. Many immigrant workers who went to South African mines came from Zambia, Malawi and others from Tanzania; so they knew each other and it became easier to use Zambia as a centre for recruitment of the people from those countries to come and join their parties and move northward. In the beginning these countries were very weak and they could not face the threats and boast of the Boers and Portuguese. So they had to go far from their places and organise themselves.

Zambia did a very good job of strengthening politics in those countries because it was already strong politically. Those freedom fighters could not come to Tanzania without passing through Zambia as a transit point. They came from South Africa, Namibia, Angola, and even Mozambique through Zambia. Most of the freedom fighters from Tete in the west of Mozambique passed through Zambia and later to Malawi before coming to Tanzania. Others came directly from Mozambique after crossing the River Ruvuma. So Zambia played a great role; and although the Headquarters of the Liberation Committee were in Tanzania but all liberation parties had offices in Zambia. Even before the formation of FRELIMO, all smaller parties from Mozambique had their offices in Zambia together with Angolan parties; namely, MPLA and UNITA; Namibian parties of SWAPO and SWAN in the beginning had also their offices in Zambia before shifting to Tanzania.

Zambia's government under UNIP was very strong. Many African countries during those years when liberation struggles began they were paying attention to what Tanzania and Zambia said. It was in the beginning of 1970s when the Portuguese became weak in their territories then the frontline states were three after Botswana joined Tanzania, Zambia.

I will specifically explain about Botswana because it was among the so called High Commission Territories, that combined the countries of Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho. Part of Botswana belonged to South Africa and it was called Mopotoswana in South Africa. The Capital of Botswana by that time was in a Mafikeng which is located in Mopotoswana. Gaborone is a new Capital after reuniting the old and traditional Botswana.

Politically Botswana fought for its independence democratically through the negotiations between Sir Seretse Khama and his relatives called Shekedi and others who were nationalists who demanded their independence peacefully. So after coming back from the negotiations, Seretse formed the party that led the country into independence and that gave hopes to other countries, especially South Africa and Northern Rhodesia. So the borders of Botswana were used by freedom fighters from South Africa and Zimbabwe. So, some passed through Botswana, Zambia up to Tanzania. You will recall the very lovely story of the late Edith Madenge, when you interviewed her; she explained how they travelled from South Africa to Tanzania as missionaries travelling to perform singing; they passed through Botswana. And from Botswana they got organizations that enabled them to get a transport up to here. Botswana played that role honourably, and Tanzanian and Zambian presidents recognised that role.

So, after Botswana joined the frontline states they had to invite Sir Seretse Khama to the consultations and indeed it was through Sir Seretse Khama, Botswana played a commendable role, very commendable role. First, economically there was no development that we see now. Botswana had mines except it depended on just a small cattle-post area, and its larger part is occupied by Kalahari desert. It is known as a country of Bushmen and Hottentots. Seretse was firm as a nationalist and he felt that there was a value in helping others. It should be remembered that even when they travelled they had to travel through South Africa as it was for people from Lesotho and Swaziland. Even today if South Africa decided not to export food to

Botswana they will be in a very serious crisis.

The Botswana people contributed a lot to the struggles. They recruited people, and people like Oliver Tambo passed through Botswana and to them the nearest place to go to South Africa was through Botswana. It is about twenty five kilometres from Gaborone to South Africa; it is very close. So they saw the sufferings of their fellow Africans in South Africa. Sometimes the Boer were stubborn; they threatened the Botswana people by sending troops to manouvre at the border. In fact they were threatened not to welcome black South Africans.

But despite all those threats they sustained and persevered and sometimes their legislature had to pass some laws to please the white supremacists in South Africa to show that they were not cooperating with terrorists. One of the laws stipulated that if you were caught with a weapon in Botswana it was a criminal offence and you were sentenced to jail and no penalty for that.

I remember during that time the Commander of M.K (Umkhonto weSizwe), the late Joe Modise, was caught with a pistol in Gaborone, Botswana. It was the police who arrested him because by that Time Botswana had no armed forces except the police force whose head was the Chief of Police. They arrested Modise. The late Oliver came here and told Mwalimu that his person was arrested in Botswana. Mwalimu sent me to go and negotiate with them. He said, “go and talk to the government of Botswana, I have heard that they have arrested one person close of Oliver; go and ask them to release him”. I went as asked the President to release him. The president told me that he was already sentenced; and he was serving the prison sentence. He said to them that was a serious offence. He confided to me that once a person is arrested they cannot do anything because South Africa could know that; they knew that we arrested an ANC, or if we arrest any person they will know because they know that Botswana has a law that criminalises ownership of weapons. So the president said that I should leave that matter in his hands. They did not release him until he finished his term in prison. The good thing is that they did not repatriate him, instead he continued with his trip to the north. This shows that they were serious.

Our freedom fighters had to be more careful. It was a double responsibility. When you are given a chance don't betray them unnecessarily. You enter Gaborone and tell the police that your security is under threat; your request their protection and then you take your pistol to protect yourself they were never happy with that. They were very pragmatic; and I am saying this to demonstrate the level of commitment that Botswana had in helping others. They had no camps but they opened offices.

In 1980s after Boers realising that ANC were a little bit more effective inside the country, they attributed that strength to the support from Botswana. They sent their spies in Botswana who collected through information and noted the offices and houses that ANC people used in Botswana. One night they raided into Botswana and killed and injured Botswana people in Gaborone.

After hearing that incidence, I had to rush in solidarity with Botswana. I went there and met the Foreign Minister Mama Chihepe . She took me around to show the atrocities committed and I had to report this to the Liberation Committee. We delivered the resolutions to the Council of Ministers and Summi to express solidarity and condemn the South African acts against Botswana. Nonetheless, Botswana didn't waiver in the support of liberations; it remained steadfast throughout. So Seretse was invited to join Mwalimu and Kaunda and they became three Frontline States. These were actually the strong nucleus of what expanded to be a wider Frontline States team. In 1974 it was vivid that Portuguese became fragile and the coup that took place had become a catalyst for speeding up the struggles for independence in Mozambique and Angola. Now it was the right time for us in the meetings of Frontline States to invite their leaders to come and learn how we work as Frontline States in helping them and in turn they will help others when their independence comes.

So Frontline States started to include Angolan and Mozambican leaders such as Augustinho Neto and Samora who were invited as individuals. At the level of Heads of State, the only two were invited to hear from their colleagues and they also got an opportunity to express their problem so that these Frontline States could address them. Although the Mozambican independence was coming, they had already expanded liberated areas and these were almost the whole of northern areas of Mozambique from Indian Ocean to Lake Nyasa, along the Ruvuma River. They also penetrated bigger part of Manica that borders Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe call it Eastern Manicaland; Mozambique called it Territories of Manica and Sofala, in the western Mozambique. Therefore FRELIMO was very bitter on the association between Rhodesia and Portuguese against them, they felt that they had moral responsibility to support the people of Zimbabwe to penetrate from their liberated zones in Mozambique to enter Southern Rhodesia.

We can see that FRELIMO has assumed responsibility even before independence by opening up the routes to the people of Zimbabwe so that they could launch attacks from that side. As I said before that there were Authentic Liberation Movements and Non-authentic Liberation Movements. The authentic liberation movement ally for FRELIMO in Zimbabwe was supposed to be ZAPU. ZANU was one of the non-authentic liberation movements. Thus it was the natural aspect for FRELIMO to invite ZAPU, but unfortunately ZAPU was predominantly a Matebeleland Party; and ZANU was predominantly a Shona party; and Shonas and Manicas are from Manicaland in Rhodesia. But ZAPU were given opportunities in discussions. But FRELIMO did not feel that it could be a wise decision to leave the people of South Rhodesia, Rhodesian troops or Rhodesian government as if they are on holiday simply because of avoiding supporting ZANU who were non-authentic liberation movement. I think Samora and FRELIMO broke the curtain by insisting that what they wanted was a struggle. *“Whether who will rule is authentic or non-authentic what we want is to defeat the colonialists.”*

FRELIMO began offering training opportunities to ZANU in their camp Nachingwea. They talked to the late Chitepo, who was a National Chairman of ZANU; he started sending few people to the camp in Nachingwea. The Liberation Committee took part in supporting logistics, especially food and making sure that they don't consume the food that was meant for FRELIMO, who also had a huge burden to take care of their fighters. We had to increase an amount of support so that they could be trained. Eventually they were able to operate in Rhodesia by using smaller units they formed. That was indeed the role played by Mozambique under FRELIMO before its independence and that was part of the role of Frontline States.

Equally in Angola, MPLA had a role to support the liberation struggles in Namibia. SWAPO made an alliance with MPLA after finding that to operate from was very far to reach Namibia. But they had a problem because UNITA was already in the play. UNITA were more south in Angola and that is the border with Namibia; and they share the border of River Cunene which is in the south; so SWAPO had to play a very careful role. SWAPO was identified as Authentic Liberation Movement like MPLA; while UNITA was not an Authentic Liberation Movement; now, how do they play?

It was a tricky area and SWAPO found itself in incapacitated position and sometimes it was obliged to collaborate with UNITA in some areas so that they could cross because they were housed in Zambia. Although it was not an easy thing but it had to be done. They can explain better than me but what I understand is that they had a dilemma on how to play things there, especially after civil war between MPLA and UNITA, and the war broke during the time when SWAPO gained strength. Since SWAPO was welcomed formally in Angola as Authentic Liberation Movement, and it was given area for training, the hostility between SWAPO and UNITA was formalised. So, whoever was in alliance with South Africa, which UNITA was, was automatically an enemy and formal target.

If you heard clearly what General Mwamunyange was saying about Angola, because I sent him there more than three times to observe the activities that were going on to support SWAPO and MPLA after they took over the country they needed moral support. Angola also played a role in Namibia, and that role was more demonstrated during the civil war between MPLA and UNITA, especially when South African got to its height. Cubans came in to support Angola, but they also supported SWAPO to be more operative although they did not come SWAPO; they came to rescue Angolan Marxist government. The Cuban Vice President visited here and Cubans held a reception at the embassy and they invited Tanzanians who were members of Cuban-Tanzania Association, I attended. The discussions were about its commitment to Angola by then and how many troops from Cuba were deployed in one time or another, in the case of the Angolan situation. That is part of subsequent roles of Frontline States who played the roles.

Unfortunately the same could not be said of Malawi. Malawi, under Dr. Banda displayed a very negative attitude towards the struggle in Southern Africa. The nearest thing that involved them was the Mozambique. Dr. Banda actually went to the extent of asking Mwalimu to divide Mozambique among themselves because he believed that there is no territory known as Mozambique that needs liberation. He had strong interests on the Railway line, I think from Nakala, Qualimane that passes the mountain up to Malawi. Also there was a Portuguese from Beira called Jardine who was a Honorary Consulate of Malawi, in Mozambique; he took care of Malawian interests.

The establishment of Malawi vis-à-vis the liberation struggle caused a lot of problems to liberation movements and they were very unhappy and unwelcome because of that establishment. Particularly, after the internal factions within Malawi Congress Party and people like Chipembere and Chiume fled to Tanzania. These were seen as part of FRELIMO and they were accused of plotting to overthrow the Malawian government. So the relationship was not good between the forces of liberation in the region and Malawi. However, there were Malawians, some in government, some in local governments, some as just nationals, who were sympathetic towards liberation movements. They helped to pave the way and guide freedom fighters to pass. Even the Rhodesians were able to pass through Malawi and entered Mozambique in Mount Darwin areas.

It was unfortunate that Malawi was the first African country to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa. The late Joe Kachingwe was a prefect in Scot House, and I think he became the first Malawi Ambassador to South Africa. He had schooled at Tabora. In South Africa they had to put him in difficult place because of apartheid. How can they have a black ambassador in South Africa? To Banda, was it a contribution to show that there were blackmen? He wanted to show South Africans that we are there and not to shy away from them. As I said that as a country there were good people. When I went to Malawi to talk to them to have a person who could write a different history that not everything was negative in Malawi; and not everything that will be said was rosy in Malawi, because it was not. I talked to the Chief Secretary of Malawi who was also a Permanent Secretary of Deputy Minister of Defence, about what we want to do. I believe it was unanimous that it also becomes very open that they were ready. I hope it will also be really good thing to have a critical analysis and report for posterity. So about what we have done, I think I have covered Angola, Zambia, Mozambique, and I have covered now Malawi in a negative sense.

But I have also covered about Botswana in that regard. Then coming to Botswana; Botswana also played a very good role because of its long border with Namibia. Namibia and Botswana share the Kalahari desert. Also through the independence of Botswana, many Namibians found a way to come here; and others settled in Botswana, schooled and worked in Botswana. Until now the relations between Namibia and Botswana are very cordial. I think there is no reason of not being otherwise.

Therefore, with the intended consolidation of the independence of Mozambique you know what flared between the liberation forces of Mozambique; they split. Some people of FRELIMO formed another party called RENAMO. Dhlakama was one of the detachment commanders of FRELIMO up to the attainment of independence. I think I know about some differences; for example during my visit to Mozambique in the liberated zones, one of the lady instructors of the FRELIMO troops was Dhlakama's cousin and she was married to one commander who comes from Mondlane family known as Kandidu Mondlane. He was the husband of the cousin of Dhlakama and they were both in the struggle. And you know they played a very good role but when this split happened RENAMO decided to launch another liberation struggle. So there was civil war, and this was very much bothering to the northern part of Mozambique, and parts of the western areas of Mozambique bordering eastern areas of Rhodesia.

So with the intensification of that, the struggle in Rhodesia became also involved with the internal skirmishes in Mozambique, between RENAMO and the government forces in Mozambique. So even before the coming of independence of Zimbabwe it was inevitable because of the solidarity that liberation movements of Zimbabwe were receiving from FRELIMO, from the government of Mozambique it was not easy for them to disassociate themselves from the struggle, by not helping the government of Mozambique. So they were involved, and that explains some of the positions that FRELIMO took, or the position that the government of Zimbabwe had to take when their own struggle was over and become an extension of the Frontline States. So with that extension, Zimbabwe found itself as a fortress for the government of Mozambique against RENAMO. So the solidarity of African Frontline States continued. You have heard about it, and of the part the Tanzanian government played in relation to the problems of RENAMO in Mozambique.

It was again that extension of solidarity and the workings of the Frontline States. Equally so as Zambia was still under the leadership of UNIP, it had that solidarity with Mozambique moreless. So when you got to Rhodesia, the situation had really remained acute in major areas. The war in Mozambique and the direct bordering with South Africa, because Zimbabwe is bordering South Africa, Zimbabwe also found itself as a government in dilemma. In its politics, the ANC which was the popular party in Zimbabwe split to ZAPU authentic, and ZANU non-authentic. In South Africa there were two major movements. There were very many agitative political movements but major ones were the ANC and PAC. The ANC authentic, PAC non-authentic. There were others like Unity Movements, you know which were there in South Africa, but these two parties were the major ones.

Now because of the association, and Zimbabwe at this time there was the Unity Movement of the government of Zimbabwe which was composed of the former ZAPU and former ZANU into ZANU Patriotic Front. And Nkomo and Mugabe were both in the government. And the natural alliances of ZANU as non-authentic to the PAC and ZAPU as authentic to the ANC was just to be wished away, was not washed away at all. They were there and actually the first official recognition by the government of Zimbabwe was to PAC; and they allowed them to open offices, but they could not also refuse ANC to have a place in Zimbabwe. So they both had offices there.

But because of the attitude of Mozambique towards Zimbabwe which was predominantly influenced politically by the leadership of ZANU non-authentic and the decision of Mozambique, you know to recognise ZANU and give moral support to ZANU you know compelled in a way the government of Zimbabwe to open its doors to ANC; although the ANC ideologically they were different. But they were recognised, that difference did not stop FRELIMO from supporting the ANC, because the aim here was the struggle, and so they recognized that and left an open door for the ANC. At that time the ANC was strong in Mozambique. They were very very strong, they had very very strong representation you know. There were many leading cadres of ANC who were in Maputo, the communist people.

Mabida was there, at one time Chris, there was this lady who was killed there, Ruth First. Eventually Zuma is the one who was sent there as chief representative of ANC in Mozambique. So there was strong representation of ANC in in Mozambique.

Now there was independence of Zimbabwe. The ANC also found room to get in and out of the place. So that was the role now being played by Zimbabwe towards the question of South Africa. Not only that, but also Namibians benefited from the coming of independence to Zimbabwe, particularly on educational areas. They sent many of their cadres to schools in Zimbabwe from Namibia, and some are now diplomats, who went to Zimbabwe to study in secondary schools and university, before their country got independence. So they benefited from the same roles of the Frontline States.

The major areas for preparation for military confrontation in all of these areas were mainly done in Tanzania and partly to some limited extent in Zambia. These are the areas that played the role of allowing them to get through to the areas and see how to help them and penetrate back into their areas of confrontation with the colonial powers. So that speaks for Zimbabwe, and that also eased away the burden on Botswana, when these came from further off, as they could come direct through Zimbabwe, from South Africa, not going through Botswana before coming to the north.

Well, what we call to a less extent, were the roles played by Swaziland and Lesotho. You would call to the less extent just because they were smaller, but actually they played very very important roles. First of all for the people of Swaziland, you know they and the South Africans, Zulus, they are just one and the same people you see, culturally, language, habits and everything. And the major border that Swaziland has is South Africa and the other bit is with the Mozambique.

But the natural flow of Swazi people was in South Africa. Professor taught in Swaziland. He remembers the congeniality that exists between the Swazis and the South Africans. For the ANC, Swaziland was extremely important. One needs to know that King Sobhuza, during his youth, lived in Sofiatown in Johannesburg, and he was a member of the ANC Youth League. So he had a lot of political influence from the ANC in South Africa, and he sort of closed a political eye, when it came to ANC. Let me say he had a soft spot for the ANC cadres in Swaziland to the extent, you know, many cadres of the ANC found a natural home, not a refuge, in Swaziland. And some worked there, prominent among those who worked there is the Foreign Minister of South Africa, Mrs Zuma. When the husband was chief representative in Mozambique. She was a medical personel working in Mbabane in Swaziland, and the Swazis knew that. At one time, big problems were brewing between the government of Swaziland after Sobhuza, and ANC. The ANC asked me to go with the senior cadres to sort out the problems between the ANC and the Swazi government. I went with my big friend, General Masondo who was the Commissar, and the headmaster of Solomon Mahlangu Secondary School in Morogoro. A number one communist, who served sentence in Roben Island with Mandela for eleven years. He had come out and I was sent with him and Jacob Zuma to talk with Swazis on their relationship with ANC.

Mrs Zuma was working in Swaziland, in a hospital in Mbabane. So when we went the authorities came to tell Zuma that they knew his wife was there; that his delegation was staying in the hotel, and asked him to keep there. They told him that if he went out of the hotel, they could not guarantee his safety. But his wife could go and visit him if she had time. But Zuma would not be able to go and visit her and the children at home.

General Andrew Masondo, was in this meeting with the Swazi, and there was the Foreign Minister, who I am now told he is late. Who, I knew he must have had a tape with him; and he wanted after that meeting to go and tell the Boers that they had told these people, in no uncertain terms, that they were not welcome to do any stupid things there. He went on thumping the table and saying, "If you in OAU don't want Swaziland, go and ask God to remove it and send it to another planet."



But they played a role. We knew many ANC people were abducted by South Africans from Swaziland. We also knew people we sent from here, cadres of ANC, trained cadres to South Africa through Swaziland. We escorted them and some individuals to make sure that they get to the border; and when they get to the border, get to South Africa we take all their travelling documents and bring them back with us, and they go in. So Swaziland had a very very important role. They were not known as Frontline State. They could not be known as a Frontline State, but they played a very delicate and crucial role in enhancing the struggle in South Africa.

Lesotho played a much bigger role even before, because Lesotho has got only one border. That border is South Africa, you see? Because of their political situation and being a High Commission Territory, not a colony of South Africa, South Africans had some constraints to observe vis-à-vis Lesotho. And so many people, cadres of ANC, went to school through Lesotho and came back without any repercussion. Some of them, if there was a way of getting a flight out, they flew from Lesotho. It is known that, even the late Chris Hann was able to visit Lesotho, and South Africans could not abduct him from there. He could travel from South Africa to Lesotho and get out from Lesotho, to come out.

You know, the politics of Lesotho, like that those of Swaziland were also very much linked to the ANC aspect. So even the history and the politics of Lesotho from the time of when Ntsu Mokhele of Lesotho, coming to Dr. Leabua Jonathan and all the rest, all that connection in one way or another will also work with politics in South Africa. But the more close Lesotho was, so did ANC, they had a good listening, and had a good following; but PAC was closer to the political leadership in Lesotho. I saw that because I happened to be in Lesotho the day the body of Potlako Leballo arrived from London where he died.. He was buried in Lesotho, and one could see that many of the leaders of PAC were very close to the people in in Lesotho.

I told our men now in Lesotho to meet one lady whom I knew very well, whom we were very close and the family. The first wife of the late Dr. Kasiga, she was a lady from Lesotho. They met in Soviet Union when they were schooling and got married there. And they came here. When she came here my family was her first host. She stayed with us until her brother-in-law was transferred to Dar es Salaam and the brother of her husband, it's when she moved to that family.

But she came here as our guest and because John her husband was very very good friend of mine. Actually I contributed, I sacrificed my scholarship to Soviet Union, to contribute money to enable him to go to Liberia to go to study. Because at that time TANU had no money, and that scholarship was from Tubman from Liberia, who said that there were the scholarships, and the people arriving in Liberia would get admission to colleges. TANU also offered scholarship and said that they were for those who could pay, at least the fare, for themselves to go to Liberia. There were no direct flights; you had to travel to Burundi, you get a Sabena flight to Kinshasa, and then you fly with Sabena to West Africa. This is how Kasiga went. And when he was there, the lady finished and he asked her to come. She had to come to be our guest.

She is the Member of Parliament in Lesotho now. She is in the opposition to the government. She is a very strong lady. She has been in the government twice already. Their party won twice before. And I was told this man met her, talked to her and I told even the Prime Minister of Lesotho that I was at home there. I have family roots there. So you should not be surprised if I say your people should see some of these people because I know them and they know me, and will be pleased to help. I told her to help because when she was here, when the PAC had problems among themselves, and David Biko was killed here in Dar es Salaam, it was in her flat. David was killed by his fellow member of PAC in the flat of this lady from Lesotho. So they had a big part to play.

When Jonathan was the Prime Minister I visited Lesotho. He demonstrated to me how vulnerable Lesotho was, so that we should understand in the OAU, rather than just make noises

against them. He invited me to his office. I went to the office and through the window I could see Free State, just across. He told me that whenever OAU Summit was about to take place, the South Africans would come and conduct manouvres there, so that he could see from the window, and that would make him behave when he goes there. But still they managed to do what they did.

So these are the roles you know which cannot be seen, are not easily told, and are not easily felt; but they were quite significant roles, that these small countries may have played. The present Vice President of South Africa had her education in Lesotho. She schooled in Lesotho from secondary school to university, she was at Roma. But also many ministers in Botswana and in Zimbabwe schooled or taught at Roma University. They were getting jobs in the liberation movements. I don't know whether David did work there. Yes he went to school and he went to teach. So these were the contributions, you know, these countries have made.

In general, the Frontline States made tremendous and momentous contribution, not only directly, but also in changing the attitude of minds, teaching people, giving education and really bridging the gap of association between peoples, you know.

It was in Botswana, I think, it is either Botswana or Lesotho where there is a columnist everyweek, from Zimbabwe who writes about Botswana into these papers in Zambia, and Zimbabwe, showing that they are very close to the extent that, as now we can say we are put close by this fellow, Nyoka, who was a prison officer who went to work in Namibia. Everyweek he writes, *A letter from Namibia*, and you know what is happening there politically and many other things.

Coming to Namibia, we would say that they received much more than they gave. But they played their part well and opened way. They benefited a lot educationally from Zambia, Tanzania, and Kenya. It was from Tanzania, that they got support, particularly, through the UN Institute for Namibia, which was based in Lusaka. I said this, because Judge Mark Bomani was the man who was responsible for the establishment, and management and running of the Institute for Namibia. There SWAPO cadres were trained in three particular areas. One was legal administration, they trained a lot of low level magistrates, as it was, or court officials to manage the legal system when the time came. Secondly, they trained secretaries, and they also trained social workers. Because of the constitution of the Institute it was required that a Namibian should be the head of that institute. But the UN asked Mwalimu to release Bomani from Attorney General to go and head that Institute as the number two. That is how Mark Bomani left the post of Attorney General here, to go and establish the Institution of Namibia.

The Namibian who was chosen to head that Institution was Theo-Ben Gurirab, who later came to be the first Prime Minister of Namibia. You see? He was a young man who had just graduated, and he was working with the office of SWAPO in New York, which was next door to the Embassy of Tanzania in New York. Actually it was Malecela who supervised his wedding to a young black American girl in New York. So there are those situations where Namibians benefited, as they trained many people who are now in the government. They were trained through that institution which was financed by the UN. And Mark worked there for about eleven to twelve years, until just the year before independence, when he came back home.

You know Namibians came here to learn how to establish their prison services. They sent more than two hundred of their people to train at Moshi. They trained their police officers at Moshi, immigration people were also trained in Moshi. When they left they asked for someone to go to help establish their prison services in Namibia. They didn't want South Africans to handle it. So this fellow Nyoka, who was a prison officer here, was sent there, on secondment, and he got his promotions there. He retired as a prison officer in Namibia, but he remains as a prisons consultant to Namibia, these days. Further to that there are many commissioners who have gone to teach there.

Many Professors went to teach in Namibia. One became the Vice Chancellor, and is now here, the Vice Chancellor of Hubert Kairuki University, one of the leading scientists in microbiology, and I am reading his book on *Mushrooms*; a very small interesting book. Now we have people also in IT, like Professor Mchomvu, who is in information technology in Namibia. So they are others there like Mrs. Kaduma of Theatre Arts, who has a high office there. There are also many Tanzanian nurses and doctors in Namibia. There are a lot of Tanzanians in Namibia, and have secured loans to establish their business there, but there is taxation.

In these smaller states, such as Botswana, Swaziland, and Lesotho, they were very reluctant to give permanent residence to foreign people. The explanation was that they had very small population there, and they feared any influx, particularly when the Nigerians began to come to Swaziland, Botswana, and Lesotho, they feared that. Tanzania had businessman there called John Cheyo. He was a very good timber businessman. He was there when I was there. There was another Tanzanian whose name I have forgotten, was there doing business. There were a lot of activities in Swaziland. They gave limited contracts; but there was not so much citizenship. In fact until recently they don't give citizenship to coloureds who were born there. In that observation, if you are a small country with little population you cannot allow free entry and citizenship to foreigners but for big population you may not feel the impact. The population of Swaziland is 1.2 million people.

At least Botswana has a big land area; they can somehow afford that but Swaziland allows only Mozambicans because if others will be allowed the country will be overpopulated. In Lesotho there are about 2 million people, and they are surrounded by South Africans.

Frontline States was not a formal organization, and did not hold formal meetings. This was the organization of people of like minds, who agreed on some principles; na principles zilikuwa ni za liberation. They were leading their own governments, and they wanted to find a common position when they met to discuss on how to assist the liberation movements and the people involved. They wanted to know how they would go about it, and how they could learn about them. These people would brief them on what was happening, and then they would decide, then make sure that they abide by the general policy of the organization. Where they find differences, they would work in the Committee of OAU to bring about a policy change. But initially this was informal but serious meetings of the people of like minds. They discussed things as they came, but they were always bearing in mind the major policy papers.

The Lusaka Manifesto, the Mogadishu Declaration, and any such papers that they were aware of, and they knew that they formed the general guidelines for this type of thing. So if there was any grievance they would see how to go about it or how to enhance, and ask. If there was any resistance within Africa they would go and argue why they thought that it should be that way. This task was given to their Foreign Ministers, at the level of the Council, and themselves at Summit level.

But there were no formal meetings with agenda, minutes and adoption or non-adoption. Their commitment to fulfill what they agreed amounted to adoption, and they never let themselves down. This is the reason I asked those people to come so that you could hear from the people who were administering, who had to call these meetings, so that you could hear from them, how the Frontline States worked. You know there was no corruption at all.

Moral relationship is part of African tradition and when the Africans call for a meeting they know that it was based on moral relationship and in those meetings they can attack each other but end up in consensus and agreement. So, with regard to Mobutu, he was not part of the Frontline States, but he came in through Mulungushi Club. Mulungushi Club preceded Frontline. It was established as a party structure and not based on government. It was started with TANU and UNIP; UNIP invited TANU to attend UNIP Congress that was held at Mulungushi; later Kenya, Uganda and the party of Mobutu were invited to attend UNIP

Congress in Mulungushi. When they came out of there it was found that they should build a spirit of Mulungushi. That became the Mulungushi Club.

When serious discussion on liberation struggles started issues were first discussed at the level of the parties; straight away they had to involve the governments to deal with liberation movements. There emerged some misgivings on how to handle Mobutu, on such situations. It was convenient to leave him out except when he was seen to be helpful in certain circumstances he was consulted, but not as a member of Frontline States.

Reconciling conflicts was not part of the agenda of the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee. These things happened accidentally because you could not ignore conflicts and move to what brought you there. Whenever conflicts arised we had to deal with them as possible as we could. May be I did not talk about the role of the Committee on mobilisation of international solidarity in support for liberation movements. We had to pursue three major sources of direction. The first source was OAU decisions; second source was to pursue decisions of Non-Aligned Movement; and the third was to pursue decisions of the UN emanating from the decisions of the OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement.

On the diplomatic priviledges that these movements were entitled through the Committee, we were communicating with all UN agencies that could support in one way or another. We also tasked them to provide resources from their own budgets to support liberation movements or they had to solicit resources from donors. Thus we attended a lot of meetings on ECOSOP, UNESCO General Assembly, UNICEF, WHO, and UNDP. We attended and discussed with them and we drew projects. We were official signatory on behalf of the liberation movements. Therefore, if WHO pledged to supply drugs to the dispensaries we then noted that we got so much that year through ECOSOP conferences. The materials came through the signing of the agreement between us for the benefit of XYZ liberation movements.

If it was education scholarship, they were given stipend and we signed a contract with UNESCO; and if it was about providing clean water, we went to UNICEF to sign with them. Therefore, we made sure that they got assistance wherever they were. If we had cases of liberation movements fighting in the camps in a foreign country we did not allow the agents to go there. We would receive on their behalf and send there.

I don't think those who tried to deal directly with the liberation movements succeeded. They might have tried. We were aware that in this world every person may have his mischiefs. Others felt that there were free to do everything but they forgot that a sovereign state has its security issues. We knew that if we allowed every country to access arms directly to some countries and bring them to their camps we could create a dangerous security situation. We were not working on the spirit of revolution. Libya could say we are supporting revolution and we send the weapons straight to them. We said no to that; it was a must that the arms must be received by the Tanzanian government. That is why we had built enough godowns for weapons and the military officers were there to tally, to guard and to release the. No arms got out of any holding area to the liberation movements, without my signature.

Concerning the internal administration of the camps and the extent to which Tanzania could go in there, each liberation movement, in a way was autonomous in the management of its internal affairs and the ideology they wanted to pursue. Tanzanians had the major role of ensuring that they were safe and secured. That was the major role. Secondly, we made sure that their needs were well managed. They were free to run their own administration. But definitely, when you have such people, they come with many elements, you cannot be foolhardy; you must have an intelligence system that will always monitor and evaluate their activities and discharged the arms; that is to say you recognise the presence of a new person and things have changed. That is why I told that I once dropped some people from the ship twice. I went there and asked them if they have failed to drop that person I asked that man to det out of the ship and ordered captain

to proceed. That is what I mean by intelligence system. That was how we connected with the office that will give you files for documents. There were officers attached to me and they were incharge of every incoming and outgoing document. They were verifying documents with the immigration to know how many entered and where are they going and they checked against the list of people going out. They asked themselves how many have not come back and why and the movement had to tell them where they are. Those were the checks and balances.

You cannot vow completely where human beings are concerned. Meaning that when I was in Zimbabwe I invited Professor Bhebe but he did not come. I visited all the prisons that were used by Smith to jail the freedom fighters. I formally requested the government and I was allowed. I got assistance of the Commissioner of Prisons and I was with their camera men. As I visited the prisons I came to realise that there was a kind of coalition between prisoners and the prison warders because I found a room that had things like razors.

I cannot refute that because some of these things must have been in coalition between the leaders of liberation movements and the prison officers. If things penetrate into the prisons it means they must pass through the hands of the prison warders. Now, for their own friendship, for their own interest and what not, they did those things. Now, I will not be surprised to hear that blankets from the camps disappeared and were found in villages. Such collusions cannot reach my office and if they had some interests you will never hear. I cannot completely rule out that.

## **V. Conclusion**

Thank you so much for giving me this opportunity. I thank you if you have found me useful, but if I have led you astray it is my own mistake. But I have insisted that this work is ours; it is deep in my heart; and I have much hopes on this task. I wish you that through expertise you will lead this work to the successful end. People should not blame about the recent incidents of xenophobia in South Africa because that is a clear demonstration that this work is of paramount importance. I insist that they should not blame those youth because they don't know the history of struggles. They need to learn the history of the struggles that brought independence to their country. These youth are between 18 and 25 years and South Africa's independence has been there for 14 years. How old were they? They were between four to seven years; they don't understand. You have to remind them that they are ungrateful and remind them about their history of struggles. Really they don't know! So, our success in this project, may be in another five or six years, we can have a new generation that will be aware of this past and be able to correlate with present and future. Thank you so much.

## Mbwete, Tolly

[Dar es Salaam; 17<sup>th</sup> November 2008]

*Professor Toli Mbwete has given his reminiscences about the South African country's independence struggles. He was just a primary school little boy in Mbeya region when he started meeting the freedom fighters from 1963 – 1969. As a TANU party member he witnessed people being inspired to cooperate with the freedom fighters who were camping around their domicile. Also when he started working with Region companies he also witnessed the cooperation between our military forces and the freedom fighters camps. He also witnessed the cooperation in purchasing various requirements whereby freedom fighters were given priorities in purchasing rare commodities such as foods. Professor Mbwete's accounts has touched various aspects of lives of common people living in the villages bordering the freedom fighters camps and the cooperation which existed in aspects such as sports and games as well as other aspects. During this interview Professor Mbwete was the Vice Chancellor of the Open University of Tanzania.*

Thank you Professor Temu and your colleagues. First, I would like to thank you for giving me this opportunity to give my brief account. As we said our aim is to give our researchers as much information as possible. I know you have a lot of information but you still need my information, when my information is combined with someone else's information it will help those who did not witness the independence struggles to understand what happened during the struggle. My account of the independence struggles is of when I was a little primary school boy because that is when the independence struggles were taking place in Tanzania. I met the freedom fighters in Mbeya where my parents used to live when I was studying at Saint Joseph/Nzoube from 1963 – 1969. Previously my parents were living at Majengo (Mbeya), for those who can remember at that time there was Mozambique freedom fighters big camp at Majengo. They were living somewhere in Majengo and I remember we were living in a rented house at Majengo near a popular club called Legco. Honestly, during that time the freedom fighters' life was not bad.

There was conscious rising to most of the Tanzanians under Mwalimu Nyerere leadership, as I said at that time we were youth of TANU party. Thus the policies of the importance of cooperating with the freedom fighters were in our minds; therefore we lived with them in the neighbourhood. They were living a normal life; they stayed in the camps but lived a normal Tanzanian life. The local government regulations did not segregate the freedom fighters in any way and therefore they felt at home. They sometimes went to music clubs; they even sometimes used alcoholic drinks which led them to fight with each other or with the citizens. They were not living a different kind of life, they lived like the Tanzanians in those neighbourhood. This was very important because the Tanzanians around those areas did not feel like the freedom fighters were favoured or living the high standard life than them. I think this is very important.

Often they were not wearing military uniforms, they were wearing like civilians except when there was a special event, and therefore they looked different only when they were in military uniforms. Then we moved to Lwanda in Mwanjelwa (Mbeya). As you can remember this was near Mbeya airport, near the airport there was a big TPDF military base which later was turned into freedom fighters camp. By that time, I was one among the students who have completed the primary level of education. I and other students who were living in Mwanjelwa and studying at Mbeya secondary school had a football team called

*Yankees Sports Club*. These are American names! It was a very good football team. The team comprised of students from other secondary schools as well as other people who were not studying but were good in football; most of the players in this team later played for Mbeya regional team.

Therefore we regularly met with the freedom fighters during the sports events. They regularly invited us to their camps to play football. This was a way of ensuring that there is close relationship between the Tanzanian citizens and the freedom fighters. We sometimes won and sometimes they won, what I learned from those matches is that the freedom fighters were sometimes insulting us in English. They were not good in football but they were very determined and that is why sometimes they won the matches. I remember one day I entered the pitch wearing the shoes, it was not easy to have shoes in those days, but I was wearing the durable blue football boots from China. When I was kicking the ball I knocked one of the freedom fighters boot and sustained an injury because the freedom fighters were very tough. Because I was young I tried to carry on playing but I was substituted after 20 minutes because my leg swelled a lot in just few minutes. The freedom fighters were polite; they dressed my foot with a *Plaster from Paris* and drove me home.

The important issue here is that we got the opportunity to talk with freedom fighters during these matches. Because of the hospitality of the Tanzanians, the freedom fighters lived a good life. There were some liquor stores in our neighbourhood, therefore we met with them during the matches and also ran into them in the streets. Some of them had close relationship with Tanzanians to the extent that some of them even got children in the neighbourhoods, and I think that is one of the memories of freedom fighters activities.

We often got the opportunity to meet with several national leaders when they visited the camps during the celebrations. I remember I first met Samora Machel in 1967 when I was in Mbeya. I remember he was not a FRELIMO leader at that time; he was an ordinary person before he was appointed. During that time there was a leader who was living there. I said I was living in Mbeya by that time, but I lived there temporarily because I was born in Mbeya rural district. Let me say something which I will later link with the death of Eduardo Mondlane. By that time I did not understand what that was because I was just a little boy but I came to understand it later.

There was a Roman Catholic Parish in my home village (Irambo) which is 34 kilometres from Mbeya town. When I was a little boy (1964 or 1965) there was a priest called Father Reno, he was a Portuguese but we did not know if he was from Portugal. Father Reno was living in our village in a style which despite the fact that I was a little boy I was sceptical about it. One day when I was 6 years old and a son of mission school teacher I was talking with father Reno and I was surprised when Father Reno greeted one of the citizen by using a stick, that is Father Reno was holding one end of the stick and the citizen was holding the other end. Although I was just 6 years old I was surprised because 10 minutes before he greeted the citizen I shook hands with him. Therefore I did not understand what made Father Reno to greet that citizen by using a stick. The citizen in the village also did not understand Father Reno well because though he was a priest in our village he had no hospitality like the other priests. He kept a little monkey; generally his life style was different compared to other priests. Several years after the death of Eduardo Mondlane I think I was in Secondary school, I was surprised when I heard from RTD that Edward Mondlane was killed by a bomb which was in his parcel which was sent in Dar es Salaam. I was astonished because they said that Father Reno is the one who sent the bomb to Edward Mondlane after receiving it from Mozambique, and I am not sure if the people in my village know this.

The citizens in the villages usually take the priests for granted, but it is father Reno who sent the bomb to kill Edward Mondlane, this was found out because Father Reno's whereabouts

were not known after the bomb incident. Therefore it came to my notice that the disappearance of Father Reno was connected with his sending of the bomb to Edward Mondlane. It was difficult to arrest him because this information came five years after the death of Edward Mondlane. After the investigation of the bomb which came from Mozambique to Edward Mondlane they realized that Father Reno was involved taking into consideration that he disappeared after the death of Edward Mondlane. He was never seen again in the village and the church said nothing about his whereabouts. Because there was someone who was providing services there who was very clever.

Later when I went to Mozambique to talk with some of the freedom fighters who lived in Tanzania they told me openly how the Portuguese colonial government was collaborating with the Roman Catholic Church. I was told that there was a tendency of people coming consecutively. Therefore you can realize that, Father Reno came for the Portuguese colonial government activities. The citizens were not told about this but ten years after the death of Edward Mondlane there was a programme in RTD which helped very much to give us information about the death of Edward Mondlane. I do not know if the old people had any information about the priest's activities in relation to the church.

That is my brief account of the freedom fighters activities in Mbeya region which I also witnessed when I was in Iringa. After completing the national service training I went to Iringa where I worked at Iringa Region Trading Company RTC. One of the things that surprised me is that, there was an accounting section at RTC which was dealt with various debts. Honestly speaking I came to realize later that the debt account (TPDF Mgagao) was the freedom account probably from South Africa, Zimbabwe or Mozambique. Therefore you can see how our military concealed the freedom fighters camps which were officially called Mgagao military camps. My task was to right clothes and khanga bills, the clothes were written TPDF Mgagao and were taken to the freedom fighters camps. The people I was dealing with also were coming from the freedom fighters camps but the citizens were not aware that those were freedom fighters camps. Some years later I was told that I was handling the bills of freedom fighters. Therefore our government tried to keep the freedom fighters safe in a way that an outsider could not be aware of.

Another remarkable incident which showed that the Tanzanian citizens both in rural and urban areas were conscious was when the Boers sent some people to demolish the TAZARA bridges; I think they knew that we were using that bridge in helping the liberation struggles. I remember one day more than 37 bridges were demolished in Zambia, but no bridge was demolished in Tanzania except there was an attempt to demolish the bridge near the dam in Mtwara. The attempt failed because the people who were sent to demolish the bridge were caught by the citizens under the leadership of the local government. Though there were no sophisticated weapons but the security was well organized during that time. The Boers came with bombs in the village but they were surprised to find that they were caught by the civilians without the involvement of TPDF.

During that time people were not allowed to stay more than two days with guests in their houses without notifying the local government leaders otherwise the local government leaders can be suspicious about the person you are staying with. There is nothing like that in Tanzania currently because of the introduction of multiparty system. People say that they are not certain of some of the issues therefore they cannot participate in such security issues. Such procedures helped us in protecting our infrastructures without incurring a lot of costs in bringing in the military.

Concerning the activities of the liberation struggle in Dar es Salaam and Morogoro, I once visited my late nephew who was in charge of security issues in Tanzania. He was a TPDF soldier but he was dealing with the freedom fighters security issues in Morogoro. I was astonished to see a very good camp at Mazimbu



in Morogoro which is currently under Sokoine University. In Mazimbu the freedom fighters were living a high standard life compared to the normal Tanzanian citizens. I visited my nephew (the late Wilgod Mponzi) who was a very good footballer. There was a very good relationship between the police, the military and the freedom fighters. Honestly, they were living a good life.

After almost twenty years of visiting that camp, I passed there recently as a member of the committee which was investigating the source of students' protests. I was disappointed when I saw how the situation is at the camp when I arrived at Mazimbu which is currently under Sokoine University. When I arrived I remembered how the situation was previously. Previously, there was everything but when I went there I was very disappointed. It seems we did not take good care of that camp after it was handed over to us. As a nation we need to make sure that camps like that are preserved properly. In general the people living in those camps had good life. There was everything there but in spite of having everything at the camp in the evening they were seen in Morogoro and in other places. They used those moments to meet with other Tanzanians so that they cannot feel lonely.

In case of Dar es Salaam, I remember when I was a student at the University of Dar es Salaam the Development Studies courses gave us various opportunities of talking with most of the freedom fighter leaders. We saw various freedom fighter leaders from different countries who were invited to attend symposiums at the University of Dar es Salaam. As I can recall the University of Dar es Salaam was the main centre of discussion of Africans development after independence.

I do not remember the person who told me about Mgagao TPDF, but if such a person could be available he could have given you more information. I was told that there was a misunderstanding between the citizens living near Mgagao and the freedom fighters because the citizens thought that there was a big misunderstanding between the freedom fighters in the camp. It reached a point that some of the freedom fighters living in Mgagao were transferred to Mbeya. The way they lived made me think they were like different kinds of refugees from Mozambique. Later, in groups came the freedom fighters from Zimbabwe; some of them were called Mugabe and others Nkhomo, their arrival led to a lot of chaos in the camp. Due to that, TPDF tried to rectify the situation but it was not possible to leave them together, therefore some of them were transferred to Mbeya.

We could have seen the potential of the problem if the dangerous people could have given information to the wrong people. I will also say something which I did not say in my previous information. I and my friends heard that TAZARA helped in the liberation struggle that is why the people from the west were against Tanzania. They thought that, Tanzania was using the railway in transporting the cargo but the truth is that in the evening and in the morning the railway was used to transport the soldiers. I remember I once witnessed the last opened container of train carrying the soldiers at Msusi in Mbeya when I was at the bridge near the railway crossing. During that time the Zimbabwe liberation struggle wars were at its height. There were no chairs therefore; the soldiers sat down with the weapons in their hands. Unintentionally I saw the soldiers in the train container but they were sitting.

Therefore it is obvious that TAZARA helped in the liberation struggle. The transportation of soldiers was done at the right time so that the unrequired people cannot notice that the soldiers and weapons are being transported, somehow this is related with that of naming the camps TPDF Mgagao. Honestly, the camp was well concealed to the extent that some the citizens were not aware that there was something else apart from TPDF, but I think the risk of revealing the secret came when the chaos started in the camp

after the arrival of Zimbabwe freedom fighters. As you know the Boers were looking for the way to bombard the camps. Therefore, the Boers could have discovered that there were camps of refugees from various countries if the chaos were left to persist for a long time. But in Mbeya apart from the freedom fighters living in town there were several refugees who were living in various camps in Chunya.

There were also complaints from the citizens that the freedom fighters were taking their wives because the freedom fighters were economically well off compared to the normal Tanzanian citizens. In Mazimbu camp the freedom fighters were living above the average life. Their lives were better compared to that of Sokoine University lecturers. There was a risk of losing confidence if you also compare the Sokoine University lecturers and the normal lecturers. Chaos between some of the freedom fighters and the citizens were regular phenomena. The situation could have been worse if the government at that time had not tried to raise the citizens' awareness. This helped a lot; I think there could have been chaos everyday if the citizens living near Mazimbu were like the current citizens. Citizens during that time were very conscious; they understood the situation existing in that area and were tolerant.

The people from Mbeya have a good relationship with South Africa, at that time a lot of people used to go to do mining activities in Johannesburg via the freedom fighters planes. But all those who went to South Africa came back very poor. People came back with cases pretending that they have some gifts for their relatives while in actual fact they even did not have clothes to put in those cases. The situation was worse. But I think it helped a lot in improving the South Africa economy. Their aims were to bring something back home but I think they consumed everything they got there because of the nature of life in South Africa.

When he was leaving Tanzania Samora Machel visited some of the places to thank the citizens, Mbeya was one of them. He built a hospital at Mwanjelwa. The hospital is in the camp where they were living. He said he will build that hospital and he did it and the hospital is still operating. The hospital was built at Gihumu. When he was living there he was just a normal desk officer.

I think Mbeya was not much heard because it was a transition area. Therefore the freedom fighters from all the countries passed at Mbeya and they stayed at Chunya and Mgagao camps. Therefore before going to those camps they stayed at Mbeya. This means that the freedom fighters from all the countries passed at Mbeya. Previously there were Mozambique freedom fighters then came Zimbabwe freedom fighters as well as the South African. I think they were at Mbeya town and in other camps which were in the periphery areas.

I think the government made I wise decision to hand over the complex to SUA after it was handed over to the government by the freedom fighters. But the government is responsible for the destruction which happened there because of the big interval between the departure of ANC and the handover of the complex to SUA; that was a plundering period. Therefore that is a lesson that, it will be better in the future such areas or camps to be handed over early to the person who is capable of taking care of them. The interval was too big and it was not possible to take care of the whole area because it was too big and there were some shared boundaries with the neighbours. Some of the government leaders were involved in the plundering of the carpentry industry.

I am saying that because I know how the Mozambican built the roads. The camps that were near the roads were turned into hotels within two months and other camps were turned into schools. But you cannot do that after three years because most of the things will be stolen. Mozambique decided that some buildings will be schools and others will be hotels and they succeeded. I think that is a lesson. But the bureaucracy of handing over Mazimbu from ANC to the government in sight of the funders is what led to problems at

Mazimbu. The current Mazimbu status is quite different from the previous Mazimbu which was operated by ANC. The difference was caused by the camp handing over procedures. I believe that, this is a lesson to our government because there are still some refugee camps in our country. I hope these refugee camps will handed over to the other authorities immediately. If they had procedures of handing over the camps immediately it could have reduced the destruction rate of the properties.

Turning Mgagao into a prison was not a good idea; that is why I am saying there were no good plans of developing properties which were in these historical camps. Therefore turning Mgagao into a prison is something disappointing if you take its history into consideration. I think it is still an administration centre and most of the leaders go there.

The main difference between Mazimbu and Mgagao apart from that of hosting the freedom fighters is that Mgagao was in remote area. They did not queue for requirements because the distance from their camp did cost them a little bit. Mazimbu camp was near town, thus the government easily provided them with food without any complications, but I later realised that their foods were imported. We did not owe them because they are ours.

There were no business activities between the Mgagao camp and the nearby villages that is why I am saying that camp has no developmental impacts to the citizens. The camp was far away from the citizen normal activities. Freedom fighters at Mgagao did not travel a lot because they got their requirements through permits. Honestly the freedom fighters were favoured in food provision and khanga which I dealt with but the priority was in food which was handled by my colleague. Even in time of food shortage they were given food and I think they even did not notice that there was food shortage sometimes. They did not scramble for food in spite of coming far from their camps.

Mgagao camp was far away; they went out but did not bring the women in the camp. They had a good discipline especially of not bringing women in the camp. We only got a chance to go in the camp during the football matches. There were no women spectators in those football matches. The discipline was very high. I used to see them I think with their girlfriends in the neighbourhood.

They had to separate them at Mgagao when it reached a point of wanting to kill each other and FFU were involved in rectifying the situation. The conflict sometimes happened between FRELIMO freedom fighters with TPDF, the police and sometimes with the military. Also sometimes there were conflicts at the end of football matches which involved TPDF and FFU. That was a military town. TPDF and FFU often came with weapons when they had a match. I remember it was 1970 – 1973 before Mozambique got independence.

I think the Boers did not realise in time that TAZARA was used in transporting the soldiers that is why they decided to come to demolish the bridges. But they said that they told Mwalimu Nyerere not to build the Railway line from Dar es Salaam via Mbeya to Zambia. They immediately provided funds to build the road which ran parallel to the railway line. And the railway and road constructors fought twice. They fought at Nyara and Makambako where the railway is passing below the road. They fought almost at every railway crossing and where the railway is passing over the road, FFU came almost at every road and railway meeting point. Therefore there was a strong conflict between the East and the West.

TAZARA helps the ordinary poor citizens. It is less expensive but it takes more time to reach to your destination but also the train are often congested. If you travel in 3<sup>rd</sup> class there is a competition over the seats, unless you pay for the 2<sup>nd</sup> class you will not be given a chance there. It is often very congested especially from Mikumi. TAZARA is very good especially to the ordinary people who do not care about time but care of arriving where they are going. But it is good compared to the central railway line; I think its management

need to be totally liberalized.

There is almost no cooperation between Tanzania and the countries that we supported their liberation struggles. Tanzanian citizens think that it does not help. After all the sacrifices is this the end result? Of all the countries South Africa was not supposed to ask for visa to Tanzanians.

However they have allowed the government employees but there are few service passports if you look at the number of the service passports available. The total number of people with service passports and diplomatic passports does not exceed 2000. However the people with official passport do not need visa but the people with ordinary passport are the ones who need visa. A town like Johannesburg where a lot of Tanzanian illegal immigrants go is too wild and if you go there you may end up being frustrated in just two days. Therefore let them go and get frustrated then they will stop immigrating there illegally.

Even if you are economically well off you cannot import goods from South Africa because they are very expensive. Maybe if you go there you can come back with some stuff for the kids. When the South Africans come in Tanzania they often go to Zanzibar to purchase some commodities and they always say things are cheap hear. It is now a common market; I think people will go there and will get losses and will come back complaining that South Africa is not good.

If you will excuse me, I would like to thank you very much now that I have given you my brief account of the liberation struggles of the South African countries.

## Mchingama, Mwenyekiti J.J.

[Zanzibar/Pemba; April 2006]

*Mr J.J Mchingama was the founder of the alliance of liberation parties' youth during the struggles against colonialism in Zanzibar. Having the Mozambique origin it was easy for him to be involved with the Mozambican freedom fighters when he was young. According to him the Afro Shiraz Party and FRELIMO youths collaborated in various aspects including joint training at Dunga camp. He was among the youths prepared for liberation struggle but he was left in Zanzibar and did not go to Mozambique. Mr Mchingama got military training through the Youth League and worked under Tanzania Peoples Defence Force to the rank of a Captain when he decided to enter into politics. During the interview Mr Mchingama was a CCM chairman in Mjini district in Zanzibar also he was the Chairman of Zanzibar and Pemba Elders.*

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Let us start with what existed before Afro Shiraz. Before Afro Shiraz there was Shiraz Association and African Association and before these there was the African Social Welfare Club; in case of Zanzibar this is the mother of all the other parties.

That resulted from African Football Club, whereby previously in Zanzibar there were a lot of ethnic football teams such as the Arabs, Comorians and Hindu. But most of the players in these teams were Africans. Therefore the late Karume and Mr Hamadi Semsu decided to form their own team. The team they formed became the first team in Zanzibar which won Zanzibar cup, the cup which previously was taken by their previous teams. After that they decided to proceed with other issues, and from there the Africans from Zanzibar started to be famous.

Then African Association was formed at the end 1955 to deal with such issues, the African association existed up to 1956 when Shiraz Association was formed. In 1957 they decided to join their forces and formed one party known as Afro Shiraz. What were the objectives of Afro Shiraz? The objectives of Afro Shiraz are in the Afro Shirazi manifesto, in the manifesto they said that they wanted to help other countries which were still fighting for independence. Fortunately or unfortunately Afro Shirazi did not deal with many people because there were few people here. But fortunately Makonde and Pakii were here as the history of Zanzibar depicts that most the people who were in Zanzibar originated from the South.

They were brought here due to their talents; every tribe in the south had its talent. There were Makonde, Mwera, Ngoni and Yao. All these tribes are from the South. Because they were captured at Mikindani port they were directly brought at Mkunazini market where there is the Anglican Church currently. At Mkunazini there was a market and gallery to keep those people. Therefore every tribe came with its talents, the Makonde were good in carving and therefore most of the valuable houses had the doors carved by Makonde. Mwera were good in sewing the robes, Yao were good masons and Ngoni were good in aesthetic activities just as they are. Therefore all those talents were from the people of the southern zone, and Afro Shirazi had many people. Afro Shirazi liberated a lot of people from south because most of them came in Zanzibar as servants.

When the Portuguese were chased from Oman they came to the East African coast and went to Kilwa, the Portuguese brought the Zaramo and Ndengereko from the coastal zone. Therefore the Portuguese were taking the people there and bringing them in Zanzibar to be slaves. At the beginning Afro Shirazi helped Makonde who were living here but after independence they did a big job of importing them. In Zanzibar there was FRELIMO headquarters which was bigger than what was in Tanzania mainland. Therefore ASP supported FRELIMO a lot. I think ANC was in Tanzania mainland. After the revolution ASP helped a lot FRELIMO in the liberation struggle regardless of the fact that it was a small and weak party found in the island. Fortunately due to the support we gave them I was in the Afro Shirazi Party delegation and participated effectively when Mozambique gained its independence on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1975. Therefore Afro Shirazi and FRELIMO party were very close. We helped them when there was a celebration because FRELIMO used to dance vigil here. They built pavilions at Mnazimmoja and raised some funds which were sent to FRELIMO to support the struggle.

Therefore Afro Shirazi did a great job for FRELIMO because of its people, I remember during the Zanzibar revolution we used to say Makonde move forward. Because Makonde had arrows (nchale) but during the revolution the Makonde said Makonde move forward "*Mmakonde chonga mbele*" Thus Afro Shirazi supported FRELIMO struggle more than any struggle. I was also told that most of the cloves in Pemba were planted by the Mozambican. That is why we also have a place called Pemba a name similar to Pemba bay found in Mozambique. Therefore when the freedom fighters arrived there they started calling it Pemba just as their Pemba in Mozambique.

This name originates from the south (Umakondeni - Pemba bay). They are the ones who brought it to Kilwa and then to Zanzibar because of cloves plantation. Before that Pemba was just an island with no popular name. There are several Makonde names and proverbs in Pemba. Traditional dances also originated from the south, for instance "*Kibaki*" which originated from Pundasimali; "*Ngombee*" and Msewe originated from Kongwa people. But there is one thing which will never change; Makonde cannot pronounce /m/ therefore the people from Pemba as well cannot say a person "*mtu*" or bread "*mkate*" they say "*ntu*" and "*nkate*". To sum up I can say that Afro Shirazi greatly supported the struggle of the South African countries.

During the fundraising they used to build pavilion and played their traditional dance (sindimba) and a lot of people came to the dance and paid the money for the show and the money was sent to support the liberation struggle. They also built the FRELIMO headquarters in Zanzibar. Currently we have the FRELIMO ambassador in Tanzania his name is Zacharia; he was my colleague whom we worked together in raising funds to support FRELIMO. Zacharia is from Kiembe Samaki and he was my school mate, his studies were sponsored by ASP.

Before the revolution there was a house here called "*Club ya Wamakonde*" but it is no longer there. It was a big popular house built alongside the main road. Therefore when all the Makonde came here the Club ya Wamakonde house were their destination. They were given another government house at Mnazimmoja when Afro Shirazi got into power. This was a government house but Makonde were given it for the activities of the government of their country. After the revolution they were given the government building because by then FRELIMO was an official party. In case of Zanzibar we prepared the FRELIMO

youth and then sent them to Tanzania mainland where they were trained, after the training they went back to Mozambique. Therefore we used to take most of the FRELIMO youth to Mozambique when they were well trained. Zacharia was one among the youths who were trained and then were taken back to Mozambique for liberation struggle.

At Dunga there was an in charge called Mwambole, he was responsible for all the Makonde at Dunga. Therefore in case any Makonde was needed Mwambole was consulted at Dunga (Stone house). Stone house is currently used as a hall by CCM youths. Therefore if you needed to meet the Makonde they were found at Dunga. That was their meeting point. Near Mnatiboti there was a farm which was used by FRELIMO in liberation struggle activities.

There were two issues; there was FRELIMO preparation and revolution preparation, these were two different issues. There were some Makonde at Kitope but were not prepared like the Makonde at Dunga who were prepared for FRELIMO liberation struggle. At Kitope the Makonde were prepared for the Revolution and not for FRELIMO struggle as in Dunga.

The Revolutionary Government provided a special financial support to FRELIMO during the liberation struggles; after the revolution the government had the ability to mobilize funds which helped very much in the liberation struggle. But in those days struggle unlike these days it was not possible to announce that we have given FRELIMO let say 6 million, but they had a lot of internal support which exceeded the financial support. In those days it was not possible to announce like we have supported FRELIMO with 20 million. Those days 5 hundred thousands is equivalent to todays 400 million. Therefore the government supported FRELIMO with up to 6 hundred thousands.

The nature of our politics allowed us to be involved directly with FRELIMO and FRELIMO agreed that FRELIMO should also be in Zanzibar. Therefore the other parties had no power at all because we knew that unity was our strength and separation was a weakness. Therefore, we inclined to one party, which is why it was able to liberate the country. Liberation could have failed if we could have divided ourselves into two halves. Taking into consideration that ASP was in power at that time therefore, the government was of one party.

After the revolution, the citizens had associated themselves with Afro Shirazi related behaviour, character, ideology and principles. We usually met when they had some activities. Whenever there was a revolution activity a lot of them came and offered their support, we also knew when FRELIMO was formed therefore we also joined them whenever they celebrated the formation of their party. We had good relationship because there neither Arabs nor Panjabi who could discriminate Makonde people; all the people were united. FRELIMO also had a good relationship with Afro Shiraz and that was the citizens' point of reference. And if someone else came with something else the citizens rejected it. There is still a good relationship that is why we have ambassadors and sometimes the Mozambique presidents come here. I think Samora and the president next to him came in Zanzibar and made speeches and a lot of citizens attended. Also when we were going to Mozambique for the Independence Day celebration people bid us farewell because we were their representatives. There were not less than 15 government representatives. I was a representative of groups which collaborated with FRELIMO and I went there with some cultural groups. There were also cultural groups from Tanzania mainland as well as Pemba and I was the leader of all the cultural groups which went to Mozambique. There were leaders as well as youths of various cultural groups who went to

celebrate the independence which we helped to get. We witnessed the Portuguese flag being lowered and free Mozambique flag raised, therefore some of us are beneficiaries of the fruits of independence. But we went there on behalf of the people of Unguja. As I said we and the Makonde are relatives.

We did not participate in the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe and other places because we were responsible in the liberation of the people in Unguja and the people from the south that were brought here to do heavy duties.

The preparation of the revolution started after the enlightenment from PAFMECA when Mr Karume, Hanga, Othmani Sharif and Salehe Sadala went in London to approve the constitution. They passed at Ghana and Kwame Nkrumah told them it will take long if they wait for the colonialists to give them freedom, therefore he advised them to start fighting for their freedom. They were told if they carried on living with the British and Arabs their freedom could be delayed for so long. He also advised them that they can retain the Sultan with the condition of giving the majority what they need and if he refuses then force have to be used. That was a counsel from PAFMECA to Zanzibar and it helped to reduce the time to be ruled. Before going to Ghana they had a job of strengthening the party. After that we started hearing a song in Zanzibar *“Mr Abeid has come back from Ghana, wearing a woven hat in the afternoon. He went to get some information which has been modified”* When we were in the process of forming a constitution, they passed at Ghana and they were told that their freedom will be delayed. The colonialist will stay longer and you will be delayed. Therefore PAFMECA helped a lot in Zanzibar liberation struggle. PAFMECA recommended that; *you need to unite in fighting for the freedom especially because there is multiparty system, but you need to fight for independence together regardless of the differences in your policies.*

That is why we agreed and did election in Zanzibar. It was also agreed that the prime minister obtained through that election would be given the freedom. But Mohamed Shamte was not given the freedom instead he was given more power and the addition of cloves in his flag contrary to Sultans' flag which was red, this implied that Mohamed Shamte also has more country economic power. Therefore we were expecting to see the economic power that Mohamed Shamte was going to have as indicated in the cloves flag but unfortunately he did not get it and Sultan continued ruling. Because our main objective was to get freedom and God helped us our revolution had no problems. If Mohamed Shamte could have ascended into power then revolution could not have happened because the power then could have been in the hands of the local people. But when the British left they handed the power to the king and the flag was changed therefore we were not satisfied because what we wanted was the freedom.

You know the main objective of revolution is self-governance, and self-governance was possible because of unity. Therefore our unity became very strong to the extent that it helped in the liberation struggle of other people who were not free. Therefore one of the main concerns of revolution was the unity through the African countries, because that is where the panel of the freedom fighters was. The panel of the freedom fighters was in the United Republics and therefore ASP did the revolution and united with TANU and hence joined the panel of the whole Africa. This is what was said by PAFMEC that if you gain independence then we will you unite to liberate all the other countries.



Those were our objectives and therefore we easily joined with our colleagues, then Karume became the president and the vice president was appointed and the country was united. In those days ASP was very strong to the extent that it was able to run everything in the country. During that time money was taken to the republican, at that time it was not as good as it was with the revolutionary government. Therefore we helped the other African countries to get their independence that was the first step in Africa as we agreed in PAFMECA. After the revolution the Zanzibar economy was very stable. Therefore after forming the republican government, Tanzania became the headquarters of the freedom fighters and the contributions were sent to Tanzania mainland. Therefore instead of saying Mozambique we started calling it Africa struggle.

From what I know the PAFMECA meeting was not held in Zanzibar but was held in Ghana under Dr Kwame Nkrumah, several African countries were invited including Zanzibar. In case of Zanzibar the late Abeid Amani Karume and if I am not mistaken he was accompanied by Othman Sharif as Afro Shirazi Party representatives in the meeting. In case of Zanzibar National Party, Ally Muhsin and Abraham Babu attended the meeting. In the meeting Kwame Nkrumah ordered that Afro Shirazi Party must be given its right of the conducted election because Afro Shirazi Party won the election. Because the other party was under monarch system they did not agree with the order that was given. The citizens including the Mozambican were highly motivated and liked Afro Shirazi Party to the extent that they pushed the late Karumes' car from the airport to Kisima Majogoo when the late Karume came back from Ghana. They pushed the car and made the late Karume wear the woven hat and sang "*Karume has come back from Ghana wearing a woven hat in the afternoon*" Due to this you will find that to date most of the CCM members like to wear the woven hats in their meetings.

After coming from Ghana the late Karume held the meeting at Ndaga which up to date is called Ghana. There is pitch, however small it is but most of the Africans including the ASP members and other community members gathered there to listen what happened in Ghana. Babu and Ally Muhsin were not there because they were against Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's suggestions.

Some of the leaders used to come after that meeting, for instance Tom Mboya who was the leader of the labour party in Kenya came after that meeting. Mr Rashid Mfaume Kawawa also came because he was the leader of Tanganyika Labour Party by then. They came to inspire the African farmers and workers. As I have said leaders such as Tom Mboya and Rashid Mfaume Kawawa came but I do not know what they discussed in their meetings but our aim was to entertain them as our African leaders. Due to the good relationship that existed between Afro Shirazi Party and the government, we were given three houses. Two houses are at Kikwajuni and one is this I have just shown you here. We were given these houses as a gift for the cooperation we had during the Zanzibar revolution and the on-going cooperation. Our representative used to stay there before we got the embassy. Our representative came from Mozambique and he was called Bathlomeo Mtika. He is still alive but currently he is in Mozambique. When our representative left, the houses were kind of abandoned with exception of the two houses at Kikwajuni where our embassy is and currently the consul is staying there. When we got the embassy we wanted to renovate the house which was abandoned but unfortunately the government had already given it to the National Bank of Commerce (NBC) without our consent. But the revolutionary government of Zanzibar decided to give us this building, but we were required to make some payment so as to get the title deed, therefore the government of Mozambique gave us

some of money so that we can get the title deed. We were given it for free because we know it is not easy for a country to give another country an area unless they have a close relationship. Up to date we have this house as Mozambique property which was officially handed to us by the government. We are using Kikwajuni houses as our offices and we are not disturbed at all. We take it as a contribution of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar to the government of Mozambique.

The current ambassador is called Bernado Costantino Bigimba. As I said earlier we had a very good relationship with Afro Shirazi Party, for instance Amri Zacharia who is the ambassador of Mozambique to Tanzania is a Makua. His parents came from Mozambique and he was born at Kisauni village in Zanzibar. He studied at Kiembe Samaki. But during the liberation struggle his parents offered him to do activities at a FRELIMO branch, thus he worked there before independence. He was then transported home just as the other youths trained for liberation struggle, then he was sent to study in Cuba and other countries. Currently he is the ambassador and before being the ambassador to Tanzania he was the ambassador to Cuba and Russia. But fortunately currently Mozambique decided bring him back to his roots; that are why he is the ambassador here.

His late father Mr Zacharia died here and was buried here at Mwanakwerekwe. The FRELIMO members here have a tendency visiting the grave regularly because that is an order from the ambassador who also has a tendency of visiting his father's grave annually. When he came to introduce himself to president Amani Karume he also visited his father's grave as well as Kiembe Samaki, at a school where he studied, he asked the president to tell the minister of education to take him to the school he studied (Kiembe Samaki). Therefore the minister unexpectedly had a big task of organizing that event. But the ambassador had no complications, when he arrived there he went to his final class, set on the desk and asked the head of school to bring a log book which was used when he was studying there. He was very happy to see his name in the log book; he made a speech inspiring the children to study hard. He told them he is an ambassador and they can also become ambassador or even become some one great than the ambassador.

The current ambassador in Zanzibar did not live here but his parents lived in Tanga in Tanzania mainland during those days of sisal plantations. Therefore he stayed there for some time thus he is not a foreigner in Tanzania.

Our contribution to Mozambique liberation struggle was enormous; one of our contributions was that of integrating the FRELIMO Youth league and Afro Shirazi Party youths. Bear in your mind that when the Portuguese started fighting against FRELIMO freedom fighters, they knew that Tanzania was the mastermind of the struggle. Therefore the Portuguese new that Tanzania was their great enemy. Therefore they distressed Tanzania a lot. Bear in your mind that they started bombarding some areas in Mtwara such as Mikindani looking for the freedom fighters camps. But they did not know that Zanzibar was the centre of liberation struggle because FRELIMO was training their youths in Zanzibar Liberation Army and later in the Tanzania Peoples Defence Force, and these freedom fighters had their camps. Therefore the Portuguese were looking for the Mozambique freedom fighters camps in Zanzibar. Fortunately The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar found out about Portuguese plans, hence the government decided to conceal the FRELIMO youths by establishing a youth wing and its headquarters were at Dunga (Wilaya ya Kati). In case the Portuguese came they could have seen the ASP youth league and not FRELIMO, while in actual fact in ASP youth league there were also

FRELIMO youth league. This was done so as to conceal them and this was also the contribution of Afro Shirazi Party in Zanzibar. In Zanzibar they were doing some production activities and also got the preliminary training, when they were ready they were transported to Dar es Salaam through the government ship after arriving in Dar es Salaam they were transported to Nachingwea by buses.

Previously the youth league did not go in the war with the Mozambican but when the war was at its height we believe a lot of youths went in the war. They were under the youth wing leadership of the Youth League. Its chairman was the late Seifu Bakari and others were Hafidhi Suleiman, Said Abdallah Natepe as well as Rajabu Kheri; these were in the frontline in supporting the youth wing as well as making sure that FRELIMO is liberated. Therefore they inspired a lot the youths in the youth league. There are some youths who joined the liberation struggle legally as ASP youths but there are other youths who were inspired and joined the struggle illegally just to make sure that they helped Mozambican in their struggle.

The late Khamisi Daruweshi was among those who were in the youth league, another one was Seifu Bakari and the late Khamis Dharuweshi was also one among the 14 committee members of the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council. When the war started I think he was one of the FRELIMO front liners and I think he was in the Mozambique liberation struggle committee. He was elected, when Mozambique got independence they gave an invitation and the Revolutionary Government appointed Khamis Duraweshi among the other members who went to witness when the Portuguese flag was lowered and Frelimo flag rose.

There was a special committee which dealt with Mozambican liberation struggle whose headquarters were in Dar es Salaam and not in Zanzibar and its plans were controlled by OAU. I think Committee's Executive Secretary was Hashim Mbita; sorry for mentioning his name like that because he was a high ranked soldier but I am sorry for saying that because I am also a soldier and he was my superior. He was a captain at that time and I was a sergeant; I think I was a lieutenant when he became a major, I think he may be a Brigadier General by now. Any FRELIMO liberation struggle committee did not do anything without the approval from OAU liberation committee and that is where Hashim Mbita was in charge. That is why Hashim Mbita is popular especially in the Mozambique liberation struggle; he is a respected person because of his great contribution in the liberation struggles.

The youths who were involved in the Youth League, in case of Mozambique they include Tangawizi who however did not go there but participated in the struggle, Lucas Anthony he is old now living in Tanzania mainland. In case of Zanzibar Rajabu Kheri participated in the struggle, however he was not a leader but he used to go there to see the progress of the liberation struggle, therefore he was in the front line, Halima Hafudhi was a person from Zanzibar involved in the liberation struggle however she was later accused of treason after the death of Karume. I think she changed her attitude that is something else but she participated in the struggle from Zanzibar and Seif Bakari was in the fore front line. I was also one of them but I was nominated to join the others in Dar es Salaam including the late Samora Machel, we were supposed to go abroad for military training.

But we were prohibited by the colonial government to go abroad. They provided four ships to transport back the people from Tanzania mainland whom they thought were menace; they wanted only the people of Zanzibar to remain here so as to avoid problems during the

election. Therefore FRELIMO wanted to use that opportunity to transport us but they said no more people were supposed to travel therefore the other people who were supposed to travel were told to remain here; I was one of those who remained here. After the revolution, FRELIMO asked the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar to take some of the youths abroad for military training but Karume said there was no enough money to take the youths abroad for military training but there were some military experts who were coming to train the soldiers in Zanzibar therefore he allowed FRELIMO youths to be trained in Zanzibar and when they were ready they were transported. Therefore that is when most of the Mozambican youths joined the liberation army. When the republican army was formed some of them were taken to Tanzania mainland where they were trained and left for the struggle. But when the war was going on Karume suggested that some of the youths have to remain here otherwise there will be no one left here. He suggested that other youths have to remain here to be teachers, that is why I remained here as a reserve person.

There were also women who participated very well through Zanzibar Women Organization and they were in the front line inspiring the Mozambican youths. Several youths were involved in helping the Mozambicans. However, I was a reserve soldier; some of my relatives (a man and a woman) participated in the war in Mozambique. There are other Makonde youth such as Bicky Mpango, Claudie and Alphonce who went to Mozambique and fought well. The Zanzibar Women Organization inspired the Mozambican women to support the FRELIMO party. And they were supposed to be the guardian of the party, because a woman is a mother. Mozambican women were told to inspire men and youths to be in the front line in the liberation struggles and in providing various contributions. Therefore a lot of cultural groups were formed. Dances such as Sindimba was danced by women, the money collected in these dances were used in the liberation struggle.

Currently we have the embassy, which is also a kind of cooperation; we are very grateful that there is a good cooperation between Tanzania and Mozambique Women Organizations. I don't mean to segregate but most of the Mozambican are at Dunga and Bungi in Wilaya ya Kati in South Region but if you go south in Makunduchi and if you go north in Donge there are no Mozambican. The Mozambicans in the whole district have a good relationship with UWT. Bearing in mind that on 7<sup>th</sup> April of every year it is a women day in Mozambique. When we go to Dunga I will show you the picture of the first Mozambican women leader, her name is Josina Machel, she is the founder of the women day in Mozambique (7<sup>th</sup> April). I think 7<sup>th</sup> April was chosen because it the day Josina Machel died. Therefore on 7<sup>th</sup> April every year we invite the UWT to join us in doing various activities such as putting bouquet of flowers, dancing and holding meetings. And whenever UWT have any activity they invite OMEME (Organization Mozambique Mulieli), Mulieli is a woman. That is Mozambique Women Organization. Therefore there is a good relationship which started during the liberation struggle. They once came here and held a party with district council leaders and took some pictures together. Currently I have an invitation letter from UWT inviting OMEME to their event. In Zanzibar OMEME centre is at Dunga.

There are plenty of contributions which we got from individuals; I am grateful because so many people in Zanzibar supported the liberation struggle. They provided money, clothes and even animals; that is why I told you about donkeys; may be you cannot understand why donkeys? What was the role of donkeys? During the war there are some military weapons which can be carried by humans and others can be carried by cars, these are such as the missiles. During the war there are some weapons which we got from China, Russia and Cuba, some of them were too heavy to be carried by human beings instead they

were supposed to be carried by cars but unfortunately you cannot go with the car in a secret war zone. That is when some freedom fighters in Zanzibar suggested the use of donkeys.

Thirty donkeys were contributed by all Afro Shirazi Party branches during that time. Kitowe branch provided 20 donkeys and 10 donkeys were bought by FRELIMO members at a very low price, it was like a contribution. The donkeys were taken to Dunga and were shipped for free by Zanzibar government ship to Dar es Salaam where they were transported to Nachingwea. It was also discovered that at certain hours the donkeys bray, therefore doctors did something to stop them from braying because the weapons were supposed to be transported secretly. The Chinese experts discovered that at certain hours a certain muscle of donkey irritates and it stops irritating when a donkey brays. Therefore the donkeys were operated to remove that muscle (vocal cords) so that they could not make noise when carrying weapons.

I was a dependable reserve soldier and I knew that the government was helpful in various aspects. Money was provided to support the liberation struggle, probably my superiors knew, but what I know is that there was a special fund and its account was in Tanzania mainland. All the countries which supported the liberation struggle sent the money in that account. Probably the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar also sent the money to that account. I remember that fund existed till independence.

In the first picture is the late Dr. Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, the first FRELIMO leader. He is the founder of FRELIMO which was formed out of three parties which are MAWU, DENAMO and KOREMO; he disbanded the three parties and formed FRELIMO in 1962 at Msimbazi in Dar es Salaam. And he said there is no other way of talking with Portuguese except through war. He also once visited Zanzibar at Cooper's pitch which is currently called Maisara.

In the second picture is Samora Moses Machel who took over the party after the death of Dr. Mondlane, he led the party until 1975 when Mozambique got independence. But still the colonialist followed him a lot. He died in a controversial plane crash which is still under international investigation to date. He came in Tanzania to bid his farewell in 1974 and 1975. After independence he visited the whole Tanzania. The other picture with fire and a woman, that is Josina Machel, she was one of the Mozambique freedom fighters, and she was the first woman to fight against colonialism. She was married to Samora Moses Machel and she died a heroic death during Mozambique freedom struggle wars. She also came in Zanzibar to inspire the women and she is the founder of Mozambique women day (7<sup>th</sup> April).

Alberto Joachim Chissano took over after the death of Machel; he served according to the constitution and stepped down when his term of office was over. In the other picture is Armando Emilio Gwebuza who is our current president. In the other pictures in front of us is the late Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere. Out of sympathy on how the Mozambicans were suffering in fighting for independence, he came and convinced Dr. Edward Mondlane that a leader was needed and that is when Dr. Mondlane left his teaching career and followed Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere's call and went to Dar es Salaam.

In case of the Mozambicans living in Zanzibar Abeid Amani Karume supported us a lot, he told us that Zanzibar is free and we want also Mozambique to be free. He also sent several youths in Liberia for military training, he said now that we have a government most of your youths will be trained in our army. When they are ready they will go in the liberation struggle.

When they were brought at Dunga, one building belonged to FRELIMO and the other one belonged to ASP Youth League. They were separate buildings located in one area. Therefore when people came they found ASP Youth League. That was a cover up because the Portuguese were finding the Mozambican youth camps so

that they can bombard them. It seemed as if FRELIMO was not in Unguja while in actual fact it was there. There was Afro Shirazi Party Youth League here and we have built this tower here in loving memory of all our dead heroes. Also all our relatives departed to Mozambique.

There is a special commemoration every year: 25<sup>th</sup> June is Mozambique Independence Day and 25<sup>th</sup> September is Mozambique liberation struggle day, thus we usually come to put bouquets of flowers here. In loving memory of all those who died during the liberation struggle we also usually come here to put bouquets of flowers on Mozambique women day. Mr Jabir Pinyeke sacrificed a lot, he was the last FRELIMO chairman elected during the liberation struggle. He invited the FRELIMO youths to sleep in his house; he did not care if he slept out of his house because all he wanted was the youth to get the training and go back home. We also honour him.



## Mgonja, Chediell Y.

[Same; 13 April 2007]

*Honourable Chediell Y. Mgonja was once Same Member of Parliament, Tanzanian Minister for Education and Minister for Foreign Affairs. He was highly involved in the liberation struggle from 1962 to 1975. First in the United Nations where Mwalimu Nyerere used to send him to make follow up of various issues of liberation struggles, but he also played that role when he was a Regional Commissioner in Mtwara. He also was the Tanzanian ambassador to United Nations from 1962 to 1964 when he was in the 24 nations committee of the United Nations, which was responsible for eradicating colonialism in Africa and in other countries of the world. He was appointed to be Mtwara Regional Commissioner from 1972 to 1975; he inspired the citizens to be defensive against the Portuguese who invaded Tanzania regularly as retaliation against FRELIMO struggles in the border areas. Mr Mgonja was in his own village in same when this interview was held.*

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Thank you very much for including me in the list of people who are supposed to provide their experiences and opinions, I thought it was over with me but now that you have come I think my work is not over. In my case, I served in the United Nations from 1962 to 1964. By then the liberation struggle was at its height. Therefore the United Nations, because most of our countries had their independence by then and they were in the frontline in telling the world what colonialism was. Who are the people ruling in the neighbouring countries and what they were doing? Personally I was interested with the Committee of 24. There were four committees in the United Nations Assembly and the Committee of 24 was tasked to follow up colonialism issues. I remember when I was in New York we used to meet with the Boers and Portuguese in the meetings. The Portuguese said why this representative from Tanzania is not using diplomatic language, I told them this is not a parliament because for this to be a parliament the African citizens were supposed to be here but they are not here. Therefore I told them they were con men. You are not legit members of parliament until the legit members comes here.

I was fierce to the extent that I was accused to Mwalimu Nyerere, but I was loyal in fighting against the colonialism. And I thank Mwalimu Nyerere who defended me to the end and me also thank God. In 1965 I decided to come back home. It is not normal for someone who has stayed in New York to decide to leave, but I decided to leave New York. I came home and participated in 1965 election. I decided to participate in the parliament, maybe because I wanted to show the attitude of fighting against colonialism we had in New York. I also knew that I could be in a frontline at home than in New York. New York is a big luxurious city but also it is far, therefore I thought if I would be in Dar es Salaam I can participate well in the liberation struggle.

My youth spirit was high in criticising the colonialists. I criticised them in New York but I also decided to come back and criticise them at home. As you said, that is why historically the Minister of State in the President's office is given major responsibilities by the president. When I was with the late President he sent me to various meetings therefore I got an opportunity to fight against colonialism and capitalism. Mwalimu Nyerere gave me a great opportunity to fight against colonialism; this was not surprising, because I was elected in 1965 and in October 1965 the first OAU African leaders meeting was held in



Accra, Ghana. The late Mwalimu Nyerere appointed me as one of the members who attended that meeting. I was very surprised but I also was happy and grateful.

In the meeting we met face to face with those who were in the OAU frontline such as Nkrumah, Sékou Touré from Guinea and Abdel Nasser from Egypt and so many others who were in the front line in fighting for African independence. They were neither shy nor cowardice. It seemed like we have exchanged our position with those in New York

When I was appointed a Regional Commissioner of Mtwara, I was anxious because I was used to giving the position of the country in various meetings but I found myself in a frontline at Mtwara. I was grateful to be appointed the Regional Commissioner in Mtwara. The liberation struggle was not at its height by then. During that time I went to more than ten meetings in South Africa and in non-aligned movement countries. I attended various meetings, even before I was appointed the minister of foreign affairs Mwalimu sent me to various international meetings. Finally in 1972 he appointed me to be a Regional Commissioner in Mtwara. It was like a dream has come true to me, because in those days most of the people were afraid of going in Mtwara because it was a border which was a war zone. But I am one of those who went in Mtwara. As a human being I was a bit afraid of war, but in general I took heart, I had good spirit and happily I said I used to criticise them in New York, now that I am on the front line they are going to suffer the consequences. Therefore I went in Mtwara and there were some dedicated youths there. There were some youths from JWTZ, JKT, Police and they worked cooperatively with FRELIMO freedom fighters. Almost after every three months Samora visited me in Mtwara. Sometimes he slept at my place and we talked even at night. Therefore I was in Mtwara from 1972 to 1975 when Mozambique gained its independence. The main task there was liberation struggle and not anything else. The main task was to realize the freedom dream of Mozambique and all the other African countries.

Therefore our government had bigger plans. There was a hospital at Mtwara and the wounded freedom fighters came to be treated there. There was also a transit centre where they passed when they were going in other camps such as Nachingwea or when they were going for further training. Therefore there were a lot of activities. You may find that at night you are with the minister working on something then the next day there is something else, therefore there were a lot of activities. I liked very much that job and the freedom struggle was at its height and I was going to realize my dream of liberating Africa and the Africans.

Therefore those activities went on at FRELIMO hospital. Often when Samora came we went there to talk with them. There were a lot of popular centres which helped us a lot especially in defending the border areas. For instance at the border there is a place called Kitaya, the Portuguese used to fire the guns and missiles there regularly. Sometimes our youths bombarded the South African planes. I remember one of the wounded youth was called Salim; he was wounded in his legs and came to be treated at Mtwara but passed first at Kitaya hospital.

Therefore it was inspiring to see people die while fighting for independence. It was encouraging to see people sacrificing their lives for the liberation of Africa. It helped us not to use our positions for personal benefits. That helped me a lot. For instance there is a young man that I remember I saw, because when I was there I regularly went to the border. The border is near Ruvuma River; there were militants there and I was encouraging them and teaching them civics so that they can understand what freedom is.

Taking into consideration what happened in New York as well as seeing these youth coming here. The recruits from Mozambique came in Mtwara in troops. When they arrived in Mtwara they were invited to the regional commissioners' office to be inspired.

The other issue is about those Portuguese who were held captives. You cannot understand this easily unless you see it. But I saw the Portuguese who were held captives. During that time there was poor relationship between the white people and the Africans because of colonialism. But Portuguese were captured and were brought in the office when I was the regional commissioner; we sat them down however we feared them a lot. I was thinking of talking with them about colonialism before they went to Nachingwea because they were taken to Nachingwea and other places.

It reached a time when I was supposed to cross Ruvuma River. About my decision to cross the river I remember I told the late Mwalimu Nyerere that, these people cross the river every day and they get problems there but you have put me in power here to inspire them. Thus I would like to see what is happening beyond this place therefore I would like to ask you to allow me to cross the river. I am asking to cross the river because if the Regional Commissioner is caught on the other side of the river that will be the evidence that Tanzania is in war. Therefore I would like you to allow me to go there.

Mwalimu allowed me to go and the trip was organized with my beloved friend Samora whom at a certain point we became close friends. He went ahead of me and I followed with the arranged troops. We left at night; we went there at night because they were firing the bombs by using the planes. Therefore if you travel during the day you will be exposed. At the same night we travelled to Newala and then to Masasi at a place called Masulule. Then we travelled to Ruvuma River where our colleagues were waiting to escort and help us cross the river. A lot of Tanzanians went there including our security personnel and other youths. They sacrificed themselves to go there but some of them did not go further and went back home. But we crossed the border and went to the other side of the river. We were told about the Portuguese fortress which we usually saw from Mtwara especially through their lights at night.

We passed a bit far from their fortress and waited until dawn, in the morning we continued with our trip taking cover whenever the Portuguese cars approached. Also we took cover whenever we had the planes coming. I remember we reached a certain areas and realised that the Portuguese tanks had just passed. It was a very difficult trip. We moved on until we reached a place where Samora and I were supposed to meet, this place was arranged by FRELIMO. We arrived there but it was a dense forest. One thing I saw there were the trenches. They also prepared a parade of honour for me. They told me everything about that place including the number of trenches and then we went to sleep.

In the morning a certain fired young man was brought at the camp bleeding a lot, he kept saying "ooh help me". And I was told that was a regular phenomenon. When they came there they were taken to Mtwara for more treatment. I also took that as Tanzania contribution in the liberation struggle. The war was not far from where we were; it was at the seeing distance. I was with Samora who mostly spoke in English; he told us everything which was going on there. We stayed there for one day and then left after seeing the other side of the liberation struggle. We went back to Mtwara and left them there to fight for the freedom of their country. In 1975 before Mozambique gained its independence we invited Samora in Mtwara and he surprised me a lot. Samora told me that "On the independence

day you must go to Mozambique”. I thought they were going to hold a meeting but he was very serious. When the Independence Day was close I was told that the plane will take me from Mtwara to Dar es Salaam then from there I will fly to Mozambique. I got a warm welcome when I arrived in Mozambique. As long as I live I will never forget the reception I got when I arrived. In the evening we met with the president (Samora) who welcomed us. When my turn came, he hugged me and said “My soldier from the forest you have come in town! My soldier you have come! And I said “Yes I have come! The soldiers from the forest have come in town”. That was a very good day and the president went on welcoming us.

Sarakikya was also there and we knew each other well at Mtwara. We once consulted their Army Chief of Staff. In general their Independence Day celebrations were very good however the youth were violent. They were very happy firing the bullets at a close range. After the celebrations we came back and I understood that Samora kept his promise. I am very grateful to him. That is why his death made me sad. We were told about the death of Samora when we were in the parliament in Dodoma. Honestly I was not able to move from my bed the whole day; that was too much for me. That is how it is, a lot of our colleagues and the citizens had gone before independence. But we were luck to witness the independence of Mozambique. We enjoyed at Mashaba stadium. I will never forget Mashaba because we got a kind and warm welcome there.

You have reminded me about trenches. In Mtwara almost everyone had a trench; trenches also were built in the government offices. Also trenches were also available in some of the big houses. It was something new but it was very good, taking into consideration that I had already visited some of the villages which were in the front line in liberation struggle at Ruvuma River. Houses were lined up in the first and the second line. There was a very good cooperation between us and the villagers. They were not educated as we were but they understood well the liberation struggle, they also understood politics and showed their utmost dedication. They understood that we were at war. Also the houses were in two lines, the front line and the back line, it was very good. Some tasks were done in dealing with those citizens. We went there with knowledge of those house lines and we knew those citizens by their names.

The Portuguese argued that they were not bombing the citizens but in actual fact they were bombing then and even killed some kids at night. Therefore we told them that children are civilians, I also remember they ones bombed the car which was bought by the colonial government. They regularly tried firing the bombs; it was very frightening. I remember they tried destroy the lamps of almost the whole Mahunga village. They also tried it at the border but they were killed. I think Samora Machel knew that he had opposition in Mozambique even before independence. That is why on the Independence Day he said “aluta continua” (the struggle continues). My duties started at the United Nations and that is where I got this spirit, then I came back and I was appointed a minister of state, thus again I had an opportunity to be involved in the liberation struggle, then I was appointed a minister of foreign affairs and later Mtwara Regional Commissioner where I was highly involved in the liberation struggle.

## Mr Millinga

*Mr Millinga was highly involved in Tanganyika liberation struggle from 1952 when he was elected a secretary of Tanganyika African Association (TAA) at Tabora branch, and then he later became a TANU member in Dar es Salaam when it was launched in 1954. Mr Millinga was a founder member of TANU; he was dealing with Tanganyika liberation struggle while working under the colonial government. From 1954 to 1976 when he was a social welfare officer and a political committee member he provided a great contribution in the liberation struggle to the South African countries. His contributions include inspiring the freedom fighters in their camps and cooperating with them in various ways. The areas he dealt with include FRELIMO freedom fighters camps in Nachingwea, Lindi, Mtwara, Mbinga, Lundo, Mtomoni and Mbeya.*

I was employed by the government in January 1952. And my first appointment was in Tabora. When I arrived in Tabora I found TAA party. I remember the Chairman of TAA at Tabora branch was Mwalimu George Magembe. After a short while I joined TAA. I also remember that the government employees had their party, I do not remember well but I think it was called Tanganyika African Workers Association.

Fortunately after joining TAA I was elected to be a secretary of Tabora branch. When I was elected Mwalimu George Maghembe retired. Then Mwalimu Said Haroub was elected. I worked with him from 1952 to 1953. At the end of 1953 I was transferred to Dar es Salaam. At the end of November Mwalimu Nyerere came in Tabora to invigilate Cambridge examinations at Tabora School. My chairman (Mwalimu Haroub) told me that he wanted to invite Mwalimu Nyerere so that he can talk with us, by that time Mwalimu Nyerere had already been elected a TAA president. I arranged the meeting and I remember the member we had at that time were Saadan Kandoro, Steven Mhando, Shehe Amri, Abeid Kaluta and Mwalimu Andrea Tibandibange just to mention a few. I arranged a meeting and Mwalimu Nyerere came, we listened to him and discussed various issues related with our TAA party.

At the end of the meeting my chair man (Mwalimu Haroub) reported that, “Members I regret that this is our secretary’s last meeting, he will be transferred”. And then he said what we accomplished together. Then Mwalimu Nyerere asked “Where is he transferred to?” And he was told that I was transferred to Dar es Salaam. That was the first day Mwalimu Nyerere and I met.

In January 1954 I arrived in Dar es Salaam. Fortunately I was assigned to work here at Arnatouglo. I was an assistant manager at Arnatouglo Hall. The manager was called Mr Dennis Pombeya. One day Mwalimu Nyerere came at Arnatouglo Hall, he was a friend of Mr Pombeya. He came directly from Pugu to our working place then he went to the meetings. When he arrived there he saw me and fortunately he remembered me. He said “Millinga, you have come?” And I said “Yes I have come”. He said when I attended that TAA meeting in Tabora, I was very interested with what the chairman said about how you worked for TAA party. He told me that he was going to the meeting at our branch here Dar es Salaam and he wanted me to join the party committee. I agreed and I was very happy and grateful because this branch was the party headquarters. He told me that he is going to tell his colleagues about me and if they agree he will give me the feedback. He insisted that he would like me to join the party committee. He went to the meeting and came back the other day, he told me that he talked with them and they agreed. He told me that he will give

me the meeting notification letter and I agreed. That is how I got into TAA committee here.

Also the documents show that I was a TANU member at East constituent. At that time Morogoro, Coast and Dar es Salaam was known as Eastern Province. Therefore the documents show that I represented the East constituent because I was here. But I was born in Ruvuma. Therefore I was into the TAA committee until TANU was formed. That meeting involved the members from other regions with TAA branches. It was like TAA general meeting.

In the meeting Nyerere suggested that TAA was not going to help us, it was just a party for welfare demands. Therefore it was better to form a party which can help us to fight for the freedom of our country. All the members agreed with him and then we decided to form the constitution which can guide the party which we expected to form. It took some time to get the name TANU. There were some suggestions about the name. Others suggested TAU (Tanganyika African Union). But our colleagues in Kenya had KAU (Kenya African Union). KAU formed MAU those who were in MAU MAU war. Kenyatta was imprisoned in 1952. The members disagreed with TAU because it could be compared with KAU. The white people were not going to register it because it looked similar to KAU.

We kept on thinking of the other names; others suggested we call it Tanganyika African Congress. But at that time Congress was already in Uganda and when we were in the process of forming the party in Uganda Kabaka was exiled in England because of Uganda People's Congress party political activities. Therefore Uganda had the word congress which led Kabaka to be exiled. Therefore the white people could think that this was the same thing. We kept on looking for the appropriate name. Others suggested we call it Tanganyika African Convention, but it was found out that convention was used in Gold Coast (Ghana) and by that time Nkrumah was prisoned because of the struggle in Ghana.

We agreed that such names could be rejected by the colonialist registrar. They could compare us with the other freedom fighters and they could think that our objective was the same. In the second day, I don't remember who specifically but someone came with the name Tanganyika African National Union. The late Saadan Kandoro in a press conference with news reporters said he was the founder of the name. Also the day before yesterday I read on the newspaper that Ally Sykes is the founder of the name. But I do not remember who found the name. But Tanganyika African Union (TANU) was found and was accepted. That is the history of how we got TANU.

I remember when I was in TAA in Tabora the Governor's Chief Secretary prepared a circular which prohibited the government employees to be involved with TAA because it looked like it had some political motives. While in actual fact it was not a political party.

My committee asked me to write a letter on their behalf. I wrote a letter depicting the resolutions which were reached in the meeting; that we depended a lot from the government workers because they have the knowledge of the laws of the country. Therefore prohibiting them was killing the party and leading the citizens into trouble because if who are left in the party is only farmers who do not know the laws of the nation which maybe in foreign languages, they may come up with something which may look like an insult to you. Therefore we do not think it is a good idea to eliminate the government employees from this party. I remember I wrote that letter and sent it to the chief secretary. I do not know if the other branches also wrote the letter.

I remember I wrote the letter and the chief secretary gave us other procedures. He said that, they gave us six months to see what the government employees are going to do with the other members of this party. Therefore we were given a period of six months. After six months when we had already formed TANU they realised that TAA was a political party. Another circular with forms was prepared; it required government employees to indicate

whether they wanted to be in TANU or in the government; because you cannot serve two masters at the same time. I remember they said you cannot employ someone to sell your oranges and when he arrives at the road he tells the buyers that these oranges are not sweet. Therefore do you think if the one who have employed you hears that he will still keep you as his employee? For those who want to work with TANU sign here and leave the government work; and if you want to work with the government sign here and leave TANU party. Most of us, who were government employees signed to work for the government; and I also signed to work for the government. But our activities were secretly done at night. We did our meetings at night. Our contributions were concealed from the government. The government also put people to monitor us.

I think in the committee of 17 members, the news reporters were wrong because we were more than 17 members. There is one member who was not shown among the TANU founders. His name is Dennis Pombeya who was my manager at Anartouglo and I was his assistant manager when I arrived at Anartouglo. He was one among the founder members and he is the one who took that picture. I said earlier that when coming from Pugu Mwalimu Nyerere used to pass at Anartouglo to talk with the manager and then they went together to the TANU meetings.

When I joined the committee it was only Dosa Aziz who had a saloon car in 1954. If I am not wrong it was a Morris Minor car. He used to take Nyerere back to Pugu after the meetings. Mr John Rupia also had a lorry he was the one who brought firewood and charcoal in town.

I stayed here until the end of 1954 then I was transferred to Handeni to stay with the Kikuyu people. I went to relieve Mr Kawawa because we were in the same social welfare department. When Mau Mau started in Kenya the Tanzanian government gathered all the Kikuyu living in Moshi and Arusha and send them to Urambo in 1952. Mr Kawawa was sent in Urambo to console them so that they do not feel alienated.

When they arrived there their children were affected a lot by the weather. Mosquitos and malaria was their biggest challenge in Urambo, thus at the end of 1952 they were moved to Handeni. In 1953 they were moved to Handeni at a place called Tamota which is currently Kilindi district in Handeni. It is 45 miles west of Handeni town. They were camped there under the supervision of Kawawa. I went to relieve honourable Kawawa because he was supposed to come here to make a cinema, because he was a very good actor. Those who have seen his cinemas such as “Mhogo Mchungu” and “Meli inakwenda” will agree with me that he was a good actor in those days. I remember when Nyerere went to UNO I was not in Dar es Salaam, I was still in Handeni. When the Mau Mau war settled the Kikuyu we had in camps at Tamota were told to choose whether they wanted to go back in Moshi and Arusha and they were allowed to go. I was again transferred to Tabora when the camp was closed.

I do not have the records of how Mwalimu Nyerere contributions were done, I do not remember and I cannot explain how it was. Yesterday I read on the newspaper when the news reporters interviewed Mr Ally Sykes, he provided a lot of information because he was here during that time. Honestly one of the persons who strengthened TANU party when it was formed is Mr Ally Sykes. I remember he was a secretary at the beginning but we had no party. He was taking the minutes and the next day he goes to the office to work. He was working at the labour office. He took the typewriter in the office in the evening and typed the minutes at night. He returned the typewriter early in the morning when the messengers went to clean the office. Because he was a secretary his contribution in typing and keeping the files was enormous. I remember his contribution for the party to work effectively was enormous.

When I was at Arnatouglo as an assistant manager Mr Dennis Pombeya insisted on leaving the lights on at night whenever there was a meeting, because the meetings were held at night and we had nothing. Our office was along the new street road which is currently called Lumumba road. I was in charge of equipment at Arnatouglo, when I was looking for a lamp somewhere, in case I checked and found that a lamp was damaged I took it to Arnatouglo and exchanged it with the good one. Therefore we did the meetings at night and wrote LPO in the morning that this lamp is not working and moved on. That is what I remember. Is there anything else?

Because I did not come back in Dar es Salaam I continued working for the government at the region. When I was working at the region because of my contribution my colleagues told me about Mwalimu Nyerere trips. They told me that Mr Rupia had enormous contribution. I am not sure but they said he provided a cheque of 18000/= which helped Mwalimu Nyerere to go to UNO. It was in 1955 and I was in Tabora. That was the second term; my first term was in 1952.

I also I remember that when Nyerere made a speech at the United Nations he was questioned. They asked him that you are saying that your people in Tanganyika need independence? Some of the colonialist new Tanzania because they once were here, they asked him "Even the Ha need independence? He replied them that, yes they need independence. Then the Governor formed his own party called UTP (United Tanganyika Party), so as to oppose TANU. This party had a lot of white people in Tanga because of the Greeks who were in sisal plantations in Tanga. Its aim was to oppose TANU. Some of the Africans working for the government also joined this party. When Nyerere came back from UNO I remember the governor sent two members, Chief Thomas Marealle and Chief Yustus Mponda (Newala Makonde chief) to refute what Nyerere said to United Nations. Chief Marealle argued that Tanganyika was not ready for self-governance at that time, and it was only the Chagga could be given freedom but not the whole Tanganyika. Yustus also argued that the country was not ready for self-governance maybe it could be after 25 years from that moment. That is what they said at United Nations. But God is not greedy he heard the cry of the poor and we got the independence early before those who started the liberation struggle before us (Kenya and Uganda).

When TANU was strengthening, UTP (United Tanganyika Party) which was the opposition party was there. Most of its members were Greeks and the others White people. Its aim was to destabilize TANU so that it fails in the 1958 election. In 1958 TANU demanded the law making body. The colonialists had the Legislative Council (Legco). The members in the Legislative council were appointed by the governor. Most of the appointed members were white people with some few pro governor Africans or those Africans the governor thought they can understand each other well. I remember such Africans were like Chief Kidaha who later was called Chief David Makwaya of Shinyanga. I think Thomas Marealle and Chief Haroun Lugashawa of Sikonge. People like these were appointed by the governor at his own will. TANU was against this tendency. They argued that there was a need to conduct an election so that the members in the Legislative Council could be elected by the people.

The government agreed with that. But they had a condition that one person should vote for three people that is the White, the Indian and the African. Before agreeing with that condition TANU held a general meeting at Tabora in 1958. Kambona was the general secretary of TANU during that time. But Kambona went to study in that year and Mtemvu became the acting general secretary. I did not attend the general meeting in Tabora but I was following up what was going on there. Mtemvu and someone else were totally against

the three vote issue. Nyerere said we should not waste this opportunity. As long as the colonialists have agreed that we should form the parliament which will be elected by the people let us not waste this opportunity. But their condition is we should vote three people by casting three votes. That was a very complicated meeting. Mtemvu did not agree with the three vote issue therefore he decided to leave and formed his own party which was called Congress. People say in that meeting Nyerere cried saying why can't we take that opportunity; because if they did not take that opportunity they could not have got another opportunity. Therefore they agreed. The election involved only four constituents and not the whole country. Fortunately all the constituents which were involved in the election were taken by TANU. The UTP got nothing in 1958 election. In 1959 the election was done involving the constituents that did not participate in the 1958 election. All who won the 1959 election were TANU members. UTP collapsed in 1959. From there they had no members.

I think in 1958 election there was a TANU member but TANU did not appoint him to contest in that election. He was a private candidate. TANU appointed Amri Dodo from Babati to contest in the election. But Sarawat was a private candidate but he won the election. I think that is the only private candidate that won the election in the history of TANU. After winning the election he carried on being a TANU member and got higher positions in the party. He was a Chief; I think Amri Dodo was also a Chief. But I think Sarawat was stronger than Amri Dodo who was a Chief in Babati and Sarawat in Mbulu. I think he had more followers in his area and the people trusted him. It is in TANU records that Sarawat is the only person who was neither appointed by TANU nor supported by TANU and won the election. That is also a good thing to bear in our mind so as to see where TANU slipped and failed.

Uganda and Kenya started the liberation struggle ahead of us. We formed TANU in 1954 but Kenya fought Mau Mau war in 1952 and Kenyatta was imprisoned in 1952. As I said also Kabaka was captured and was exiled in England. But we got independence before them. I think our unity helped us to gain independence early before them. Especially Kiswahili language helped a lot to strengthen our unity. Because everywhere Mwalimu went he spoke Kiswahili and people understood him. But in other countries a leader goes to a meeting with Luo people but speaks in English because he is a Kikuyu. Kenyatta is a Kikuyu person, therefore interpreters were needed. Therefore the language is vital and it helped us a lot especially in strengthening our unity. Because everywhere Mwalimu went to explain our objectives, people understood him through that language and did not ask him questions. Therefore I think that helped a lot in strengthening our unity. I was a party member after independence and currently I am a CCM member despite the fact that I was a government employee. I did not work in the party but I participated in various party activities.

I remember the South Africans were given areas here to build their camps. I remember they had a camp at Mzinga in Morogoro. I think I remember a lot about Mozambique camps, I think they had a big camp at Nachingwea. They also had a camp in Ruvuma at Mkukuru. I think they also had a camp in Mbeya. I once visited the Nachingwea camp. During that time Samora was living in Nachingwea. One day we visited him there. It was their very big camp. He showed us some communication devices. He said when in Nachingwea those communication devices can intercept the communication of a plane which is in Ruvuma at Songea and thus the owner of the plane can be known. They were sophisticated communication devices from China.

We were in Lindi region political committee when we visited the FRELIMO camp. We



went to see how the liberation struggle was taking place. We were in a Regional TANU committee. I think it was around 1972 or 1973. Samora said that was their biggest freedom fighters camp. And anybody who was sent in the front line to fight in Mozambique passed there. Without passing at that camp even if a person was ready to go to war he was forbidden from going there. A person passed there so that they can check if he is well trained and can handle the challenges in the war zone.

I do not remember the kind of support we gave them. But we had some information which was recorded in the regional committee which explained the progress of the liberation struggle. Therefore one day members under the leadership of Mr Kawawa were sent there. We went there with Kawawa as one of the members of Lindi Regional Committee. It was necessary for political leaders to go there so as to see the progress of the liberation struggle. It is not only in Nachingwea but also there were freedom fighters camps in Morogoro, Ruvuma and Mbeya. I also visited Tunduru and Mitomoni in Mbinga.

I think the contribution from the government and the party was inspiration. In inspiring them some TANU members such as Mbita joined the liberation struggle and went in the front line in Mozambique. I remember well this person. He was a brigade in the government army. A lot of people who were in a front line in TANU were sent to get military training.

I was in Lindi from 1972 to 1974. Before going to Lindi I heard that the Portuguese regularly attacked Newala. The Portuguese flew planes there and sometimes missiles were fired. But when I arrived there such attacks were rare. But when I arrived in Lindi I saw trenches, even the offices had trenches for protection especially the offices in Mtwara. At Mtwara I saw the trenches in the government office. There were trenches in every office. When we arrived in Mbinga we were told to dig some trenches because planes were flying regularly. Sometimes in Mbinga I was told that there are missiles at the border. Sometimes missiles were fired and we heard them. I retired in 1976. Liberation struggle were going on. Did Mozambique gained its independence in 197? Unfortunately I was not close to the freedom fighters camps, though there was one freedom fighters camp in Lindi. At Lindi the freedom fighters camp was at Ng'amba. I used to visit there to inspire them about development matters. They had good responses and participated well. In Mbinga there was also another freedom fighters camp called Lundo, it was between Mbamba bay and Lituli. We once visited there with some of the women from our development department; we were dealing with the community development activities.

In Mbinga there was Lundo. But in Mitomoni there was a military camp. I also went there and met them in their camps. We had good cooperation with them. The camps which were close to me are Nachingwea and Mitomoni. Because Nachingwea was in the region I was working. We encouraged the citizens to cooperate with them in areas where camps were located in case they needed their support. Because the freedom fighters had their own borders, they were not allowed to stay in some of the areas. They were also not allowed to go out of their borders except with a special permission. Tanzanians were allowed to visit them and they had good cooperation.

In Nachingwea we inspired them to read and write; we gave them balls so that they can engage in body relaxing exercises so that they can refresh their minds and get rid of the feelings of being in a lost course. We wanted them to feel recognized at that time. We showed them the cooking areas, the children classes where they learned to read and write;

we also showed them adult classes.

I think Tanzania provided enormous contribution. First, by taking them in and giving them areas to carry out their activities, Tanzania did a great job. I do not think there is another country which supported the struggle as much as Tanzania did. I remember the people from Angola were also given areas to camp.

## Mbwete, Tolly

[Dar es Salaam; 17<sup>th</sup> November 2008]

*Professor Toli Mbwete has given his reminiscences about the South African country's independence struggles. He was just a primary school little boy in Mbeya region when he started meeting the freedom fighters from 1963 – 1969. As a TANU party member he witnessed people being inspired to cooperate with the freedom fighters who were camping around their domicile. Also when he started working with Region companies he also witnessed the cooperation between our military forces and the freedom fighters camps. He also witnessed the cooperation in purchasing various requirements whereby freedom fighters were given priorities in purchasing rare commodities such as foods. Professor Mbwete's accounts has touched various aspects of lives of common people living in the villages bordering the freedom fighters camps and the cooperation which existed in aspects such as sports and games as well as other aspects. During this interview Professor Mbwete was the Vice Chancellor of the Open University of Tanzania.*

Thank you Professor Temu and your colleagues. First, I would like to thank you for giving me this opportunity to give my brief account. As we said our aim is to give our researchers as much information as possible. I know you have a lot of information but you still need my information, when my information is combined with someone else's information it will help those who did not witness the independence struggles to understand what happened during the struggle. My account of the independence struggles is of when I was a little primary school boy because that is when the independence struggles were taking place in Tanzania. I met the freedom fighters in Mbeya where my parents used to live when I was studying at Saint Joseph/Nzoube from 1963 – 1969. Previously my parents were living at Majengo (Mbeya), for those who can remember at that time there was Mozambique freedom fighters big camp at Majengo. They were living somewhere in Majengo and I remember we were living in a rented house at Majengo near a popular club called Legco. Honestly, during that time the freedom fighters' life was not bad.

There was conscious rising to most of the Tanzanians under Mwalimu Nyerere leadership, as I said at that time we were youth of TANU party. Thus the policies of the importance of cooperating with the freedom fighters were in our minds; therefore we lived with them in the neighbourhood. They were living a normal life; they stayed in the camps but lived a normal Tanzanian life. The local government regulations did not segregate the freedom fighters in any way and therefore they felt at home. They sometimes went to music clubs; they even sometimes used alcoholic drinks which led them to fight with each other or with the citizens. They were not living a different kind of life, they lived like the Tanzanians in those neighbourhood. This was very important because the Tanzanians around those areas did not feel like the freedom fighters were favoured or living the high standard life than them. I think this is very important.

Often they were not wearing military uniforms, they were wearing like civilians except

when there was a special event, and therefore they looked different only when they were in military uniforms. Then we moved to Lwanda in Mwanjelwa (Mbeya). As you can remember this was near Mbeya airport, near the airport there was a big TPDF military base which later was turned into freedom fighters camp. By that time, I was one among the students who have completed the primary level of education. I and other students who were living in Mwanjelwa and studying at Mbeya secondary school had a football team called *Yankees Sports Club*. These are American names! It was a very good football team. The team comprised of students from other secondary schools as well as other people who were not studying but were good in football; most of the players in this team later played for Mbeya regional team.

Therefore we regularly met with the freedom fighters during the sports events. They regularly invited us to their camps to play football. This was a way of ensuring that there is close relationship between the Tanzanian citizens and the freedom fighters. We sometimes won and sometimes they won, what I learned from those matches is that the freedom fighters were sometimes insulting us in English. They were not good in football but they were very determined and that is why sometimes they won the matches. I remember one day I entered the pitch wearing the shoes, it was not easy to have shoes in those days, but I was wearing the durable blue football boots from China. When I was kicking the ball I knocked one of the freedom fighters boot and sustained an injury because the freedom fighters were very tough. Because I was young I tried to carry on playing but I was substituted after 20 minutes because my leg swelled a lot in just few minutes. The freedom fighters were polite; they dressed my foot with a *Plaster from Paris* and drove me home.

The important issue here is that we got the opportunity to talk with freedom fighters during these matches. Because of the hospitality of the Tanzanians, the freedom fighters lived a good life. There were some liquor stores in our neighbourhood, therefore we met with them during the matches and also ran into them in the streets. Some of them had close relationship with Tanzanians to the extent that some of them even got children in the neighbourhoods, and I think that is one of the memories of freedom fighters activities.

We often got the opportunity to meet with several national leaders when they visited the camps during the celebrations. I remember I first met Samora Machel in 1967 when I was in Mbeya. I remember he was not a FRELIMO leader at that time; he was an ordinary person before he was appointed. During that time there was a leader who was living there. I said I was living in Mbeya by that time, but I lived there temporarily because I was born in Mbeya rural district. Let me say something which I will later link with the death of Eduardo Mondlane. By that time I did not understand what that was because I was just a little boy but I came to understand it later.

There was a Roman Catholic Parish in my home village (Irambo) which is 34 kilometres from Mbeya town. When I was a little boy (1964 or 1965) there was a priest called Father Reno, he was a Portuguese but we did not know if he was from Portugal. Father Reno was living in our village in a style which despite the fact that I was a little boy I was sceptical about it. One day when I was 6 years old and a son of mission school teacher I was talking with father Reno and I was surprised when Father Reno greeted one of the citizen by using a stick, that is Father Reno was holding one end of the stick and the citizen was holding the other end. Although I was just 6 years old I was surprised because 10 minutes before he greeted the citizen I shook hands with him. Therefore I did not understand what made Father Reno to greet that citizen by using a stick. The citizen in the village also did not

understand Father Reno well because though he was a priest in our village he had no hospitality like the other priests. He kept a little monkey; generally his life style was different compared to other priests. Several years after the death of Edward Mondlane I think I was in Secondary school, I was surprised when I heard from RTD that Edward Mondlane was killed by a bomb which was in his parcel which was sent in Dar es Salaam. I was astonished because they said that Father Reno is the one who sent the bomb to Edward Mondlane after receiving it from Mozambique, and I am not sure if the people in my village know this.

The citizens in the villages usually take the priests for granted, but it is father Reno who sent the bomb to kill Edward Mondlane, this was found out because Father Reno's whereabouts were not known after the bomb incident. Therefore it came to my notice that the disappearance of Father Reno was connected with his sending of the bomb to Edward Mondlane. It was difficult to arrest him because this information came five years after the death of Edward Mondlane. After the investigation of the bomb which came from Mozambique to Edward Mondlane they realized that Father Reno was involved taking into consideration that he disappeared after the death of Edward Mondlane. He was never seen again in the village and the church said nothing about his whereabouts. Because there was someone who was providing services there who was very clever.

Later when I went to Mozambique to talk with some of the freedom fighters who lived in Tanzania they told me openly how the Portuguese colonial government was collaborating with the Roman Catholic Church. I was told that there was a tendency of people coming consecutively. Therefore you can realize that, Father Reno came for the Portuguese colonial government activities. The citizens were not told about this but ten years after the death of Edward Mondlane there was a programme in RTD which helped very much to give us information about the death of Edward Mondlane. I do not know if the old people had any information about the priest's activities in relation to the church.

That is my brief account of the freedom fighters activities in Mbeya region which I also witnessed when I was in Iringa. After completing the national service training I went to Iringa where I worked at Iringa Region Trading Company RTC. One of the things that surprised me is that, there was an accounting section at RTC which was dealt with various debts. Honestly speaking I came to realize later that the debt account (TPDF Mgagao) was the freedom account probably from South Africa, Zimbabwe or Mozambique. Therefore you can see how our military concealed the freedom fighters camps which were officially called Mgagao military camps. My task was to right clothes and khanga bills, the clothes were written TPDF Mgagao and were taken to the freedom fighters camps. The people I was dealing with also were coming from the freedom fighters camps but the citizens were not aware that those were freedom fighters camps. Some years later I was told that I was handling the bills of freedom fighters. Therefore our government tried to keep the freedom fighters safe in a way that an outsider could not be aware of.

Another remarkable incident which showed that the Tanzanian citizens both in rural and urban areas were conscious was when the Boers sent some people to demolish the TAZARA bridges; I think they knew that we were using that bridge in helping the liberation struggles. I remember one day more than 37 bridges were demolished in Zambia, but no bridge was demolished in Tanzania except there was an attempt to demolish the bridge near the dam in Mtwara. The attempt failed because the people who were sent to demolish the bridge were caught by the citizens under the leadership of the local

government. Though there were no sophisticated weapons but the security was well organized during that time. The Boers came with bombs in the village but they were surprised to find that they were caught by the civilians without the involvement of TPDF.

During that time people were not allowed to stay more than two days with guests in their houses without notifying the local government leaders otherwise the local government leaders can be suspicious about the person you are staying with. There is nothing like that in Tanzania currently because of the introduction of multiparty system. People say that they are not certain of some of the issues therefore they cannot participate in such security issues. Such procedures helped us in protecting our infrastructures without incurring a lot of costs in bringing in the military.

Concerning the activities of the liberation struggle in Dar es Salaam and Morogoro, I once visited my late nephew who was in charge of security issues in Tanzania. He was a TPDF soldier but he was dealing with the freedom fighters security issues in Morogoro. I was astonished to see a very good camp at Mazimbu in Morogoro which is currently under Sokoine University. In Mazimbu the freedom fighters were living a high standard life compared to the normal Tanzanian citizens. I visited my nephew (the late Wilgod Mponzi) who was a very good footballer. There was a very good relationship between the police, the military and the freedom fighters. Honestly, they were living a good life.

After almost twenty years of visiting that camp, I passed there recently as a member of the committee which was investigating the source of students' protests. I was disappointed when I saw how the situation is at the camp when I arrived at Mazimbu which is currently under Sokoine University. When I arrived I remembered how the situation was previously. Previously, there was everything but when I went there I was very disappointed. It seems we did not take good care of that camp after it was handed over to us. As a nation we need to make sure that camps like that are preserved properly. In general the people living in those camps had good life. There was everything there but in spite of having everything at the camp in the evening they were seen in Morogoro and in other places. They used those moments to meet with other Tanzanians so that they cannot feel lonely.

In case of Dar es Salaam, I remember when I was a student at the University of Dar es Salaam the Development Studies courses gave us various opportunities of talking with most of the freedom fighter leaders. We saw various freedom fighter leaders from different countries who were invited to attend symposiums at the University of Dar es Salaam. As I can recall the University of Dar es Salaam was the main centre of discussion of Africans development after independence.

I do not remember the person who told me about Mgagao TPDF, but if such a person could be available he could have given you more information. I was told that there was a misunderstanding between the citizens living near Mgagao and the freedom fighters because the citizens thought that there was a big misunderstanding between the freedom fighters in the camp. It reached a point that some of the freedom fighters living in Mgagao were transferred to Mbeya. The way they lived made me think they were like different kinds of refugees from Mozambique. Later, in groups came the freedom fighters from Zimbabwe; some of them were called Mugabe and others Nkhomo, their arrival led to a lot of chaos in the camp. Due to that, TPDF tried to rectify the situation but it was not possible

to leave them together, therefore some of them were transferred to Mbeya.

We could have seen the potential of the problem if the dangerous people could have given information to the wrong people. I will also say something which I did not say in my previous information. I and my friends heard that TAZARA helped in the liberation struggle that is why the people from the west were against Tanzania. They thought that, Tanzania was using the railway in transporting the cargo but the truth is that in the evening and in the morning the railway was used to transport the soldiers. I remember I once witnessed the last opened container of train carrying the soldiers at Msusi in Mbeya when I was at the bridge near the railway crossing. During that time the Zimbabwe liberation struggle wars were at its height. There were no chairs therefore; the soldiers sat down with the weapons in their hands. Unintentionally I saw the soldiers in the train container but they were sitting.

Therefore it is obvious that TAZARA helped in the liberation struggle. The transportation of soldiers was done at the right time so that the unrequired people cannot notice that the soldiers and weapons are being transported, somehow this is related with that of naming the camps TPDF Mgagao. Honestly, the camp was well concealed to the extent that some the citizens were not aware that there was something else apart from TPDF, but I think the risk of revealing the secret came when the chaos started in the camp after the arrival of Zimbabwe freedom fighters. As you know the Boers were looking for the way to bombard the camps. Therefore, the Boers could have discovered that there were camps of refugees from various countries if the chaos were left to persist for a long time. But in Mbeya apart from the freedom fighters living in town there were several refugees who were living in various camps in Chunya.

There were also complaints from the citizens that the freedom fighters were taking their wives because the freedom fighters were economically well off compared to the normal Tanzanian citizens. In Mazimbu camp the freedom fighters were living above the average life. Their lives were better compared to that of Sokoine University lecturers. There was a risk of losing confidence if you also compare the Sokoine University lecturers and the normal lecturers. Chaos between some of the freedom fighters and the citizens were regular phenomena. The situation could have been worse if the government at that time had not tried to raise the citizens' awareness. This helped a lot; I think there could have been chaos everyday if the citizens living near Mazimbu were like the current citizens. Citizens during that time were very conscious; they understood the situation existing in that area and were tolerant.

The people from Mbeya have a good relationship with South Africa, at that time a lot of people used to go to do mining activities in Johannesburg via the freedom fighters planes. But all those who went to South Africa came back very poor. People came back with cases pretending that they have some gifts for their relatives while in actual fact they even did not have clothes to put in those cases. The situation was worse. But I think it helped a lot in improving the South Africa economy. Their aims were to bring something back home but I think they consumed everything they got there because of the nature of life in South Africa.

When he was leaving Tanzania Samora Machel visited some of the places to thank the citizens, Mbeya was one of them. He built a hospital at Mwanjelwa. The hospital is in the camp where they were living. He said he will build that hospital and he did it and the hospital is still operating. The hospital was built at Gihumu. When he was living there he was just a normal desk officer.

I think Mbeya was not much heard because it was a transition area. Therefore the freedom fighters from all the countries passed at Mbeya and they stayed at Chunya and Mgagao camps. Therefore before going to those camps they stayed at Mbeya. This means that the freedom fighters from all the countries passed at Mbeya. Previously there were Mozambique freedom fighters then came Zimbabwe freedom fighters as well as the South African. I think they were at Mbeya town and in other camps which were in the periphery areas.

I think the government made I wise decision to hand over the complex to SUA after it was handed over to the government by the freedom fighters. But the government is responsible for the destruction which happened there because of the big interval between the departure of ANC and the handover of the complex to SUA; that was a plundering period. Therefore that is a lesson that, it will be better in the future such areas or camps to be handed over early to the person who is capable of taking care of them. The interval was too big and it was not possible to take care of the whole area because it was too big and there were some shared boundaries with the neighbours. Some of the government leaders were involved in the plundering of the carpentry industry.

I am saying that because I know how the Mozambican built the roads. The camps that were near the roads were turned into hotels within two months and other camps were turned into schools. But you cannot do that after three years because most of the things will be stolen. Mozambique decided that some buildings will be schools and others will be hotels and they succeeded. I think that is a lesson. But the bureaucracy of handing over Mazimbu from ANC to the government in sight of the funders is what led to problems at Mazimbu. The current Mazimbu status is quite different from the previous Mazimbu which was operated by ANC. The difference was caused by the camp handing over procedures. I believe that, this is a lesson to our government because there are still some refugee camps in our country. I hope these refugee camps will handed over to the other authorities immediately. If they had procedures of handing over the camps immediately it could have reduced the destruction rate of the properties.

Turning Mgagao into a prison was not a good idea; that is why I am saying there were no good plans of developing properties which were in these historical camps. Therefore turning Mgagao into a prison is something disappointing if you take its history into consideration. I think it is still an administration centre and most of the leaders go there.

The main difference between Mazimbu and Mgagao apart from that of hosting the freedom fighters is that Mgagao was in remote area. They did not queue for requirements because the distance from their camp did cost them a little bit. Mazimbu camp was near town, thus the government easily provided them with food without any complications, but I later realised that their foods were imported. We did not owe them because they are ours.

There were no business activities between the Mgagao camp and the nearby villages that is why I am saying that camp has no developmental impacts to the citizens. The camp was far away from the citizen normal activities. Freedom fighters at Mgagao did not travel a lot because they got their requirements through permits. Honestly the freedom fighters were favoured in food provision and khanga which I dealt with but the priority was in food which was handled by my colleague. Even in time of food shortage they were given food and I think they even did not notice that there was food shortage sometimes. They did not

scramble for food in spite of coming far from their camps.

Mgagao camp was far away; they went out but did not bring the women in the camp. They had a good discipline especially of not bringing women in the camp. We only got a chance to go in the camp during the football matches. There were no women spectators in those football matches. The discipline was very high. I used to see them I think with their girlfriends in the neighbourhood.

They had to separate them at Mgagao when it reached a point of wanting to kill each other and FFU were involved in rectifying the situation. The conflict sometimes happened between FRELIMO freedom fighters with TPDF, the police and sometimes with the military. Also sometimes there were conflicts at the end of football matches which involved TPDF and FFU. That was a military town. TPDF and FFU often came with weapons when they had a match. I remember it was 1970 – 1973 before Mozambique got independence.

I think the Boers did not realise in time that TAZARA was used in transporting the soldiers that is why they decided to come to demolish the bridges. But they said that they told Mwalimu Nyerere not to build the Railway line from Dar es Salaam via Mbeya to Zambia. They immediately provided funds to build the road which ran parallel to the railway line. And the railway and road constructors fought twice. They fought at Nyara and Makambako where the railway is passing below the road. They fought almost at every railway crossing and where the railway is passing over the road, FFU came almost at every road and railway meeting point. Therefore there was a strong conflict between the East and the West.

TAZARA helps the ordinary poor citizens. It is less expensive but it takes more time to reach to your destination but also the train are often congested. If you travel in 3<sup>rd</sup> class there is a competition over the seats, unless you pay for the 2<sup>nd</sup> class you will not be given a chance there. It is often very congested especially from Mikumi. TAZARA is very good especially to the ordinary people who do not care about time but care of arriving where they are going. But it is good compared to the central railway line; I think its management need to be totally liberalized.

There is almost no cooperation between Tanzania and the countries that we supported their liberation struggles. Tanzanian citizens think that it does not help. After all the sacrifices is this the end result? Of all the countries South Africa was not supposed to ask for visa to Tanzanians.

However they have allowed the government employees but there are few service passports if you look at the number of the service passports available. The total number of people with service passports and diplomatic passports does not exceed 2000. However the people with official passport do not need visa but the people with ordinary passport are the ones who need visa. A town like Johannesburg where a lot of Tanzanian illegal immigrants go is too wild and if you go there you may end up being frustrated in just two days. Therefore let them go and get frustrated then they will stop immigrating there illegally.

Even if you are economically well off you cannot import goods from South Africa because they are very expensive. Maybe if you go there you can come back with some stuff for the kids. When the South Africans come in Tanzania they often go to Zanzibar to purchase some commodities and they always say things are cheap



hear. It is now a common market; I think people will go there and will get losses and will come back complaining that South Africa is not good.

If you will excuse me, I would like to thank you very much now that I have given you my brief account of the liberation struggles of the South African countries.

## Mchingama, Mwenyekiti J.J.

[Zanzibar/Pemba; April 2006]

*Mr J.J Mchingama was the founder of the alliance of liberation parties' youth during the struggles against colonialism in Zanzibar. Having the Mozambique origin it was easy for him to be involved with the Mozambican freedom fighters when he was young. According to him the Afro Shiraz Party and FRELIMO youths collaborated in various aspects including joint training at Dunga camp. He was among the youths prepared for liberation struggle but he was left in Zanzibar and did not go to Mozambique. Mr Mchingama got military training through the Youth League and worked under Tanzania Peoples Defence Force to the rank of a Captain when he decided to enter into politics. During the interview Mr Mchingama was a CCM chairman in Mjini district in Zanzibar also he was the Chairman of Zanzibar and Pemba Elders.*

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Let us start with what existed before Afro Shiraz. Before Afro Shiraz there was Shiraz Association and African Association and before these there was the African Social Welfare Club; in case of Zanzibar this is the mother of all the other parties.

That resulted from African Football Club, whereby previously in Zanzibar there were a lot of ethnic football teams such as the Arabs, Comorians and Hindu. But most of the players in these teams were Africans. Therefore the late Karume and Mr Hamadi Semsi decided to form their own team. The team they formed became the first team in Zanzibar which won Zanzibar cup, the cup which previously was taken by their previous teams. After that they decided to proceed with other issues, and from there the Africans from Zanzibar started to be famous.

Then African Association was formed at the end 1955 to deal with such issues, the African association existed up to 1956 when Shiraz Association was formed. In 1957 they decided to join their forces and formed one party known as Afro Shiraz. What were the objectives of Afro Shiraz? The objectives of Afro Shiraz are in the Afro Shirazi manifesto, in the manifesto they said that they wanted to help other countries which were still fighting for independence. Fortunately or unfortunately Afro Shirazi did not deal with many people because there were few people here. But fortunately Makonde and Pakii were here as the history of Zanzibar depicts that most the people who were in Zanzibar originated from the South.

They were brought here due to their talents; every tribe in the south had its talent. There were Makonde, Mwera, Ngoni and Yao. All these tribes are from the South. Because they were captured at Mikindani port they were directly brought at Mkunazini market where there is the Anglican Church currently. At Mkunazini there was a market and gallery to keep those people. Therefore every tribe came with its talents, the Makonde were good in carving and therefore most of the valuable houses had the doors carved by Makonde. Mwera were good in sewing the robes, Yao were good masons and Ngoni were good in aesthetic activities just as they are. Therefore all those talents were from the people of the southern zone, and Afro Shirazi had many people. Afro Shirazi liberated a lot of people from south because most of them came in Zanzibar as servants.

When the Portuguese were chased from Oman they came to the East African coast and went to Kilwa, the Portuguese brought the Zaramo and Ndengereko from the coastal zone. Therefore the Portuguese were taking the people there and bringing them in Zanzibar to be slaves. At the beginning Afro Shirazi helped Makonde who were living here but after independence they did a big job of importing them. In Zanzibar there was FRELIMO

headquarters which was bigger than what was in Tanzania mainland. Therefore ASP supported FRELIMO a lot. I think ANC was in Tanzania mainland. After the revolution ASP helped a lot FRELIMO in the liberation struggle regardless of the fact that it was a small and weak party found in the island. Fortunately due to the support we gave them I was in the Afro Shirazi Party delegation and participated effectively when Mozambique gained its independence on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1975. Therefore Afro Shirazi and FRELIMO party were very close. We helped them when there was a celebration because FRELIMO used to dance vigil here. They built pavilions at Mnazimmoja and raised some funds which were sent to FRELIMO to support the struggle.

Therefore Afro Shirazi did a great job for FRELIMO because of its people, I remember during the Zanzibar revolution we used to say Makonde move forward. Because Makonde had arrows (nchale) but during the revolution the Makonde said Makonde move forward "*Mmakonde chonga mbele*" Thus Afro Shirazi supported FRELIMO struggle more than any struggle. I was also told that most of the cloves in Pemba were planted by the Mozambican. That is why we also have a place called Pemba a name similar to Pemba bay found in Mozambique. Therefore when the freedom fighters arrived there they started calling it Pemba just as their Pemba in Mozambique.

This name originates from the south (Umakondeni - Pemba bay). They are the ones who brought it to Kilwa and then to Zanzibar because of cloves plantation. Before that Pemba was just an island with no popular name. There are several Makonde names and proverbs in Pemba. Traditional dances also originated from the south, for instance "*Kibaki*" which originated from Pundasimali; "*Ngombe*" and Msewe originated from Kongwa people. But there is one thing which will never change; Makonde cannot pronounce /m/ therefore the people from Pemba as well cannot say a person "*mtu*" or bread "*mkate*" they say "*ntu*" and "*nkate*". To sum up I can say that Afro Shirazi greatly supported the struggle of the South African countries.

During the fundraising they used to build pavilion and played their traditional dance (sindimba) and a lot of people came to the dance and paid the money for the show and the money was sent to support the liberation struggle. They also built the FRELIMO headquarters in Zanzibar. Currently we have the FRELIMO ambassador in Tanzania his name is Zacharia; he was my colleague whom we worked together in raising funds to support FRELIMO. Zacharia is from Kiembe Samaki and he was my school mate, his studies were sponsored by ASP.

Before the revolution there was a house here called "*Club ya Wamakonde*" but it is no longer there. It was a big popular house built alongside the main road. Therefore when all the Makonde came here the Club ya Wamakonde house were their destination. They were given another government house at Mnazimmoja when Afro Shirazi got into power. This was a government house but Makonde were given it for the activities of the government of their country. After the revolution they were given the government building because by then FRELIMO was an official party. In case of Zanzibar we prepared the FRELIMO youth and then sent them to Tanzania mainland where they were trained, after the training they went back to Mozambique. Therefore we used to take most of the FRELIMO youth to Mozambique when they were well trained. Zacharia was one among the youths who were trained and then were taken back to Mozambique for liberation struggle.

At Dunga there was an in charge called Mwambole, he was responsible for all the Makonde at Dunga. Therefore in case any Makonde was needed Mwambole was consulted at Dunga (Stone house). Stone house is currently used as a hall by CCM youths. Therefore if you needed to meet the Makonde they were found at Dunga. That was their meeting point. Near Mnatiboti there was a farm which was used by FRELIMO in liberation struggle activities.

There were two issues; there was FRELIMO preparation and revolution preparation, these were two different issues. There were some Makonde at Kitope but were not prepared like the Makonde at Dunga who were prepared for FRELIMO liberation struggle. At Kitope the Makonde were prepared for the Revolution and not for FRELIMO struggle as in Dunga.

The Revolutionary Government provided a special financial support to FRELIMO during the liberation struggles; after the revolution the government had the ability to mobilize funds which helped very much in the liberation struggle. But in those days struggle unlike these days it was not possible to announce that we have given FRELIMO let say 6 million, but they had a lot of internal support which exceeded the financial support. In those days it was not possible to announce like we have supported FRELIMO with 20 million. Those days 5 hundred thousands is equivalent to todays 400 million. Therefore the government supported FRELIMO with up to 6 hundred thousands.

The nature of our politics allowed us to be involved directly with FRELIMO and FRELIMO agreed that FRELIMO should also be in Zanzibar. Therefore the other parties had no power at all because we knew that unity was our strength and separation was a weakness. Therefore, we inclined to one party, which is why it was able to liberate the country. Liberation could have failed if we could have divided ourselves into two halves. Taking into consideration that ASP was in power at that time therefore, the government was of one party.

After the revolution, the citizens had associated themselves with Afro Shirazi related behaviour, character, ideology and principles. We usually met when they had some activities. Whenever there was a revolution activity a lot of them came and offered their support, we also knew when FRELIMO was formed therefore we also joined them whenever they celebrated the formation of their party. We had good relationship because there neither Arabs nor Panjabi who could discriminate Makonde people; all the people were united. FRELIMO also had a good relationship with Afro Shiraz and that was the citizens' point of reference. And if someone else came with something else the citizens rejected it. There is still a good relationship that is why we have ambassadors and sometimes the Mozambique presidents come here. I think Samora and the president next to him came in Zanzibar and made speeches and a lot of citizens attended. Also when we were going to Mozambique for the Independence Day celebration people bid us farewell because we were their representatives. There were not less than 15 government representatives. I was a representative of groups which collaborated with FRELIMO and I went there with some cultural groups. There were also cultural groups from Tanzania mainland as well as Pemba and I was the leader of all the cultural groups which went to Mozambique. There were leaders as well as youths of various cultural groups who went to celebrate the independence which we helped to get. We witnessed the Portuguese flag being lowered and free Mozambique flag raised, therefore some of us are beneficiaries of the fruits of independence. But we went there on behalf of the people of Unguja. As I said we and the Makonde are relatives.

We did not participate in the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe and other places because we were responsible in the liberation of the people in Unguja and the people from the south that were brought here to do heavy duties.

The preparation of the revolution started after the enlightenment from PAFMECA when Mr Karume, Hanga, Othmani Sharif and Salehe Sadala went in London to approve the constitution. They passed at Ghana and Kwame Nkrumah told them it will take long if they wait for the colonialists to give them freedom, therefore he advised them to start fighting for their freedom. They were told if they carried on living with the British and Arabs their freedom could be delayed for so long. He also advised them that they can retain the Sultan

with the condition of giving the majority what they need and if he refuses then force have to be used. That was a counsel from PAFMECA to Zanzibar and it helped to reduce the time to be ruled. Before going to Ghana they had a job of strengthening the party. After that we started hearing a song in Zanzibar *“Mr Abeid has come back from Ghana, wearing a woven hat in the afternoon. He went to get some information which has been modified”* When we were in the process of forming a constitution, they passed at Ghana and they were told that their freedom will be delayed. The colonialist will stay longer and you will be delayed. Therefore PAFMECA helped a lot in Zanzibar liberation struggle. PAFMECA recommended that; *you need to unite in fighting for the freedom especially because there is multiparty system, but you need to fight for independence together regardless of the differences in your policies.*

That is why we agreed and did election in Zanzibar. It was also agreed that the prime minister obtained through that election would be given the freedom. But Mohamed Shamte was not given the freedom instead he was given more power and the addition of cloves in his flag contrary to Sultans’ flag which was red, this implied that Mohamed Shamte also has more country economic power. Therefore we were expecting to see the economic power that Mohamed Shamte was going to have as indicated in the cloves flag but unfortunately he did not get it and Sultan continued ruling. Because our main objective was to get freedom and God helped us our revolution had no problems. If Mohamed Shamte could have ascended into power then revolution could not have happened because the power then could have been in the hands of the local people. But when the British left they handed the power to the king and the flag was changed therefore we were not satisfied because what we wanted was the freedom.

You know the main objective of revolution is self-governance, and self-governance was possible because of unity. Therefore our unity became very strong to the extent that it helped in the liberation struggle of other people who were not free. Therefore one of the main concerns of revolution was the unity through the African countries, because that is where the panel of the freedom fighters was. The panel of the freedom fighters was in the United Republics and therefore ASP did the revolution and united with TANU and hence joined the panel of the whole Africa. This is what was said by PAFMEC that if you gain independence then we will you unite to liberate all the other countries.

Those were our objectives and therefore we easily joined with our colleagues, then Karume became the president and the vice president was appointed and the country was united. In those days ASP was very strong to the extent that it was able to run everything in the country. During that time money was taken to the republican, at that time it was not as good as it was with the revolutionary government. Therefore we helped the other African countries to get their independence that was the first step in Africa as we agreed in PAFMECA. After the revolution the Zanzibar economy was very stable. Therefore after forming the republican government, Tanzania became the headquarters of the freedom fighters and the contributions were sent to Tanzania mainland. Therefore instead of saying Mozambique we started calling it Africa struggle.

From what I know the PAFMECA meeting was not held in Zanzibar but was held in Ghana under Dr Kwame Nkrumah, several African countries were invited including Zanzibar. In case of Zanzibar the late Abeid Amani Karume and if I am not mistaken he was accompanied by Othman Sharif as Afro Shirazi Party representatives in the meeting. In case of Zanzibar National Party, Ally Muhsin and Abraham Babu attended the meeting. In the meeting Kwame Nkrumah ordered that Afro Shirazi Party must be given its right of the conducted election because Afro Shirazi Party won the election. Because the other party was under monarch system they did not agree with the order that was given. The citizens including the Mozambican were highly motivated and liked Afro Shirazi Party to the extent

that they pushed the late Karumes' car from the airport to Kisima Majogoo when the late Karume came back from Ghana. They pushed the car and made the late Karume wear the woven hat and sang "*Karume has come back from Ghana wearing a woven hat in the afternoon*" Due to this you will find that to date most of the CCM members like to wear the woven hats in their meetings.

After coming from Ghana the late Karume held the meeting at Ndaga which up to date is called Ghana. There is pitch, however small it is but most of the Africans including the ASP members and other community members gathered there to listen what happened in Ghana. Babu and Ally Muhsin were not there because they were against Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's suggestions.

Some of the leaders used to come after that meeting, for instance Tom Mboya who was the leader of the labour party in Kenya came after that meeting. Mr Rashid Mfaume Kawawa also came because he was the leader of Tanganyika Labour Party by then. They came to inspire the African farmers and workers. As I have said leaders such as Tom Mboya and Rashid Mfaume Kawawa came but I do not know what they discussed in their meetings but our aim was to entertain them as our African leaders. Due to the good relationship that existed between Afro Shirazi Party and the government, we were given three houses. Two houses are at Kikwajuni and one is this I have just shown you here. We were given these houses as a gift for the cooperation we had during the Zanzibar revolution and the on-going cooperation. Our representative used to stay there before we got the embassy. Our representative came from Mozambique and he was called Bathlomeo Mtika. He is still alive but currently he is in Mozambique. When our representative left, the houses were kind of abandoned with exception of the two houses at Kikwajuni where our embassy is and currently the consul is staying there. When we got the embassy we wanted to renovate the house which was abandoned but unfortunately the government had already given it to the National Bank of Commerce (NBC) without our consent. But the revolutionary government of Zanzibar decided to give us this building, but we were required to make some payment so as to get the title deed, therefore the government of Mozambique gave us some of money so that we can get the title deed. We were given it for free because we know it is not easy for a country to give another country an area unless they have a close relationship. Up to date we have this house as Mozambique property which was officially handed to us by the government. We are using Kikwajuni houses as our offices and we are not disturbed at all. We take it as a contribution of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar to the government of Mozambique.

The current ambassador is called Bernado Costantino Bigimba. As I said earlier we had a very good relationship with Afro Shirazi Party, for instance Amri Zacharia who is the ambassador of Mozambique to Tanzania is a Makua. His parents came from Mozambique and he was born at Kisauni village in Zanzibar. He studied at Kiembe Samaki. But during the liberation struggle his parents offered him to do activities at a FRELIMO branch, thus he worked there before independence. He was then transported home just as the other youths trained for liberation struggle, then he was sent to study in Cuba and other countries. Currently he is the ambassador and before being the ambassador to Tanzania he was the ambassador to Cuba and Russia. But fortunately currently Mozambique decided bring him back to his roots; that are why he is the ambassador here.

His late father Mr Zacharia died here and was buried here at Mwanakwerekwe. The FRELIMO members here have a tendency visiting the grave regularly because that is an order from the ambassador who also has a tendency of visiting his father's grave annually. When he came to introduce himself to president Amani Karume he also visited his father's grave as well as Kiembe Samaki, at a school where he studied, he asked the president to tell the minister of education to take him to the school he studied (Kiembe Samaki). Therefore

the minister unexpectedly had a big task of organizing that event. But the ambassador had no complications, when he arrived there he went to his final class, set on the desk and asked the head of school to bring a log book which was used when he was studying there. He was very happy to see his name in the log book; he made a speech inspiring the children to study hard. He told them he is an ambassador and they can also become ambassador or even become some one great than the ambassador.

The current ambassador in Zanzibar did not live here but his parents lived in Tanga in Tanzania mainland during those days of sisal plantations. Therefore he stayed there for some time thus he is not a foreigner in Tanzania.

Our contribution to Mozambique liberation struggle was enormous; one of our contributions was that of integrating the FRELIMO Youth league and Afro Shirazi Party youths. Bear in your mind that when the Portuguese started fighting against FRELIMO freedom fighters, they knew that Tanzania was the mastermind of the struggle. Therefore the Portuguese new that Tanzania was their great enemy. Therefore they distressed Tanzania a lot. Bear in your mind that they started bombarding some areas in Mtwara such as Mikindani looking for the freedom fighters camps. But they did not know that Zanzibar was the centre of liberation struggle because FRELIMO was training their youths in Zanzibar Liberation Army and later in the Tanzania Peoples Defence Force, and these freedom fighters had their camps. Therefore the Portuguese were looking for the Mozambique freedom fighters camps in Zanzibar. Fortunately The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar found out about Portuguese plans, hence the government decided to conceal the FRELIMO youths by establishing a youth wing and its headquarters were at Dunga (Wilaya ya Kati). In case the Portuguese came they could have seen the ASP youth league and not FRELIMO, while in actual fact in ASP youth league there were also FRELIMO youth league. This was done so as to conceal them and this was also the contribution of Afro Shirazi Party in Zanzibar. In Zanzibar they were doing some production activities and also got the preliminary training, when they were ready they were transported to Dar es Salaam through the government ship after arriving in Dar es Salaam they were transported to Nachingwea by buses.

Previously the youth league did not go in the war with the Mozambican but when the war was at its height we believe a lot of youths went in the war. They were under the youth wing leadership of the Youth League. Its chairman was the late Seifu Bakari and others were Hafidhi Suleiman, Said Abdallah Natepe as well as Rajabu Kheri; these were in the frontline in supporting the youth wing as well as making sure that FRELIMO is liberated. Therefore they inspired a lot the youths in the youth league. There are some youths who joined the liberation struggle legally as ASP youths but there are other youths who were inspired and joined the struggle illegally just to makes sure that they helped Mozambican in their struggle.

The late Khamisi Daruweshi was among those who were in the youth league, another one was Seifu Bakari and the late Khamis Dharuweshi was also one among the 14 committee members of the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council. When the war started I think he was one of the FRELIMO front liners and I think he was in the Mozambique liberation struggle committee. He was elected, when Mozambique got independence they gave an invitation and the Revolutionary Government appointed Khamis Duraweshi among the other members who went to witness when the Portuguese flag was lowered and Frelimo flag rose.

There was a special committee which dealt with Mozambican liberation struggle whose headquarters were in Dar es Salaam and not in Zanzibar and its plans were controlled by OAU. I think Committee's Executive Secretary was Hashim Mbita; sorry for mentioning his name like that because he was a high ranked soldier but I am sorry for saying that

because I am also a soldier and he was my superior. He was a captain at that time and I was a sergeant; I think I was a lieutenant when he became a major, I think he may be a Brigadier General by now. Any FRELIMO liberation struggle committee did not do anything without the approval from OAU liberation committee and that is where Hashim Mbita was in charge. That is why Hashim Mbita is popular especially in the Mozambique liberation struggle; he is a respected person because of his great contribution in the liberation struggles.

The youths who were involved in the Youth League, in case of Mozambique they include Tangawizi who however did not go there but participated in the struggle, Lucas Anthony he is old now living in Tanzania mainland. In case of Zanzibar Rajabu Kheri participated in the struggle, however he was not a leader but he used to go there to see the progress of the liberation struggle, therefore he was in the front line, Halima Hafudhi was a person from Zanzibar involved in the liberation struggle however she was later accused of treason after the death of Karume. I think she changed her attitude that is something else but she participated in the struggle from Zanzibar and Seif Bakari was in the fore front line. I was also one of them but I was nominated to join the others in Dar es Salaam including the late Samora Machel, we were supposed to go abroad for military training.

But we were prohibited by the colonial government to go abroad. They provided four ships to transport back the people from Tanzania mainland whom they thought were menace; they wanted only the people of Zanzibar to remain here so as to avoid problems during the election. Therefore FRELIMO wanted to use that opportunity to transport us but they said no more people were supposed to travel therefore the other people who were supposed to travel were told to remain here; I was one of those who remained here. After the revolution, FRELIMO asked the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar to take some of the youths abroad for military training but Karume said there was no enough money to take the youths abroad for military training but there were some military experts who were coming to train the soldiers in Zanzibar therefore he allowed FRELIMO youths to be trained in Zanzibar and when they were ready they were transported. Therefore that is when most of the Mozambican youths joined the liberation army. When the republican army was formed some of them were taken to Tanzania mainland where they were trained and left for the struggle. But when the war was going on Karume suggested that some of the youths have to remain here otherwise there will be no one left here. He suggested that other youths have to remain here to be teachers, that is why I remained here as a reserve person.

There were also women who participated very well through Zanzibar Women Organization and they were in the front line inspiring the Mozambican youths. Several youths were involved in helping the Mozambicans. However, I was a reserve soldier; some of my relatives (a man and a woman) participated in the war in Mozambique. There are other Makonde youth such as Bicky Mpango, Claudie and Alphonce who went to Mozambique and fought well. The Zanzibar Women Organization inspired the Mozambican women to support the FRELIMO party. And they were supposed to be the guardian of the party, because a woman is a mother. Mozambican women were told to inspire men and youths to be in the front line in the liberation struggles and in providing various contributions. Therefore a lot of cultural groups were formed. Dances such as Sindimba was danced by women, the money collected in these dances were used in the liberation struggle.

Currently we have the embassy, which is also a kind of cooperation; we are very grateful that there is a good cooperation between Tanzania and Mozambique Women Organizations. I don't mean to segregate but most of the Mozambican are at Dunga and Bungi in Wilaya ya Kati in South Region but if you go south in Makunduchi and if you go



north in Dunga there are no Mozambicans. The Mozambicans in the whole district have a good relationship with UWT. Bearing in mind that on 7<sup>th</sup> April of every year it is a women day in Mozambique. When we go to Dunga I will show you the picture of the first Mozambican women leader, her name is Josina Machel, she is the founder of the women day in Mozambique (7<sup>th</sup> April). I think 7<sup>th</sup> April was chosen because it the day Josina Machel died. Therefore on 7<sup>th</sup> April every year we invite the UWT to join us in doing various activities such as putting bouquet of flowers, dancing and holding meetings. And whenever UWT have any activity they invite OMEME (Organization Mozambique Mulieli), Mulieli is a woman. That is Mozambique Women Organization. Therefore there is a good relationship which started during the liberation struggle. They once came here and held a party with district council leaders and took some pictures together. Currently I have an invitation letter from UWT inviting OMEME to their event. In Zanzibar OMEME centre is at Dunga.

There are plenty of contributions which we got from individuals; I am grateful because so many people in Zanzibar supported the liberation struggle. They provided money, clothes and even animals; that is why I told you about donkeys; may be you cannot understand why donkeys? What was the role of donkeys? During the war there are some military weapons which can be carried by humans and others can be carried by cars, these are such as the missiles. During the war there are some weapons which we got from China, Russia and Cuba, some of them were too heavy to be carried by human beings instead they were supposed to be carried by cars but unfortunately you cannot go with the car in a secret war zone. That is when some freedom fighters in Zanzibar suggested the use of donkeys.

Thirty donkeys were contributed by all Afro Shirazi Party branches during that time. Kitowe branch provided 20 donkeys and 10 donkeys were bought by FRELIMO members at a very low price, it was like a contribution. The donkeys were taken to Dunga and were shipped for free by Zanzibar government ship to Dar es Salaam where they were transported to Nachingwea. It was also discovered that at certain ours the donkeys bray, therefore doctors did something to stop them from braying because the weapons were supposed to be transported secretly. The Chinese experts discovered that at certain hours a certain muscle of donkey irritates and it stops irritating when a donkey brays. Therefore the donkeys were operated to remove that muscle (vocal cords) so that they could not make noise when carrying weapons.

I was a dependable reserve soldier and I knew that the government was helpful in various aspects. Money was provided to support the liberation struggle, probably my superiors knew, but what I know is that there was a special fund and its account was in Tanzania mainland. All the countries which supported the liberation struggle sent the money in that account. Probably the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar also sent the money to that account. I remember that fund existed till independence.

In the first picture is the late Dr. Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, the first FRELIMO leader. He is the founder of FRELIMO which was formed out of three parties which are MAWU, DENAMO and KOREMO; he disbanded the three parties and formed FRELIMO in 1962 at Msimbazi in Dar es Salaam. And he said there is no other way of talking with Portuguese except through war. He also once visited Zanzibar at Cooper's pitch which is currently called Maisara.

In the second picture is Samora Moses Machel who took over the party after the death of Dr. Mondlane, he led the party until 1975 when Mozambique got independence. But still the colonialist followed him a lot. He died in a controversial plane crash which is still under international investigation to date. He came in Tanzania to bid his farewell in 1974 and 1975. After independence he visited the whole Tanzania. The other picture with fire and a woman, that is Josina Machel, she was one of the Mozambique freedom fighters, and

she was the first woman to fight against colonialism. She was married to Samora Moses Machel and she died a heroic death during Mozambique freedom struggle wars. She also came in Zanzibar to inspire the women and she is the founder of Mozambique women day (7<sup>th</sup> April).

Alberto Joachim Chissano took over after the death of Machel; he served according to the constitution and stepped down when his term of office was over. In the other picture is Armando Emilio Gwebuza who is our current president. In the other pictures in front of us is the late Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere. Out of sympathy on how the Mozambicans were suffering in fighting for independence, he came and convinced Dr. Edward Mondlane that a leader was needed and that is when Dr. Mondlane left his teaching career and followed Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere's call and went to Dar es Salaam.

In case of the Mozambicans living in Zanzibar Abeid Amani Karume supported us a lot, he told us that Zanzibar is free and we want also Mozambique to be free. He also sent several youths in Liberia for military training, he said now that we have a government most of your youths will be trained in our army. When they are ready they will go in the liberation struggle.

When they were brought at Dunga, one building belonged to FRELIMO and the other one belonged to ASP Youth League. They were separate buildings located in one area. Therefore when people came they found ASP Youth League. That was a cover up because the Portuguese were finding the Mozambican youth camps so that they can bombard them. It seemed as if FRELIMO was not in Unguja while in actual fact it was there. There was Afro Shirazi Party Youth League here and we have built this tower here in loving memory of all our dead heroes. Also all our relatives departed to Mozambique.

There is a special commemoration every year: 25<sup>th</sup> June is Mozambique Independence Day and 25<sup>th</sup> September is Mozambique liberation struggle day, thus we usually come to put bouquets of flowers here. In loving memory of all those who died during the liberation struggle we also usually come here to put bouquets of flowers on Mozambique women day. Mr Jabir Pinyeke sacrificed a lot, he was the last FRELIMO chairman elected during the liberation struggle. He invited the FRELIMO youths to sleep in his house; he did not care if he slept out of his house because all he wanted was the youth to get the training and go back home. We also honour him.

## Mgonja, Chediel Y.

[Same; 13 April 2007]

*Honourable Chediel Y. Mgonja was once Same Member of Parliament, Tanzanian Minister for Education and Minister for Foreign Affairs. He was highly involved in the liberation struggle from 1962 to 1975. First in the United Nations where Mwalimu Nyerere used to send him to make follow up of various issues of liberation struggles, but he also played that role when he was a Regional Commissioner in Mtwara. He also was the Tanzanian ambassador to United Nations from 1962 to 1964 when he was in the 24 nations committee of the United Nations, which was responsible for eradicating colonialism in Africa and in other countries of the world. He was appointed to be Mtwara Regional Commissioner from 1972 to 1975; he inspired the citizens to be defensive against the Portuguese who invaded Tanzania regularly as retaliation against FRELIMO struggles in the border areas. Mr Mgonja was in his own village in same when this interview was held.*

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Thank you very much for including me in the list of people who are supposed to provide their experiences and opinions, I thought it was over with me but now that you have come I think my work is not over. In my case, I served in the United Nations from 1962 to 1964. By then the liberation struggle was at its height. Therefore the United Nations, because most of our countries had their independence by then and they were in the frontline in telling the world what colonialism was. Who are the people ruling in the neighbouring countries and what they were doing? Personally I was interested with the Committee of 24. There were four committees in the United Nations Assembly and the Committee of 24 was tasked to follow up colonialism issues. I remember when I was in New York we used to meet with the Boers and Portuguese in the meetings. The Portuguese said why this representative from Tanzania is not using diplomatic language, I told them this is not a parliament because for this to be a parliament the African citizens were supposed to be here but they are not here. Therefore I told them they were con men. You are not legit members of parliament until the legit members comes here.

I was fierce to the extent that I was accused to Mwalimu Nyerere, but I was loyal in fighting against the colonialism. And I thank Mwalimu Nyerere who defended me to the end and me also thank God. In 1965 I decided to come back home. It is not normal for someone who has stayed in New York to decide to leave, but I decided to leave New York. I came home and participated in 1965 election. I decided to participate in the parliament, maybe because I wanted to show the attitude of fighting against colonialism we had in New York. I also knew that I could be in a frontline at home than in New York. New York is a big luxurious city but also it is far, therefore I thought if I would be in Dar es Salaam I can participate well in the liberation struggle.

My youth spirit was high in criticising the colonialists. I criticised them in New York but I also decided to come back and criticise them at home. As you said, that is why historically the Minister of State in the President's office is given major responsibilities by the president. When I was with the late President he sent me to various meetings therefore I got an opportunity to fight against colonialism and capitalism. Mwalimu Nyerere gave me a great opportunity to fight against colonialism; this was not surprising, because I was elected in 1965 and in October 1965 the first OAU African leaders meeting was held in Accra, Ghana. The late Mwalimu Nyerere appointed me as one of the members who attended that meeting. I was very surprised but I also was happy and grateful.

In the meeting we met face to face with those who were in the OAU frontline such as Nkrumah, Sékou Touré from Guinea and Abdel Nasser from Egypt and so many others who were in the front line in fighting for African independence. They were neither shy nor cowardice. It seemed like we have exchanged our position with those in New York

When I was appointed a Regional Commissioner of Mtwara, I was anxious because I was used to giving the position of the country in various meetings but I found myself in a frontline at Mtwara. I was grateful to be appointed the Regional Commissioner in Mtwara. The liberation struggle was not at its height by then. During that time I went to more than ten meetings in South Africa and in non-aligned movement countries. I attended various meetings, even before I was appointed the minister of foreign affairs Mwalimu sent me to various international meetings. Finally in 1972 he appointed me to be a Regional Commissioner in Mtwara. It was like a dream has come true to me, because in those days most of the people were afraid of going in Mtwara because it was a border which was a war zone. But I am one of those who went in Mtwara. As a human being I was a bit afraid of war, but in general I took heart, I had good spirit and happily I said I used to criticise them in New York, now that I am on the front line they are going to suffer the consequences. Therefore I went in Mtwara and there were some dedicated youths there. There were some youths from JWTZ, JKT, Police and they worked cooperatively with FRELIMO freedom fighters. Almost after every three months Samora visited me in Mtwara. Sometimes he slept at my place and we talked even at night. Therefore I was in Mtwara from 1972 to 1975 when Mozambique gained its independence. The main task there was liberation struggle and not anything else. The main task was to realize the freedom dream of Mozambique and all the other African countries.

Therefore our government had bigger plans. There was a hospital at Mtwara and the wounded freedom fighters came to be treated there. There was also a transit centre where they passed when they were going in other camps such as Nachingwea or when they were going for further training. Therefore there were a lot of activities. You may find that at night you are with the minister working on something then the next day there is something else, therefore there were a lot of activities. I liked very much that job and the freedom struggle was at its height and I was going to realize my dream of liberating Africa and the Africans.

Therefore those activities went on at FRELIMO hospital. Often when Samora came we went there to talk with them. There were a lot of popular centres which helped us a lot especially in defending the border areas. For instance at the border there is a place called Kitaya, the Portuguese used to fire the guns and missiles there regularly. Sometimes our youths bombarded the South African planes. I remember one of the wounded youths was called Salim; he was wounded in his legs and came to be treated at Mtwara but passed first at Kitaya hospital.

Therefore it was inspiring to see people die while fighting for independence. It was encouraging to see people sacrificing their lives for the liberation of Africa. It helped us not to use our positions for personal benefits. That helped me a lot. For instance there is a young man that I remember I saw, because when I was there I regularly went to the border. The border is near Ruvuma River; there were militants there and I was encouraging them and teaching them civics so that they can understand what freedom is.

Taking into consideration what happened in New York as well as seeing these youths coming here. The recruits from Mozambique came in Mtwara in troops. When they arrived in Mtwara they were invited to the regional commissioners' office to be inspired.

The other issue is about those Portuguese who were held captives. You cannot understand this easily unless you see it. But I saw the Portuguese who were held captives. During that time there was poor relationship between the white people and the Africans

because of colonialism. But Portuguese were captured and were brought in the office when I was the regional commissioner; we sat them down however we feared them a lot. I was thinking of talking with them about colonialism before they went to Nachingwea because they were taken to Nachingwea and other places.

It reached a time when I was supposed to cross Ruvuma River. About my decision to cross the river I remember I told the late Mwalimu Nyerere that, these people cross the river every day and they get problems there but you have put me in power here to inspire them. Thus I would like to see what is happening beyond this place therefore I would like to ask you to allow me to cross the river. I am asking to cross the river because if the Regional Commissioner is caught on the other side of the river that will be the evidence that Tanzania is in war. Therefore I would like you to allow me to go there.

Mwalimu allowed me to go and the trip was organized with my beloved friend Samora whom at a certain point we became close friends. He went ahead of me and I followed with the arranged troops. We left at night; we went there at night because they were firing the bombs by using the planes. Therefore if you travel during the day you will be exposed. At the same night we travelled to Newala and then to Masasi at a place called Masulule. Then we travelled to Ruvuma River where our colleagues were waiting to escort and help us cross the river. A lot of Tanzanians went there including our security personnel and other youths. They sacrificed themselves to go there but some of them did not go further and went back home. But we crossed the border and went to the other side of the river. We were told about the Portuguese fortress which we usually saw from Mtwara especially through their lights at night.

We passed a bit far from their fortress and waited until dawn, in the morning we continued with our trip taking cover whenever the Portuguese cars approached. Also we took cover whenever we had the planes coming. I remember we reached a certain area and realised that the Portuguese tanks had just passed. It was a very difficult trip. We moved on until we reached a place where Samora and I were supposed to meet, this place was arranged by FRELIMO. We arrived there but it was a dense forest. One thing I saw there were the trenches. They also prepared a parade of honour for me. They told me everything about that place including the number of trenches and then we went to sleep.

In the morning a certain fired young man was brought at the camp bleeding a lot, he kept saying "ooh help me". And I was told that was a regular phenomenon. When they came there they were taken to Mtwara for more treatment. I also took that as Tanzania contribution in the liberation struggle. The war was not far from where we were; it was at the seeing distance. I was with Samora who mostly spoke in English; he told us everything which was going on there. We stayed there for one day and then left after seeing the other side of the liberation struggle. We went back to Mtwara and left them there to fight for the freedom of their country. In 1975 before Mozambique gained its independence we invited Samora in Mtwara and he surprised me a lot. Samora told me that "On the independence day you must go to Mozambique". I thought they were going to hold a meeting but he was very serious. When the Independence Day was close I was told that the plane will take me from Mtwara to Dar es Salaam then from there I will fly to Mozambique. I got a warm welcome when I arrived in Mozambique. As long as I live I will never forget the reception I got when I arrived. In the evening we met with the president (Samora) who welcomed us. When my turn came, he hugged me and said "My soldier from the forest you have come in town! My soldier you have come! And I said "Yes I have come! The soldiers from the forest have come in town". That was a very good day and the president went on welcoming us.

Sarakikya was also there and we knew each other well at Mtwara. We once consulted their Army Chief of Staff. In general their Independence Day celebrations were very good

however the youth were violent. They were very happy firing the bullets at a close range. After the celebrations we came back and I understood that Samora kept his promise. I am very grateful to him. That is why his death made me sad. We were told about the death of Samora when we were in the parliament in Dodoma. Honestly I was not able to move from my bed the whole day; that was too much for me. That is how it is, a lot of our colleagues and the citizens had gone before independence. But we were luck to witness the independence of Mozambique. We enjoyed at Mashaba stadium. I will never forget Mashaba because we got a kind and warm welcome there.

You have reminded me about trenches. In Mtwara almost everyone had a trench; trenches also were built in the government offices. Also trenches were also available in some of the big houses. It was something new but it was very good, taking into consideration that I had already visited some of the villages which were in the front line in liberation struggle at Ruvuma River. Houses were lined up in the first and the second line. There was a very good cooperation between us and the villagers. They were not educated as we were but they understood well the liberation struggle, they also understood politics and showed their utmost dedication. They understood that we were at war. Also the houses were in two lines, the front line and the back line, it was very good. Some tasks were done in dealing with those citizens. We went there with knowledge of those house lines and we knew those citizens by their names.

The Portuguese argued that they were not bombing the citizens but in actual fact they were bombing then and even killed some kids at night. Therefore we told them that children are civilians, I also remember they ones bombed the car which was bought by the colonial government. They regularly tried firing the bombs; it was very frightening. I remember they tried destroy the lamps of almost the whole Mahunga village. They also tried it at the border but they were killed. I think Samora Machel knew that he had opposition in Mozambique even before independence. That is why on the Independence Day he said “aluta continua” (the struggle continues). My duties started at the United Nations and that is where I got this spirit, then I came back and I was appointed a minister of state, thus again I had an opportunity to be involved in the liberation struggle, then I was appointed a minister of foreign affairs and later Mtwara Regional Commissioner where I was highly involved in the liberation struggle.

## Mr Millinga

*Mr Millinga was highly involved in Tanganyika liberation struggle from 1952 when he was elected a secretary of Tanganyika African Association (TAA) at Tabora branch, and then he later became a TANU member in Dar es Salaam when it was launched in 1954. Mr Millinga was a founder member of TANU; he was dealing with Tanganyika liberation struggle while working under the colonial government. From 1954 to 1976 when he was a social welfare officer and a political committee member he provided a great contribution in the liberation struggle to the South African countries. His contributions include inspiring the freedom fighters in their camps and cooperating with them in various ways. The areas he dealt with include FRELIMO freedom fighters camps in Nachingwea, Lindi, Mtwara, Mbinga, Lundo, Mtomoni and Mbeya.*

I was employed by the government in January 1952. And my first appointment was in Tabora. When I arrived in Tabora I found TAA party. I remember the Chairman of TAA at Tabora branch was Mwalimu George Magembe. After a short while I joined TAA. I also remember that the government employees had their party, I do not remember well but I think it was called Tanganyika African Workers Association.

Fortunately after joining TAA I was elected to be a secretary of Tabora branch. When I was elected Mwalimu George Maghembe retired. Then Mwalimu Said Haroub was elected. I worked with him from 1952 to 1953. At the end of 1993 I was transferred to Dar es Salaam. At the end of November Mwalimu Nyerere came in Tabora to invigilate Cambridge examinations at Tabora School. My chairman (Mwalimu Haroub) told me that he wanted to invite Mwalimu Nyerere so that he can talk with us, by that time Mwalimu Nyerere had already been elected a TAA president. I arranged the meeting and I remember the member we had at that time were Saadan Kandoro, Steven Mhando, Shehe Amri, Abeid Kaluta and Mwalimu Andrea Tibandibange just to mention a few. I arranged a meeting and Mwalimu Nyerere came, we listened to him and discussed various issues related with our TAA party.

At the end of the meeting my chair man (Mwalimu Haroub) reported that, "Members I regret that this is our secretary's last meeting, he will be transferred". And then he said what we accomplished together. Then Mwalimu Nyerere asked "Where is he transferred to?" And he was told that I was transferred to Dar es Salaam. That was the first day Mwalimu Nyerere and I met.

In January 1954 I arrived in Dar es Salaam. Fortunately I was assigned to work here at Arnatouglo. I was an assistant manager at Arnatouglo Hall. The manager was called Mr Dennis Pombeya. One day Mwalimu Nyerere came at Arnatouglo Hall, he was a friend of Mr Pombeya. He came directly from Pugu to our working place then he went to the meetings. When he arrived there he saw me and fortunately he remembered me. He said "Milinga, you have come?" And I said "Yes I have come". He said when I attended that TAA meeting in Tabora, I was very interested with what the chairman said about how you worked for TAA party. He told me that he was going to the meeting at our branch here Dar es Salaam and he wanted me to join the party committee. I agreed and I was very happy and grateful because this branch was the party headquarters. He told me that he is going to tell his colleagues about me and if they agree he will give me the feedback. He insisted that he would like me to join the party committee. He went to the meeting and came back the other day, he told me that he talked with them and they agreed. He told me that he will give me the meeting notification letter and I agreed. That is how I got into TAA committee here.

Also the documents show that I was a TANU member at East constituent. At that time Morogoro, Coast and Dar es Salaam was known as Eastern Province. Therefore the documents show that I represented the East constituent because I was here. But I was born in Ruvuma. Therefore I was into the TAA committee until TANU was formed. That meeting involved the members from other regions with TAA branches. It was like TAA general meeting.

In the meeting Nyerere suggested that TAA was not going to help us, it was just a party for welfare demands. Therefore it was better to form a party which can help us to fight for the freedom of our country. All the members agreed with him and then we decided to form the constitution which can guide the party which we expected to form. It took some time to get the name TANU. There were some suggestions about the name. Others suggested TAU (Tanganyika African Union). But our colleagues in Kenya had KAU (Kenya African Union). KAU formed MAU those who were in MAU MAU war. Kenyatta was imprisoned in 1952. The members disagreed with TAU because it could be compared with KAU. The white people were not going to register it because it looked similar to KAU.

We kept on thinking of the other names; others suggested we call it Tanganyika African Congress. But at that time Congress was already in Uganda and when we were in the process of forming the party in Uganda Kabaka was exiled in England because of Uganda People's Congress party political activities. Therefore Uganda had the word congress which led Kabaka to be exiled. Therefore the white people could think that this was the same thing. We kept on looking for the appropriate name. Others suggested we call it Tanganyika African Convention, but it was found out that convention was used in Gold Coast (Ghana) and by that time Nkrumah was prisoned because of the struggle in Ghana.

We agreed that such names could be rejected by the colonialist registrar. They could compare us with the other freedom fighters and they could think that our objective was the same. In the second day, I don't remember who specifically but someone came with the name Tanganyika African National Union. The late Saadan Kandoro in a press conference with news reporters said he was the founder of the name. Also the day before yesterday I read on the newspaper that Ally Sykes is the founder of the name. But I do not remember who found the name. But Tanganyika African Union (TANU) was found and was accepted. That is the history of how we got TANU.

I remember when I was in TAA in Tabora the Governor's Chief Secretary prepared a circular which prohibited the government employees to be involved with TAA because it looked like it had some political motives. While in actual fact it was not a political party.

My committee asked me to write a letter on their behalf. I wrote a letter depicting the resolutions which were reached in the meeting; that we depended a lot from the government workers because they have the knowledge of the laws of the country. Therefore prohibiting them was killing the party and leading the citizens into trouble because if who are left in the party is only farmers who do not know the laws of the nation which maybe in foreign languages, they may come up with something which may look like an insult to you. Therefore we do not think it is a good idea to eliminate the government employees from this party. I remember I wrote that letter and sent it to the chief secretary. I do not know if the other branches also wrote the letter.

I remember I wrote the letter and the chief secretary gave us other procedures. He said that, they gave us six months to see what the government employees are going to do with the other members of this party. Therefore we were given a period of six months. After six months when we had already formed TANU they realised that TAA was a political party. Another circular with forms was prepared; it required government employees to indicate whether they wanted to be in TANU or in the government; because you cannot serve two



masters at the same time. I remember they said you cannot employ someone to sell your oranges and when he arrives at the road he tells the buyers that these oranges are not sweet. Therefore do you think if the one who have employed you hears that he will still keep you as his employee? For those who want to work with TANU sign here and leave the government work; and if you want to work with the government sign here and leave TANU party. Most of us, who were government employees signed to work for the government; and I also signed to work for the government. But our activities were secretly done at night. We did our meetings at night. Our contributions were concealed from the government. The government also put people to monitor us.

I think in the committee of 17 members, the news reporters were wrong because we were more than 17 members. There is one member who was not shown among the TANU founders. His name is Dennis Pombeya who was my manager at Anartouglo and I was his assistant manager when I arrived at Anartouglo. He was one among the founder members and he is the one who took that picture. I said earlier that when coming from Pugu Mwalimu Nyerere used to pass at Anartouglo to talk with the manager and then they went together to the TANU meetings.

When I joined the committee it was only Dosa Aziz who had a saloon car in 1954. If I am not wrong it was a Morris Minor car. He used to take Nyerere back to Pugu after the meetings. Mr John Rupia also had a lorry he was the one who brought firewood and charcoal in town.

I stayed here until the end of 1954 then I was transferred to Handeni to stay with the Kikuyu people. I went to relieve Mr Kawawa because we were in the same social welfare department. When Mau Mau started in Kenya the Tanzanian government gathered all the Kikuyu living in Moshi and Arusha and send them to Urambo in 1952. Mr Kawawa was sent in Urambo to console them so that they do not feel alienated.

When they arrived there their children were affected a lot by the weather. Mosquitos and malaria was their biggest challenge in Urambo, thus at the end of 1952 they were moved to Handeni. In 1953 they were moved to Handeni at a place called Tamota which is currently Kilindi district in Handeni. It is 45 miles west of Handeni town. They were camped there under the supervision of Kawawa. I went to relieve honourable Kawawa because he was supposed to come here to make a cinema, because he was a very good actor. Those who have seen his cinemas such as "Mhogo Mchungu" and "Meli inakwenda" will agree with me that he was a good actor in those days. I remember when Nyerere went to UNO I was not in Dar es Salaam, I was still in Handeni. When the Mau Mau war settled the Kikuyu we had in camps at Tamota were told to choose whether they wanted to go back in Moshi and Arusha and they were allowed to go. I was again transferred to Tabora when the camp was closed.

I do not have the records of how Mwalimu Nyerere contributions were done, I do not remember and I cannot explain how it was. Yesterday I read on the newspaper when the news reporters interviewed Mr Ally Sykes, he provided a lot of information because he was here during that time. Honestly one of the persons who strengthened TANU party when it was formed is Mr Ally Sykes. I remember he was a secretary at the beginning but we had no party. He was taking the minutes and the next day he goes to the office to work. He was working at the labour office. He took the typewriter in the office in the evening and typed the minutes at night. He returned the typewriter early in the morning when the messengers went to clean the office. Because he was a secretary his contribution in typing and keeping the files was enormous. I remember his contribution for the party to work effectively was enormous.

When I was at Arnatouglo as an assistant manager Mr Dennis Pombeya insisted on leaving the lights on at night whenever there was a meeting, because the meetings were

held at night and we had nothing. Our office was along the new street road which is currently called Lumumba road. I was in charge of equipment at Arnatouglo, when I was looking for a lamp somewhere, in case I checked and found that a lamp was damaged I took it to Arnatouglo and exchanged it with the good one. Therefore we did the meetings at night and wrote LPO in the morning that this lamp is not working and moved on. That is what I remember. Is there anything else?

Because I did not come back in Dar es Salaam I continued working for the government at the region. When I was working at the region because of my contribution my colleagues told me about Mwalimu Nyerere trips. They told me that Mr Rupia had enormous contribution. I am not sure but they said he provided a cheque of 18000/= which helped Mwalimu Nyerere to go to UNO. It was in 1955 and I was in Tabora. That was the second term; my first term was in 1952.

I also I remember that when Nyerere made a speech at the United Nations he was questioned. They asked him that you are saying that your people in Tanganyika need independence? Some of the colonialist new Tanzania because they once were here, they asked him “Even the Ha need independence? He replied them that, yes they need independence. Then the Governor formed his own party called UTP (United Tanganyika Party), so as to oppose TANU. This party had a lot of white people in Tanga because of the Greeks who were in sisal plantations in Tanga. Its aim was to oppose TANU. Some of the Africans working for the government also joined this party. When Nyerere came back from UNO I remember the governor sent two members, Chief Thomas Marealle and Chief Yustus Mponda (Newala Makonde chief) to refute what Nyerere said to United Nations. Chief Marealle argued that Tanganyika was not ready for self-governance at that time, and it was only the Chagga could be given freedom but not the whole Tanganyika. Yustus also argued that the country was not ready for self-governance maybe it could be after 25 years from that moment. That is what they said at United Nations. But God is not greedy he heard the cry of the poor and we got the independence early before those who started the liberation struggle before us (Kenya and Uganda).

When TANU was strengthening, UTP (United Tanganyika Party) which was the opposition party was there. Most of its members were Greeks and the others White people. Its aim was to destabilize TANU so that it fails in the 1958 election. In 1958 TANU demanded the law making body. The colonialists had the Legislative Council (Legco). The members in the Legislative council were appointed by the governor. Most of the appointed members were white people with some few pro governor Africans or those Africans the governor thought they can understand each other well. I remember such Africans were like Chief Kidaha who later was called Chief David Makwaya of Shinyanga. I think Thomas Marealle and Chief Haroun Lugashawa of Sikonge. People like these were appointed by the governor at his own will. TANU was against this tendency. They argued that there was a need to conduct an election so that the members in the Legislative Council could be elected by the people.

The government agreed with that. But they had a condition that one person should vote for three people that is the White, the Indian and the African. Before agreeing with that condition TANU held a general meeting at Tabora in 1958. Kambona was the general secretary of TANU during that time. But Kambona went to study in that year and Mtemvu became the acting general secretary. I did not attend the general meeting in Tabora but I was following up what was going on there. Mtemvu and someone else were totally against

the three vote issue. Nyerere said we should not waste this opportunity. As long as the colonialists have agreed that we should form the parliament which will be elected by the people let us not waste this opportunity. But their condition is we should vote three people by casting three votes. That was a very complicated meeting. Mtemvu did not agree with the three vote issue therefore he decided to leave and formed his own party which was called Congress. People say in that meeting Nyerere cried saying why can't we take that opportunity; because if they did not take that opportunity they could not have got another opportunity. Therefore they agreed. The election involved only four constituents and not the whole country. Fortunately all the constituents which were involved in the election were taken by TANU. The UTP got nothing in 1958 election. In 1959 the election was done involving the constituents that did not participate in the 1958 election. All who won the 1959 election were TANU members. UTP collapsed in 1959. From there they had no members.

I think in 1958 election there was a TANU member but TANU did not appoint him to contest in that election. He was a private candidate. TANU appointed Amri Dodo from Babati to contest in the election. But Sarawat was a private candidate but he won the election. I think that is the only private candidate that won the election in the history of TANU. After winning the election he carried on being a TANU member and got higher positions in the party. He was a Chief; I think Amri Dodo was also a Chief. But I think Sarawat was stronger than Amri Dodo who was a Chief in Babati and Sarawat in Mbulu. I think he had more followers in his area and the people trusted him. It is in TANU records that Sarawat is the only person who was neither appointed by TANU nor supported by TANU and won the election. That is also a good thing to bear in our mind so as to see where TANU slipped and failed.

Uganda and Kenya started the liberation struggle ahead of us. We formed TANU in 1954 but Kenya fought Mau Mau war in 1952 and Kenyatta was imprisoned in 1952. As I said also Kabaka was captured and was exiled in England. But we got independence before them. I think our unity helped us to gain independence early before them. Especially Kiswahili language helped a lot to strengthen our unity. Because everywhere Mwalimu went he spoke Kiswahili and people understood him. But in other countries a leader goes to a meeting with Luo people but speaks in English because he is a Kikuyu. Kenyatta is a Kikuyu person, therefore interpreters were needed. Therefore the language is vital and it helped us a lot especially in strengthening our unity. Because everywhere Mwalimu went to explain our objectives, people understood him through that language and did not ask him questions. Therefore I think that helped a lot in strengthening our unity. I was a party member after independence and currently I am a CCM member despite the fact that I was a government employee. I did not work in the party but I participated in various party activities.

I remember the South Africans were given areas here to build their camps. I remember they had a camp at Mzinga in Morogoro. I think I remember a lot about Mozambique camps, I think they had a big camp at Nachingwea. They also had a camp in Ruvuma at Mkukuru. I think they also had a camp in Mbeya. I once visited the Nachingwea camp. During that time Samora was living in Nachingwea. One day we visited him there. It was their very big camp. He showed us some communication devices. He said when in Nachingwea those communication devices can intercept the communication of a plane which is in Ruvuma at Songea and thus the owner of the plane can be known. They were sophisticated communication devices from China.

We were in Lindi region political committee when we visited the FRELIMO camp. We went to see how the liberation struggle was taking place. We were in a Regional TANU committee. I think it was around 1972 or 1973. Samora said that was their biggest freedom

fighters camp. And anybody who was sent in the front line to fight in Mozambique passed there. Without passing at that camp even if a person was ready to go to war he was forbidden from going there. A person passed there so that they can check if he is well trained and can handle the challenges in the war zone.

I do not remember the kind of support we gave them. But we had some information which was recorded in the regional committee which explained the progress of the liberation struggle. Therefore one day members under the leadership of Mr Kawawa were sent there. We went there with Kawawa as one of the members of Lindi Regional Committee. It was necessary for political leaders to go there so as to see the progress of the liberation struggle. It is not only in Nachingwea but also there were freedom fighters camps in Morogoro, Ruvuma and Mbeya. I also visited Tunduru and Mitomoni in Mbinga.

I think the contribution from the government and the party was inspiration. In inspiring them some TANU members such as Mbita joined the liberation struggle and went in the front line in Mozambique. I remember well this person. He was a brigade in the government army. A lot of people who were in a front line in TANU were sent to get military training.

I was in Lindi from 1972 to 1974. Before going to Lindi I heard that the Portuguese regularly attacked Newala. The Portuguese flew planes there and sometimes missiles were fired. But when I arrived there such attacks were rare. But when I arrived in Lindi I saw trenches, even the offices had trenches for protection especially the offices in Mtwara. At Mtwara I saw the trenches in the government office. There were trenches in every office. When we arrived in Mbinga we were told to dig some trenches because planes were flying regularly. Sometimes in Mbinga I was told that there are missiles at the border. Sometimes missiles were fired and we heard them. I retired in 1976. Liberation struggle were going on. Did Mozambique gained its independence in 197? Unfortunately I was not close to the freedom fighters camps, though there was one freedom fighters camp in Lindi. At Lindi the freedom fighters camp was at Ng'amba. I used to visit there to inspire them about development matters. They had good responses and participated well. In Mbinga there was also another freedom fighters camp called Lundo, it was between Mbamba bay and Lituli. We once visited there with some of the women from our development department; we were dealing with the community development activities.

In Mbinga there was Lundo. But in Mitomoni there was a military camp. I also went there and met them in their camps. We had good cooperation with them. The camps which were close to me are Nachingwea and Mitomoni. Because Nachingwea was in the region I was working. We encouraged the citizens to cooperate with them in areas where camps were located in case they needed their support. Because the freedom fighters had their own borders, they were not allowed to stay in some of the areas. They were also not allowed to go out of their borders except with a special permission. Tanzanians were allowed to visit them and they had good cooperation.

In Nachingwea we inspired them to read and write; we gave them balls so that they can engage in body relaxing exercises so that they can refresh their minds and get rid of the feelings of being in a lost course. We wanted them to feel recognized at that time. We showed them the cooking areas, the children classes where they learned to read and write; we also showed them adult classes.

I think Tanzania provided enormous contribution. First, by taking them in and giving them areas to carry out their activities, Tanzania did a great job. I do not think there is another country which supported the struggle as much as Tanzania did. I remember the people from Angola were also given areas to camp.

## Mkapa, Benjamin William

*His Excellency Benjamin William Mkapa was the third president of the United Republic of Tanzania (1995-2005). He started being interested with politics and pan-africanism when he was studying at Pugu secondary school and later when he joined Makerere University he continued with political activism; he was not only involved in Tanganyika's politics alone but also those of Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar. During the holiday in 1960, he participated in mobilising and registering voters, and it was during this time his political passion was clearly demonstrated. After graduating from Makerere University, His Excellency Mkapa was employed in the government in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was later sent to Columbia University for one year course. His first job designation was on East Africa and Organisation of African Union desk in the ministry that included the Liberation Committee. In 1965 he was appointed Editor of Party Newspapers, Nationalist and Uhuru; and after that he was sent to UK for journalism training. While serving as a journalist, Mkapa continued with liberation politics by using the newspapers as his platforms. He was later an editor of Tanganyika Standard newspapers until in 1974 when he was appointed to be Mwalimu Nyerere's Press Secretary where he worked for two years and he was able to participate in the southern Africa liberation struggles. He also established Tanzania Information Corporation (SHIHATA) and later in 1976 he was appointed Tanzanian High Commissioner to Nigeria and in 1977 he was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs. It was when he was a minister for foreign affairs he participated in many liberation movements. Mr Mkapa also served as a Minister for Information, Tanzanian Ambassador to Canada and USA. In 1984 when Namibia was about to get independence Mr Mkapa was a Minister for Foreign Affairs. During all his time in the government, Mkapa has been in the liberation frontline of the African continent so that it is liberated politically, and later economically.*

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My political activism started when I was at Pugu secondary school; by that time I was in standard eleven and twelve. Previously, I studied at Mission school so to me I took them as people who brought us education and I had no idea about their colonialism. For us from southern parts of Tanzania we never saw DC instead we sometimes DO; so there were no feelings that we under colonial administration.

On my arrival in Dar es Salaam, we had inter-school debate competitions and we also had a week of games and sports like drama and theatre. It was during that time I noticed the differences between African and Indian schools. Our colleagues from Tambaza had good school environment compared to us. So I started asking myself what did they have that we did not have, because in some occasions we beat them in the competitions.

The missionaries who taught us at Pugu were Irish priests. Although they were not concerned in politics but when I studied their names I realised that they all started with O, such O'Sullivan, O'Brian, and from there I started exploring that naming pattern and asked myself about their history; where they came from? What is the history of their country? Upon finding the details about them I learnt that they were also at a time under British colonialism and they demanded of independence. So from there I developed political interests.

I remember I started writing letters to the editor in Tanganyika Standard to ask them more about racism. I was using a pen name and not my actual name. They were responding to those letters. Also while in Pugu, in 1955 Mwalimu left teaching post and he fully joined politics. So, after

realising that Mwalimu had left for politics we started developing more interests in politics and supported Tanganyika National Union (TANU).

We continued asking questions about right to self governance; who rules who; the history of UK, Ireland, India, USA and soon. I was a good friend of Gesler Mapunda. We were in one class and we shared similar political interests.

After completing my studies at Pugu I went to Makerere where I was active in following issues related to liberation struggles in Uganda and Kenya. We met with Kenyan youth telling about the situation in their country. And we created a students organisation for students from Tanganyika and later we opened a TANU branch we called it TANU Club.

We also Dr Chagula, who was teaching there during those days. So we met in our club following up issues that were happening in our country. I remember I started being a member of TANU and later elected Branch Secretary and later I was elected Chairperson of TANU Club.

We made correspondences with TANU Headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

During the holiday in 1960, when the first election was held, I came back and by that time Gesler Mapunda was an assistant to Party Secretary of the Eastern Constituency in Morogoro. I worked with him to mobilise people politically. The mobilisation campaign was coincided with the voters registration exercise. By that the Chairperson of the constituency was Mr Lila Mwinikondo, from Kilosa. He was the first politician that I met in my political career and we were close friends. We were directed to make sure we registered many Africans so that TANU could win the election. So I moved from Morogoro to Kilosa and from there I went to Mahenge, Ifakara and later to Malindi. When I visited there after I became a President I explained my history when I was still young; they wondered to hear that.

Those who worked for the party for mobilisation of people did that voluntarily and they never claimed for any allowance. That expanded and encouraged my patriotism and gave me the passion to struggle for self-governance. Most of the workers who sacrificed their time and resources were government workers.

We one day passed through a certain place called minor settlement just few kilometres before Ifakara. We met elders who welcomed us, fed us, looked for shelters and some of them abandoned their rooms for us to sleep. It was a high nationalist spirit. To me gave me strength to work hard and we moved towards the interior up to Malindi.

I remember when we were at Mahenge, we had doubts with colonial officers who were following us and we were always sceptical about them. At Mahenge we met a DO who was very understanding; he helped us to go through our work. And after finishing my leave in that year my political activism went higher.

At Makerere, once in a while we received TANU newsletters like Sauti ya TANU. We read them collectively and discussed its policies and the destiny we wanted and wrote our letters; I don't know if those correspondences are in there in the archives or not; but we were very active.

My parents wanted me to be a priest; I failed on the way. So they said since I failed that path they suggested that I become a doctor. But after completing my studies at Pugu I took arts in Makerere. I told them I have specialised in History and Language so I could no longer become a doctor. They were very disappointed and so they proposed that I should be a teacher.

Upon graduating at Makerere I did not choose teaching profession because if I wanted to become a teacher I had to go back for one year diploma in education. I had already stayed there for five years; so I was not interested to have another year of studies. But I think the political atmosphere of that time might have discouraged me to go back. My parents were again disappointed to learn that I was not ready to become a teacher.

I was given an option of going back for a Diploma in Education, which I refused because I wanted to be employed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs when it was established by that time.

They sent me for a one year training. They first told me that there were two posts but later they changed the mind. So I told them if there was no post then there was no reason for me to joining civil service.

So I thought of taking journalism because I loved agitation. I talked to Daily Nation editors who accepted to recruit me when I received a letter from the government informing me that I was given a job in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to work as Foreign Officer. So I started working as a DO in Dodoma for three months before I was sent to USA for a one year training at Columbus University as part of the preparations to become a Foreign Service Officer. By the time I came back I found that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was already established. While in the ministry, I attended party rallies because we were allowed as civil servants.

My schedule in the ministry was for African affairs and African unity; obviously it was about African Liberation. It was within that time the movements for the establishment of Organisation of African Union started and in fact I heard about it when I was in USA. When I came back OAU was already established and I was its desk officer in the ministry and we dealt with Organisation of Africa Union and later the Liberation Committee was formed and it fell within my duties.

I was also helping Radio Tanzania, now called TBC, to read English bulletins. One day after finishing reading the news bulletin, I was reading a book while waiting for the 9 pm bulletin, I received a call that I was called by the president Mwalimu. I asked myself, "I am called! What is wrong? It was my first time to be called by the president. I greeted him as I entered his office. He told me that he was reading my articles. And that was a period when he was also a minister for Foreign Affairs. So he was following up the way I was writing about OAU and other issues.

He told me that he wanted me to help improve the party newspapers, that is the Nationalist and Uhuru. By that time the editor was from Ghana, called James Makham; his tenure was over and so he thought it was a right time to have a Tanzanian as an editor. I told him I accepted the task but I was not knowledgeable about print media. I asked him, "where will I start? He said, "we shall send you to UK for a training of six months. That is how we work in these first years of our independence". I told him, "fine, if you think that I can take that duty, I am ready".

So, by the end of 1965 I went to UK where I met Barbara Castle, who was a minister and he knew the editors and owners of Daily Mirror newspaper (Mirror Group), and I stayed there for six months in London, Glasgow and Manchester until May 1966 when I came back. On my arrival I was officially assigned that post of editor of party newspapers. That position obliged me to be active in party politics. So I became more active inside and outside the country. And by that time the issue of the day was liberation struggles. Other issues included internal party democracy and parliamentary democracy so that we could adjust economic problems and become more sovereign. And the hot debate during that time was Arusha Declaration; we had to learn about it and defend it vehemently.

Concerning liberation struggles, we indeed had our voices heard and we supported what Nkrumah was saying, that if the whole Africa is not liberated then Africa is not independent. Our independence was not complete when other countries were not free. And that was our consistent message and we mobilised our people to support Tanzanian policy on the liberation of southern African countries. The liberation parties had good relations with TANU (later CCM). That is the work we did as a team, I had my fellow youth including the late Costa Kumalija, Colonel Kaisi; others were Ambassador Balozi Ruhinda and Grey Mataka in the liberation struggles. And in editorial team I had the late Chakunegela Damian. He was very good in writing articles. And in fact he was the de facto Executive Editor of Uhuru and my concentration was with the English newspaper.

I worked there until when the English newspapers of The Standard and The Standard on Sunday were nationalised. Mwalimu transferred me to those newspapers as Editor General to replace Ms Frene Jinwalla, who later became the first Speaker of the South

African Parliament after its independence. We continued to spearhead the advocacy for liberations struggles.

When I was working with Nationalist and Uhuru, our external sources of news were Reuters, AFP etc. Their trends of reporting news was western based and opposing the eastern ideologies and suppressing the African revivalism. We were getting difficulties to use their stories and sometimes we had to rewrite them because the stories were highly biased. The major challenges we faced with their stories included the stories about liberation struggles in the southern Africa that were conducted by liberation parties. We were rewriting those stories because we felt very passionate.

We also used our newspapers as a platform for the youth from the universities and teachers' training colleges. I remember President Museveni was among them; he was bringing his articles about Idd Amini. He was writing when he was a leader of University African Students Revolutionary Front [USARF]. He also wrote about Vietnam and South Africa, advocating for their independences. During that time Mozambique and Angola were about getting independences.

I worked as an Editor General until 1974, when for the second time President Nyerere called to tell me that he wanted to appoint me to be his Press Secretary. I think he wanted me to learn more because if you stay in media for a long time you become complacent. He wanted me to learn more about governance, to criticise and correct things, to reprimand and destroy things. That is my suspicion because he did never tell me about that. So, I became his Press Secretary. In the first two years as his Press Secretary, I really participated or witnessed many meetings of Frontline States, mainly to discuss about the independence of Zimbabwe. I really interacted with the freedom fighters of that time.

I worked with him for two year and he later tasked me to establish National Information Corporation (SHIHATA). That was in 1976. By that time Mozambique was already independent together with Angola and Guinea Bissau; but Zimbabwe was not yet independent together with South Afrika and Namibia.

With SHIHATA I was more focussed on establishment of the office, human resources, categorisation of workers, laws and other related issues. After finishing one year he appointed me a Tanzanian High Commissioner to Nigeria. That was in the end of 1976. Many years had passed without having an embassy in Nigeria because Tanzani recognised the cessation of Biafra. I reported to Nigeria but I did not stay there for a long time. He came there when I was serving there and by that time the head of the government was Obasanjo and Joe Ogaba was his Foreign Minister.

After presenting my credentials, then the date was arranged for President Nyerere to visit Nigeria officially because we wanted to revive the diplomatic relations with Nigeria bearing in mind that we wanted the participation of Nigeria in the liberation struggles of the southern African countries. The president's visit went very well contrary to what we expected.

I left to Nigeri without putting my things in order in Tanzania so I found some means I came back secretly without Mwalimu knowing. You should remember I was an editor of party newspapers and politics were now part and parcel of my life. Unfortunately, as I was hiding myself from Mwalimu, we abruptly met in Arusha. As I was preparing myself to go back to Nigeria I was informed that Mwalimu wanted to see me at his residence in Msasani.

I asked myself, "what was wrong?". I was with Ibrahim Kaduma when he called to see him there. Anyway, I went to see him. On my arrival there, Mwalimu told me, "I want to appoint you a Minister for Foreign Relations. I don't how those people there we receive these news because you have stayed with them for shorter time". I told him, "if you think I can, then fine I accept your appointment".



So, I wrote a letter to the Nigerian government informing them about the President's decision and I expressed my expectation that our re-established relationship will grow. So in 1977 I became a Minister for Foreign Affairs. What I can remember during those days we had a lot of liberation meetings and struggles for Namibia, Zimbabwe, and other negotiations.

Nigeria was the sixth Frontline State. In our communiqués we were saying "the Frontline States and Nigeria". They felt that it was important for them to participate in the movements. We differed with them sometimes especially on issues of strategies; but their contribution was remarkable.

So, we continued with liberation struggles including the Lancaster negotiation for the independence of Zimbabwe; they were so tough but eventually we reached its end. Personally, I was very much relieved because I led the Tanzanian delegation to Harare to celebrate the independence of Zimbabwe. It was a wonderful feeling.

And after that I was busy with politics. In 1980 after the elections I became a Minister for Information for a short time before I was appointed a Tanzanian Ambassador to Canada and USA. I came back in 1984 to serve as a Minister for Foreign Affairs and it was the time for Namibian Independence.

We focused more on negotiations, and I was more busy working outside the country. I think my ability to participate in those negotiations was because of language background and the former training in the western countries made me sail better in the negotiations. Unfortunately the western media put down our efforts and that made me so much furious. They were depicting as if Africans were created to be ruled; I wrote so often against that. Secondly, they had bad propaganda about liberation parties. The whites racists in South Rhodesia and South Africa were very good at such dirty propaganda.

Our colleagues in the western world did not have knowledge about the world contrary to us who were learning about many things related to American liberation, Chinese liberation, liberation in Vietnam and so on. To them they had a lot of misconceptions and misperceptions about us. Their education about the world is very narrow. That is why it was easier for the Boers to mislead them on the liberation struggles in the southern Africa. So we had a huge task to fight such dirty propaganda. In fact I did well on that whenever I got an opportunity to speak.

I moments I feel very consoled include when I received the first batch of the prisoners from the Robben Island, including Govan Mbeki. I received them at Mnazi Mmoja and they later were transported to Dodoma. They had spent between twenty three and twenty four years in Robben Island; and by that time I think I was around 50 years; so I those people had stayed almost half of my age in prison. That reflection made me to respect them in a very special way. They were really heroes to me. I admired people like Mandela, because he was a leader of freedom fighters and it is not only the gun that brings independence; it's the level of struggle that made them unique; so he deserved a special tribute.

I don't know how Frontline States started but I remember to have heard about them when I was a Press Secretary. Even Mobutu wanted to be in the Frontline and they later realised that he wanted to be recognised as an influential leader like Kaunda and Nyerere while in actual fact he was not committed to struggles. He was looking for photo opportunity only. I also suspect that even my bosses did not take him seriously, and they were not telling him everything.

I learnt many things related to liberation struggles after coming from Makerere, especially when the Father of the Nation proposed for the East African Unity. But I also learnt that we supported Kenya, Uganda to get independence in terms of military cars because we were already independent. Therefore, the spirit of supporting the liberation struggles continued

even after failing to have a federation.

We started with PAFMECA, and later became PAFMECSA – meaning for East and Central Africa, and later Southern Africa was added and Tanzania being at the centre. The peak of the movement was Brazaville conference because after the assassination of President Ngwabi, who was so militant; that conference was the last one to unite East, Central, and Southern Africa. From there we had to concentrate with frontline; but Ngwabi had given us hopes that it was possible for the Africans to mobilise themselves for the liberation of southern African countries. The movement became vibrant because Brazaville was a French speaking and it was under young leader like him. From there we concentrated with southern Africa.

The challenges with liberation movements was that they were fighting among themselves instead of focussing on their common enemy. When I was in the newsroom sometimes we had to reject some of their stories. The differences in those liberation parties were based on the personalities of their leaders coupled with militancy, courage, bravery, and leadership talent. The second aspect that contributed to the conflicts I think was the misunderstanding on distribution of powers; they were accusing each other of being the agents of their enemies. But those two issues I think were very much at the background of the serious differences between liberation movements of the same country.

I remember when I was in a news room at the time when FRELIMO was formed, there was one old perspn from the northern Mozambique, from another political party called MANU, did not like Mondlane to be the future leader for Mozambique. But the right decision was made that Mondlane could bring people together in that party. The issue of personalities again emerged. What I remember with Frontline States is that those leaders were able to call each other and discuss any looming obstacle ahead of the struggles. Literally, at a one day notice, they would immediately convene the meeting until midnight; only three or four discussing and they came with a communiqué and as Foreign Minister I had to meet with my counterparts to write a communiqué and sent to them for correction.

Now the problem was with summits that had a one month notice and still people were not coming to the meeting; only one third could attend. The spirit of African solidarity for liberation struggle was very strong. You could meet anywhere; sometimes in Lusaka, Arusha, or Mozambique. It was good.

The second aspect was about bringing harmony among the liberation movements, but members had to contribute something for the frontline states. We had some problems with the contributions for the Liberation Committee; but these Frontline States had no problem because sometimes they contributed formally to the Liberation Committee or not. Our countries had a great solidarity. I talked to one person who reminded me about Kwame who said that it is meaningless if we shall not be linked to the liberation of Africa. To the contrary the same Ghana never approached any Frontline country for contribution.

It is true that Ghana focused more on African Unity while for us we were more for liberation of Southern Africa. It doesn't mean that they had no sentiments or solidarity; or rather let me use the modern term, they were not proactive on the liberation struggles. They were very pro-active on African Unity, and they were highly preoccupied with that. Tanzanians were highly mobilised to the extent of contributing blood for the wounded freedom fighters. They contributed regardless of the threats. The threats from the Portuguese and Boers did not undermine their spirit to help freedom fighters.

Liberation Committee was an instrumental mobilizer for the independent countries in the Southern Africa to support their fellow Africans who were under colonialism so that they get independence. I am so grateful that the Committee got support from OAU Headquarters and they agreed that it should be led by a Tanzanian. Had it been under other nations, it was so difficult to get cooperation from Frontline States. It was also very important to consider the host country because people could think it was a matter of favour. Not like that; in terms of

delivery, it had to be organised like that, and Tanzania had to bear the huge burden because the seat for the Liberation Committee was in Tanzania and the leader of the Committee was a Tanzanian. There might be some members who can claim that they were members of the Liberation Committee, and they did this, and their countries did that. Yes they contributed something but their contribution is seen in the balance sheet but the huge burden was shouldered on Tanzania. I think that has to be stressed.

I understand that the eastern countries supported us. Russians, obtrusively were in the liberation movement themselves; and I think the Chinese were more discreetly in the liberation movements. Although those labels were given by the western countries that supported apartheid in South Africa. They were naming those two countries as communists or pro-Chinese, pro-Russia, and so on. Truly, some of the freedom fighters were Russian Marxists and others followed Chinese Marxists, who were clearer in ideology. I think this also is an observation. That also was reflected in aids through Liberation Committee, or bilateral and each liberation movement, and that depended on who went to approach them. They were looked at who was a true convert to Russian style, but also your organization governance, language and other issues were also considered. So the Liberation, Committee that we hosted here and led by Tanzanians helped very much to neutralise the idea that the liberation struggle is owned by either Russian or China or Bulgaria or somebody. The Committee had to insist that it was authentically African. They were trying to place Mwalimu as a Communist or Socialist who believed in GOD. I think that it was hosted here, and its leadership was here, was a factor to have those leaning nuances. Even some of the white journalists who were working with our government newspapers had their sides; some leaned towards Russia and others towards China. One of them was Richard Gott and his colleagues. They were trying to persuade us to be either authentic or non-authentic. So that is another aspect.

In the Lancaster House meeting, Warioba was there through out. What I remember very clearly is that it was a huge task to persuade both ZAPU and ZANU to reach agreement. Mwalimu had to do extra job because they refused to talk to each other. So on that issues I can attest that it is true; we had to work hard to persuade them to agree with terms of Independence Constitution. What I can remember is that they decided that the negotiations either postponed or stopped for good. They left their with Aluta Continua, chimulenga continues.

The major two reasons that made them to oppose Lancaster resolutions that I recall included the Constitution that gave more powers to white settlers who were very few; they were not more than one million. The white settlers wanted twenty seats in the parliament and the Africans had eighty seats. They questioned about the rationale of that democracy while they had shed blood for the country. They complained that there was no democratic constitution but only a devaluation of numbers.

The second was land; they wanted the issue of land to be untouched for the next ten years despite the fact that they were promised US and UK governments to get funds for the additional farms for Africans as they helped the Kenyans to settle the land issue. Apart from that promise, they did not believe; they felt that ten years were too many. So of these I am absolutely certain in my mind that Mwalimu did a hard job to tell them that it was not right to refuse the whole agreement on the grounds of two clauses. He urged them to accept so that at the end they would change because they will majority powers. We requested them to accept the agreement and they could come later to claim their land and we could support them on land restitution.

I remember some statements from the late Zhogbo who said, "No, more with negotiations here. It has become evident that Madame Thatcher and Ian Smith have decided to be in a state of concubinage." Ooh! The British became so angry. We had to calm them down by saying that those were the youth with hot-heads. They were not sent by their leaders to say those words. Those were so difficult negotiations, but fortunately, from those points they finally agree and

they continued to implement.

So for me, I take it as an irony because the western countries ought to remember that the white people have occupied the Zimbabwean land and they don't remember that US and UK governments had already promised to address the land issue within ten years after independence but they never did that; and you don't hear them talking about it.

It doesn't mean they have no memory because their capacity for records keeping is much better than ours. If they can remember that the land was in their hands and they promised to compensate as the factor for independence. Nobody is mentioning about that. And these were the things I was always raising when I was working with the Nationalist newspaper. I was receiving the articles from these white people about the evils of Mugabe, claiming that he was planning to claim the land that white people were owning, cultivating and earning their living for generations; Several generations of the white people? Now one has to ask since when did they start owning those lands and farmed for generations.

So you see this kind of selective, biased, tendentious reporting, analysis, feature writing that we faced in the newsrooms of our newspapers. Really, the propaganda war was also a war, because it was struggling for the mind, and the inclination of our people to support the liberation. Anyway but that is a sideline. You could really understand that these people were thinking that we had no rights to exist on this earth. How comes a person who invaded you comes to claim that the land is his and ignoring the persons who have lived on that land for centuries or for generations beyond the call; and they were the ones owning the land. Why? Unless you think you are superior or you have a special divine entitlement to this thing; I mean this is ridiculous.

But anyway, I can say these things, now that I am out the office. You know, I can be intemperate in my language. The process could have been better managed but without questioning their basic rights. During the African Union meetings, there were two perspectives; the first was that of the conservative countries that opposed the idea of teaching people to use arms to overthrow the apartheid government. Yes, they could be ignored for they were reluctant supporters but when the resolutions were made it was difficult for them to abstain or object. The group of conservative countries included French speaking black Africans with an exception of Algeria and Guinea. Those conservative countries were so passive and hard to manage; I presuppose it is because of the historical affiliations. They were difficult to handle; much more than hata English speaking. English speaking countries apart from being under British we did not care about but we had to be very careful and we were careful at crafting the phrases of the resolutions without attacking the French speakers.

The second aspect was about how nationalist were these liberation movements? They were highly confusing because some were nationalist with communist leaning, other with socialist leaning to the extent that it was not easy to know the clear ideology of the liberation movements in these countries. There was a colouring of ideology especially between communism or socialism. Whenever we met the debate was hot because they were thinking that we were there to defend the presence of Russia or Chin in Africa. But this is in evaluating the authenticity or the acceptance of liberation movements especially after they have been formed.

The third aspect was of bringing several liberation movements together in one country so as to bring people together. Now when you told them that you cannot bring them together they disagreed while we knew that Bishop Mzorewa was a mouth piece of Smith. How could you have one kraal with antagonistic people? So at various stages in the progress of the fight, evaluation of the degree of nationalism, independence of external sectors of these liberation movements was debatable.

There were some liberation movements that were knee jerking reactions because they were more loved than others; for instance Algeria was more loved and whenever they said

anything other countries got a reason to knee jerk reactions. I can't be specific about which liberation movement, but we had fierce debates. Furthermore, the extra ordinary thing was about Liberia that was very well disposed on the United States, but they were truly pro-liberation although were not good at the contributions but they supported resolutions. They could stand to be counted and very strong under the presidency of Tubman. Tubman invited Kingunge Ngombale Mwiru and Gesler Mapunda to study in Liberia through TANU. Gesler decided later to go to Russia when things went wrong with him.

Sincerely, there was no any movement in our country that was against the support for the liberation of Mozambique or South Africa. On the contrary the spirit of supporting was so high; I think it was because our party was so strong; it mobilised ideology and the spirit of liberation. That is why we had even the mobilisation of security guard whereby by our youth were mobilised and received militia training for helping them. It might have been facilitated to realize that brotherhood existed among us and they were ready not to tolerate seeing others shed their blood out there; the least you can do is to sustain them while they are with you. So, there was no absolutely underground feelings that we were sacrificing too much. But because of affinity to the borders; Tanzanians witnessed the oppressiveness of the Portuguese, and that rised the feelings of support for liberation.

Although there is no such a thing as benevolent colonialism, but at least there was something resembling benevolent colonialism here in Tanzania in comparison to across the river. The adult people received strokes regardless of the social status of the person. So, for all those reasons, I think strength of the party helped to propagate the idea of liberation support. I don't think if Tanzanians complained about them being involved in supporting their relatives in Mozambique. The Portuguese dropped the bomb at Kitaya but people did not dare to say enough is enough.

We considered them as our relatives and those incidence of beating the elders irked them very much. They were determined to make sure they allowed them to pass whenever they realised that they the nationalists from Mozambique. They told each other to keep the mouth shut, and they reported all the strangers who enterer the country and they kept track of them until when they were satisfied that those were nationalists that were there to fight against the colonial rulers. We tried to support them but we also encouraged them to merge or form alliances and we urged them not to turn against each other in the war zone but instead they had to unite against their colonial masters.

Unfortunately, others did not do what we did to them; they refused to recognise some of the liberation parties or freedom fighters. They even arrested them and jailed them in their own prisons. But we were very considerate; we did not jail them even if we were not happy with some of them. We just took them to some places where they stayed until when things were settled. That's the way we did it. But we had to satisfy ourselves that they truly had an organization; that is one.

But secondly, we had those who were ready to received military training and get arms to go back and fight. We had to assess them; and as you carry on the struggle to see if they can pool their resources together. This was done for ZANU and ZAPU. They broke away and there was another group called FROLIZI; I don't know if it was on the grounds of personality, deologies, or looking for aid. The colonianists were using aid to divide them and that is what happened between ZANU and ZAPU. But at least they did not fight in our country; I don't remember. Their conflict was tribal and to them tribalism was an important factor, and that made unity to be a difficult issue for the liberation struggle.

By the time I started being actively engaged in advocacy, it is true that PAC were good at propaganda. Their publicity people were very organised in channelling out information and events. On the other hand, Zambia, especially President Kaunda, wanted to be recognised as the people who had a prominent role in supporting the liberation in Southern Africa. They wanted to increase their profile of contribution, so they wanted to give a special patronage to

ANC. This was my feeling but it can also be possible that there were personal relations with ANC leaders than it was with us here. But really I have always thought that the drive was one to increase the profile of Zambia's contribution to the liberation of their neighbours, because they were seen to be rather distant from us; which is true that physically they are distant from us.

Other liberation stories are about Angolan MPLA, FNLA and UNITA. UNITA did not stay longer in our country and indeed we chased them away because of their behaviours. We started asking ourselves about whether they were agents of colonialists or genuine authentic nationalist. So after they realised that we doubted them they decided to leave the country. The factor of neighbouring countries trying to increase their profile on contribution for liberation of their neighbours is worth to be noted because we are all humans. For instance, Zambia would want to be seen that they played part in Zimbabwe, South Afrika, and Mozambique. Also there was a certain collaboration between parties; for instance ZANU and FRELIMO, much more than ZAPU and FRELIMO. These were the factors that could explain why they felt comfortable to spend time there, or in Zambia, or here which was a bit far and the transportation was a challenge and they had to take precaution against the possibilities of being hijacked.

Concerning the British and Americans giving promises for land compensation I don't know if that commitment was put in writing. I think ZANU and ZAPU leaders were in a position to explain that. But I will be very much astonished to learn that there were no minutes of that meeting. But I can assure that the promise was made and those who were present there have testified that; and I believe the British people are very careful at record keeping; so I don't believe they did not keep records of such sensitive negotiations although there are some discussions can be held and people agree that there will be no notes; but that cannot be done on a serious deliberation like this; I find it very difficult. One American who was present in the meeting admitted that the land compensation promise was made during that negotiation meeting. Actually apart from all the propaganda they have been making they have never denied that promise. You throw it to them but they don't dispute it. For me that is enough.

Concerning the management of land dispute, I can't say it could have been better managed because I have not made a thorough study on what they have done so far; but I said there might be a reason for a debate, or justification for a debate, on whether it could have been better managed. But I say I don't believe that since I am not assenting that it could have been better managed because I don't know the full dimensions of the process. But I am allowing that it could be, you know, you could have a debate, and quite justified debate.

Ideally it was agreed that each person was supposed to be given one farm but there were some leaders who took up to three or four farms contrary to the directives of the policy. So in that sense it could have angered one side and incited those who opposed the policy and mobilise people to oppose it on the ground that the leaders wanted to benefit from the policy instead of helping the needy citizens. And some of them were senior ministers; so, in that sense, there may be room for an argument that, it could have been better managed.

But I am still wondering why such serious US and British governments did not keep memories. It is very rare. These are serious Governments you know, but somehow there is memory laps, when it comes to those agreements for the transaction to independence of Zimbabwe; I find it very difficult. There must be records for that. And secondly, I think Tony Blair in 1980 was almost twenty seven years. So you see, he was still at college; he was a member of college band in UK; he was not following liberation issues in Africa because it was none of his business. But he is the Prime Minister today; and one of his senior ministers have any records of dealings with resurgents liberating Africa.

Go to America, where was George W. Bush? He is about sixty now. He was dodging going to Vietnam. But these are now top leaders of their countries and they are in different eras and

those were eras of Harold Wilson, Harold MacMillan, or James Callaghan, who lived during the peak of African Liberation. Still we have people grew up during those days environments and they recall about them. So there is the new generation of leadership in the West, no people like De Gaulle. People like Meckel know nothing about this and so when you talk to her she fails to understand because she doesn't have that historical context that could help her understand. No more Kennedy.

I have speaking very frankly that I describe it as a memory lapse and leadership contact is another factor. I sincerely believe that there is an absence of statesmanship in the western world in the circles of leadership. We had statesmanship of Harold Wilson and others who at least realized that things couldn't go in the way they were doing. And now you learn that Milliband is pushed to vie for Premiership in UK; he is forty three years old. As I try to learn more about this thing I realise that I cannot understand these people. At least Madame Castle from Labour party is informed about this. Labour party supported me to study journalism in UK so that I could come back and run Nationalist and Uhuru. Ms Castle, who was a Development Minister, wrote a letter that was published in Zimbabwe that insisted her stand on the need to recognise that there were two different governments and they were not bound by the decisions of the previous government. She said that UK was under the new generation of leadership; so if she is the one who we knew, she was a left wing. But there must be a generation gap to explain this. Even Condoleeza Rice and her age mates were in high school when the liberation struggles intensified; so their empathy with Africa is not noticeable because it has no ground.

When I was a leader of this country already South Africa and Namibia had got independences and it was the time we tried to consolidate the relationship with them through SADCC before it became a Community; and later we strengthened it and it became a fully fledged Community (SADC).

One thing that is clearly lacking now is the close cooperation of the liberation parties. Their partnership is very much pronounced. I understand we attend annual meetings of the liberation parties but there is no substance from those meetings. I would to see it worked upon. As I said there is a generation gap; the former generation of active liberation struggles that bowed down the western generation that built the wall against us, or the generation that stood against the enemies who held us back not to advance the liberation is no longer there. The people like Wilson or Thatcher have gone and that means even the history of political liberation has gone.

But the issue of ownership or real political liberation based on management, supervision or monitoring of our economy is the duty of the current leadership in the west. They don't want too much change in economic relations but they are fine with political relations. It seems to be difficult for the government to bring these parties together to fight for political liberation. There is a need to revive that kind of spirit for economic solidarity and to interact with the new western generation of Blair and Bush; and that can be done by the former liberation parties and not the governments.

And the best illustration is the European Union and Zimbabwe case whereby European Union that is dominated by the German and France are the same people who had colonies and their special relationship with USA. Now they are the ones who dictate that there must be a regime change in Zimbabwe; they don't want to talk about land liberalization. I have heard German ambassador has threatened Namibians that they should not follow what has been done in Zimbabwe.

Anyway, I think we need to call those parties but the question will come, "on which grounds and for what cause?" You will have to be discriminating; you will want solidarity of real like-minded parties, and not that of general nationalism of political liberation. Therefore, that kind relationship is lacking, and I think there is a need to revive it.

Land is a problem in South Africa and in Namibia; it is the problem of different sorts in Zimbabwe. Where are we going? Is it black empowerment? These things could be addressed through regional cooperation and regional integrations. We need a political push to gain its momentum and that political push cannot come from the government but from the parties. People need to be educated and mobilised as we did during the liberation struggle. I think that's the next challenge. That is the way I feel.

I was too busy trying to address the economic challenges in my country. Negotiating for debt relief, revenue collection and with that I am also to be blamed. But at least towards the end we started to take initiatives to meet and forge the way forward together. And we may really almost desecrate out legacy on history, of remarkable cooperation in Southern Africa. But I am talking as an aged person who pose a challenge to younger generation. It is a big challenge. As it was asked in the past about what kind of political configuration is this? Now the same question can be asked in the rise of the impact of the European Union and others. What kind of political configuration have you got now in Zimbabwe, and what is the way forward? South Africa has already conducted three elections but what kind of political configuration has taken place? Now what is the way forward?

Mugabe also asked what kind of independence? Why that question is not asked today? Simply because we have been independent for forty five years, and they have been under majority rule in South Africa for twelve years. No, I think the same questions are still valid. The responses to these questions must come from the political parties as the way forward because in governments things are very complex.

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## *Msuya, Cleopa David*

*[Mwanga, Kilimanjaro; 14 April 2007]*

*Cleopa David Msuya was born in Usangi, Mwanga District, in Kilimanjaro Region in 1931. After secondary education, he went to Makerere University College from 1952 to 1955 when he was awarded his first degree. He then began his career as a rural Social Development Officer from 1956 to 1964 when he joined the Local Government Ministry as an Assistant Secretary. He served as the Permanent Secretary in various ministries, including Social Welfare, Land and Housing, Planning, and Treasury.*

*In February 1972 he was appointed MP and Finance Minister, and in 1975 he became Minister for Industries. He became the third Prime Minister from November 1980 to 1983, when he was reappointed Minister of Finance, Economy Planning until 1989, and Minister of Industry and Trade from 1990 to 1994. He became Prime Minister for second time and as Vice-President at the same time between December 1994 and November 1995. From December 1995 to October 2000 Hon. Msuya was the MP of Mwanga. Throughout his time as a senior civil servant, and especially in the Treasury, and as the Finance Minister, he was also in various TANU and Chama cha Mapinduzi committees, where he was involved in the liberation movements. This was due to the fact that Tanzanian Government and the Party considered the issue of the independence of the African continent as one of its activities, and the Treasury was deeply involved in Tanzania's contribution to the struggle for independence in Southern Africa.*

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It is true, as you said that, I started working as a civil servant but we had an advantage of the early days of independence because the post-colonial period, immediately after independence in the 1960s, was the period of Africanization. So, we were promoted quickly to take high positions in order to man various positions in the Government. I remember in 1960, I was working as a community development officer in Pare District. I was sent a letter telling me that the country is about to have a Responsible Government so young people who have a degree are supposed to come for training on how to run ministries. I was transferred from Usangi to Dar es Salaam.

When I got there, I was sent to the Ministry of Local Government to learn how to administer a ministry. So, I became an Assistant Secretary. It involved learning how you receive letters, organize, study issues, and how you refer them to your seniors, to the permanent secretary and the permanent secretary refer them to an African minister of what was called Responsible Government. It wasn't a full government because the Governor was still there. So, I served there and after the independence I moved to the position of Permanent Secretary

I held that position until 1969 when I was transferred from the Ministry of Economic Affairs to the Treasury. So, as I said, by the time we were senior Tanzanian civil servants, the struggle for freedom for Africa had already started and it was a hot political issue. During that time, the Government amended the law that civil servants could join political parties but before that it was impossible. So we had two interactions, one was the Government and two was political party.

The driving force of the liberation issues, I think, was basically the philosophy because if you

read the TANU and CCM Constitutions till today there are two items: one says Africa is one; it commits the TANU and CCM membership to African brotherhood, and we have to help them. That is the basic written philosophy and I believe even the founders of CCM particularly Mwalimu Nyerere took it and stuck to it in that even after independence he was the main spokesman of it.

He did that not only in the Tanzanian platform but also in the African and world platforms. So, I started to know those things during my term as a civil servant especially after moving to the position of Permanent Secretary of various ministries and later to the Treasury. We started to come into contact with political operations related to struggles for liberation.

Apart from other things, on the side of it, in practical political education, liberation used to be discussed and members were asked to contribute some money for political liberation. Members would contribute some money for liberation. That was one of the things we, as senior civil servants used to do. But when I moved to the Treasury, it was to do with how the Government was organizing itself to help liberation process. One is that, we used to import military supplies including weapons to Dar es Salaam for helping the liberation movements which actually were imported by Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola and other countries. Now, in order to channel the supplies, the clearance; I mean the system of moving the supplies from the port to their destination, needed special arrangements with the system at the port and customs which did not involve East Africa.

So, we set up a small group that included the Permanent Secretaries of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Defence because at that time those supplies used to be imported in the name of the Ministry of Defence. But when they arrived, in order to avoid the procedures of registration and qualification as part of the Government, we had to be involved as treasury for authorisation; and it was only me, the Permanent Secretary, who had the mandate to sign and because of that I had to have communication with the Ministry of Defence. Then, the military received the supplies and gave them to the liberation movements who had their bases in Dar es Salaam.

So the military had to monitor them in order to know whether the weapons were kept securely until they reach their countries to be used for fighting or they were stored in a place where security could be assured. So, the first kind of participation was in terms of organization process to make sure that the supplies cross the country. Apart from that which I handled as a civil servant due to customs and tax issues which was the responsibility of the Treasury, I remember in 1972, Mwalimu Nyerere pulled me from Secretary General; and he told me “I want to appoint you Member of Parliament and then make you Minister of Finance”. At that time I had no intention to become an MP. I thought I had risen to the highest possible post; the Permanent Secretary was not a small post. Then, I said to Mwalimu “Will I be able to do that?” He said yes. So, he appointed me Member of Parliament and he immediately appointed me Minister of Finance. This time now after becoming MP and Minister in the Government I became a Member of the Central Committee by virtue of that; and liberation issues used to be discussed and planned there; and that was the time OAU decided to establish a Liberation Committee which was located in Dar es Salaam. I hope you will include Hashim Mbita among the people you will interview because he was an Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee and later was our High Commissioner to Zimbabwe. After that, the Government was involved in many activities. On one side we used to re-budget and provide funds for liberation movements, whether for training or various expenses within or outside the country. So, we helped through provision of funds though we had to hide it in a system that would have not been recognized internationally.

Secondly, in collaboration with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Home Affairs, we offered travel documents to those who wanted to travel to attend international meetings. They

could not go there as refugees, they had to go there as Tanzanian citizens. So, we used to give them travel documents. Following the beginning of armed confrontation in Mozambique, training was offered in Tanzania and in other countries. Many people had to travel to Angola, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia.

The big problem was that, Mwalimu Nyerere had a big role so he was talking about these liberation movements as if we were all united. There were so many forces and groups. The main task of OAU, Tanzania, Frontline States, and the role of Mwalimu Nyerere was how to reconcile these people. For example, South Africa had ANC which is Mandela's; but there were also PAC who was more radical. They had to be told first that their being divided will make them weak.

Again there was another party which was more liberal and nearer to Boers. It was the Zulu and their leader called Buthelezi. Although they pretended to be a liberation movement, they were actually a tool of colonial powers. The point that I am trying to make here is that, the main task that was done was to reconcile various splinter groups, all those claimed to be liberation forces so that they could join together and be helped together through combating training, giving them arms and other facilities to enable them to go to fight. So, lack of unity among the freedom movements was a very big problem; and we had the task to unite them and ask them to unite. I think if you talk to people like Hashim Mbita, they will tell you; it was the most difficult task.

The second one, which is big, is the external aspect. Tanzania found it necessary to build a philosophy which would help freedom fighters by supporting them externally. The Soviet Union and China were the two big suppliers although most arm supplies for confrontations came from the Soviet Union, in collaboration with the countries which were under the Soviet Union at that time. There were also other countries like India which provided a big support. Another support came from Arabic countries such as Egypt under Naserwa, and Algeria. There were a few other countries which were committed for that particularly Ghana under Nkrumah; when he was alive at that time he supported the struggles through resources and training people. So, in order to implement that external aspect, they had to argue that we are now engaged in combat phase lest they attract the wrath of the powerful nations of the West such as America, the UK, and Germany to come physically and wage a war.

So, Mwalimu played a role of a spokesman who told the powerful western countries that they should intervene by telling the Americans and the British and even the colonial authorities especially in South African and Zimbabwe that they need to open up and liberate their policies in order to accommodate Africans instead of suppressing them. He told them that, especially in South Africa that if they didn't do that a war would occur.

They said a war is destructive, and naturally if a war breaks out the most affected people are those from the lower class, and thus many Tanzanians would die. But they insisted that even the economy of the investors will be affected. That was the aspect for developing a philosophy that involved the superpowers to pressurise rulers to allow liberation movements and negotiate deals. So, the main role of Mwalimu Nyerere and Kaunda was to talk to the main western powers.

After that we started to facilitate the groups which were involved in combats by providing them with arms. Some arms were imported through Tanzania especially the ones to Mozambique because they had their camps in Tanzania particularly at Nachingwea, Kongwa- Dodoma and Mbeya. When arms arrived in Dar es Salaam, they would request our Government for help because the Government and the army used to help transport the arms to the posts which were at our border, and then from there they helped to smuggle them into their destinations.

So, what I'm saying is that there was that kind of political commitment which was embodied in our constitution of TANU and later CCM, and the Government of Tanzania enforced it through giving cash which was used to cover transport and other expenses during

the liberation movements. Of course, we were not alone; after the establishment of the Liberation Committee some other countries intervened to help but we bore the brunt cost because you know our African countries, they may make a commitment but money doesn't come.

We still have the same problem in OAU and even in SADC. Since the Liberation Committee was located here, when they had no funds and they had a crucial operation the Government had to look for funds from various sources to finance the operation. So, we bore the brunt cost. As for the issue of military supplies aid, basically, our Government used to request for them but it did that in collaboration with leaders of liberation movements.

Primarily, arms were provided by the former Soviet Union and the countries which were under it, People's Republic of China, and other countries which were committed such as India, Egypt, and Algeria. There were also some other countries such as Sweden, Norway and Denmark which did not provide arms but supported the movements financially. These countries helped by providing funds because country leaders and liberation movement leaders got aid from these Nordic countries for even preparing people to run systems. When the actual physical armed confrontations started the back-up bases were in Tanzania. After Mozambique got independence, arms to Zimbabwe passed through Mozambique and Zambia.

Unfortunately, Malawi did not play a big role. So, it was a weak point but since it was a small country they were not very much concerned about it. They used to go around Mozambique and Zambia. During those struggles however, it was important to open up and speak to the western countries because they had heavy economic investment in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Zambia

The construction of the railway and the pipe line helped to transport oil. Although the aim was to help Zambia, the strategies of those who had investments found that the opening-up of the route to Dar es salaam and the north was going to waken their economy in the South. Unfortunately, after things started to stabilize it has been weak; we have not capitalized on more constructions and I think this is something you need to do now.

After these countries: Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola and South Africa got independence, people questioned the relevance of the Frontline States which had been formed as part of liberation struggle to back-up liberation movements. We thought that the freedom phase was going to end; where do we go? What do we do with this mechanism that made us cooperate? An idea came that we have to think about forming something which will focus on economic liberation, and thus SADCC was born in the first summit in Dar es Salaam.

So, we have finished the confrontation phase, the countries are now free; everyone can go home but we don't need armed confrontation any more. The aim is to struggle for economic liberation. So, we should use the Frontline States unity we forged and convert it into a conference for helping one another economically; to see where we can go; and that was the birth of the Southern African Development Cooperation. I think formerly it was cooperation but now it has become a community, so this is where we are now.

I think the actual cash figure of the contribution of Tanzania to liberation struggle is there in the Government records. It is there because by the time the liberation by armed struggle ended and we are entering into cooperation, we started to develop interest in forming SADCC, there was an effort to draw information especially from the time we started to get involved in liberation struggle, to know how much we spent in actual cash. I don't have the figure now but I am sure if you talk to people from the Treasury, they will dig it up because it is in the Cabinet papers which were used in the formation of Coordination Conference of SADC. We reviewed where we came from.

We invested, in fact heavily, not only in terms of money but also in people. You remember how we were struck by the Portuguese and South African bombers in the southern areas. They once even came to Dar es Salaam and dropped papers there; and I reckon some people were

killed in some areas like Nachingwea. Our people who were living near River Ruvuma were ambushed when they crossed to the other side of the river. In terms of financial contribution I will try to talk to those who are in office to write the whole figure amount involved if the records have not been destroyed because when the Government files are too many they are sometimes randomly dumped. But the figure was calculated and it is there. In fact, if I go there I will talk to the people in the Treasury to show us where the figure can be found.

I don't have details of internal conflicts because I was mainly in economic and financial wing. In confrontations, you know, in almost every country, there were conflicts among various groups. There were conflicts in South Africa, in Mozambique, you know it, in Zimbabwe, you know Mugabe had conflicts with other groups; in Angola, there were MPLA and UNITA of Savimbi and Roberto; there were about three groups; in Namibia the situation was the same.

So, problems were everywhere. Hashim Mbita should be in a better position to give you the details on how you forge unity among the liberation groups from a particular country because that is what they were doing in the Liberation Committee. They know who to reconcile with whom, how to get them, because it really involved sitting at the desk.

From Tanzania's view point, we should not claim that it was Tanzania's view because it was overall. But why was Tanzanian committed to it? It is because both the constitutions of TANU and later CCM, right from the beginning, contain sections about cooperation with other African countries for liberation. Also, we had a committed leadership that disseminated this to the people, and the people were willing to give the little money they had as their contribution. When you build a road and call it Nelson Mandela that shows a commitment expressed by the Tanzanians for acknowledging that liberation really is their responsibility. So, on political leadership, Mwalimu Nyerere was able to build it by having it written in the CCM constitution, but moreover to sell it to the people.

It is the thing that other countries didn't do. Tanzania was in fact, far ahead of the other countries in the issue of liberation in two aspects: first, to mobilize people and make them aware of the importance of liberation, and that strategically, we are not free until others become free too. Second, during the OAU summit, Mwalimu Nyerere volunteered to host the Liberation Committee in Tanzania. However, in a broader perspective it is not good to involve yourself in these issues of Africa all alone. They blamed Mwalimu when he was forming the Liberation Committee.

People who were not fully committed blamed Mwalimu Nyerere and Tanzania for that. But as I said, there were some countries such as Algeria, especially at the beginning during the era of their first President called Ben Bella and Egypt under Nasser which were also committed. As I said other countries were lukewarm and they were under the so called Non-aligned countries. India was also committed; it provided aid because they understood the movements and struggle. They were helping the African countries. You can see how other countries could play a big role but our neighbours did not do that. TANU helped the Kenyans a lot to get freedom but when it came to liberation crises here, yes, they tolerated, but they never helped us.

The Mulungushi Club, as Professor said, sprouted from the countries which were supporting liberation struggle. During the struggle, in fact, I can say that Tanzania and Zambia were in the front line to support the fighting, and Mulungushi Club in a way was a way to show our leadership.

I remember, we had a meeting somewhere in Lusaka as Mulungushi Club and as Professor said, Botswana once joined the club but they couldn't be that aggressive because otherwise they could be attacked because their entire life depended on South Africa. So, Mulungushi Club involved other people, though primarily Tanzania and Zambia were the ones who provided the resources to speed up liberation.

I think before the inception of the Liberation Committee, these countries had to bear the

burden and they were trying to involve other countries. Members of the Liberation Committee proclaimed OAU countries as member countries; but as I said when you are a group some people become just members but they do not take part fully in the implementation of the objectives of the group. So, it remained to be the role of the committed countries like Tanzania and Zambia and a few other countries which showed some efforts. These countries became front line states which helped to back up the movements out of a bigger group of members of OAU.

The method used to appoint senior Tanganyikans and Tanzanians into civil service during the wave of appointment was so helpful. Firstly, I think putting the appointment of senior civil servant under the President was good because the President is able to evaluate the habits and views of the people he wants to appoint to see if they have positive or negative attitude before appointing them. Secondly, as I said earlier, it was due to the commitment of Mwalimu Nyerere and TANU at that time, and CCM later, to make efforts to educate all Tanzanians and leaders because senior civil servants were supposed to be members of Chama (political party).

There were no people that we might call a big resistance in the system. Generally, they volunteered to help. Actually the spirit was that “We should do something but we should not do much more in a way that we hurt our people later”. So, we restarted from a very good position; and that, there was a willing effort to contribute but how to share the cake is, of course, always a problem. In formulating a budget, we had a special committee which used to review the budget of the Ministry of Defence and services of the Ministry of Home Affairs. The funds for liberation were included in these ministries. There were very few ministers; the Minister of Finance, the President and the Minister of Defence to set the budget. When it is figured it is plugged to the overall economic and social development budget of the country. If we are forced to review the figures, that is just a normal issue.

What I want to say is that, since there was willingness to help in the senior leadership of civil service you could not find bad elements in it. We did not have enough resources at that time, so we used to focus on the amount of money allocated for social economic development. Also, the contribution used to be included in the budget of the Ministry of Defence which also featured Home Affairs.

We could reduce the budget under normal circumstances but we knew we were under threat. Actually, another fear was that if we had not backed up the liberation struggle until they succeeded forces from South Africa and the Portuguese would have invaded and bombarded us especially in Nachingwea and along the border because at that time we were as if at war because they knew we were backing up liberation struggles there. The real fear was that at any time they might decide to attack us; so that made it necessary to back up the movements. There was a feeling of fear at the realization that at any time we might have found ourselves in trouble.

If you want my frank opinion, I have given some as I am trying to write a book; I don't know if I will succeed. I was in the Government system even before independence. I started working in the Government in 1956 and we became independent in 1961. What I know is that, I worked between 1956 and 1961, and then from 1961 to 2000. Talking about development, I know we are not stable. We are struggling; people are struggling to build the Nation. If we find ourselves stagnant and wounded, what should we do? I am giving you my own assessment after staying in the Government as a senior civil servant and I rose to the position of Prime Minister, and then from 2000 as an MP.

There are two things to note about it. The first one is that, we admit that the liberation struggle distorted our development projects especially when we decided to strengthen the Uhuru Railway, TAZARA and TAZAMA pipeline. It's true that after directing resources to the construction of railways and the pipeline for transporting oil to Zambia, and the tarmacked road from Dar es Salaam to Tunduma, you can say that most resources were directed to that and thus, we did not

have enough resources remained for other activities. However, you can't say that distorted the development of Tanzania because of the overall inflow position of Tanzania.

Areas such as Kilombero and Mbeya would have never been integrated in the economy of this country if there had not been such major investments in railway and road infrastructure. So, it is true that it distorted the development but Mwalimu came with this phrase 'planning is to choose'; that we chose to direct the resources to that and because of that there were limited resources available for other things.

SADC can be a powerful source of regional trade and cooperation. The East African Cooperation, I think we are too small. We are talking about a hundred million people. It can't be sufficient to propel the future economy unless we relate it to another group. Grouping, meaning to see an opportunity comes and we find it better to join with Kenya in order to utilize the opportunity. Consider your interest; we are still in East Africa but we are still blocked. We could join the big play-field because even the market is big. Let's take tourism for example; if you go to the south, South Africa is very rich. That country is not a third world one like us; they are not one of us.

If we use them we will succeed. A country like Zimbabwe does not have many people. You know, in SADC, with the exception of us and South Africa, population wise is very small. The countries do not have many people but they have a lot of resources. Take Botswana for example, it has 1.6 people or something like that but they have enormous reserves. Namibia again is the same thing. Swaziland, unfortunately they have a traditional system but when they modernize and are at liberty, I think they have a rich country.

Mozambique is coming up. I hope Mugabe will be overthrown. He does not want his companion! It's a pathetic case. I everyday argue with people who say the white are not fair. No! In fact, he has the right but on this, he did sin of commission; he should have designed a better system of acquiring land without doing what has happened. So, that is my view that in order to move forward we need to find solutions not hatred. Should we remain in East African Cooperation or SADC? I think if we can manoeuvre, the answer is: let's try to see if we can manoeuvre Kenya and Uganda to join SADC where the spirit of cooperation is higher and the market is bigger.

SADC of course started late, during the liberation struggle but they have been innovative because in its first meeting, they said we don't want to build bureaucracy like the UN or East African Community. They have bureaucracy in developing a cooperation context which is decentralized and with states' involvement. For example, I remember, we, Tanzania were given the responsibility of industry and trade I think, Angola; energy, and Mozambique; transport.

So, the concept of involving partner states to lead and involving cooperation programmes in SADC makes member states feel they are really equal; then you table it, you agree on it then you sign the protocol of what you agreed upon. You make progress and based on that protocol of course, you will go to mobilize external aid. There are things which have been done; they are not big though, they show signs of success. For example, there is a study of power pool of electricity which may involve Tanzania and all countries of SADC. It is intended to link all SADC countries to one system. I know there is also a study involving Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania aimed at looping the countries in one power pool; so, there it is.

So, they are at the evaluation stage cooperative programs, but it's important to know and to Tanzania because I've said that despite these things you have heard of cooperation but at the end of the day the responsibility of developing your country is your own country and so you cannot win South Africa until it returns to London, or these French cannot call Burundi until they go to Europe and then return, but now they begin to call on the SADC. So they are at the evaluation stage of developing cooperative programmes, but what is important for Tanzania is that despite having cooperation at the end of the day the role of developing the country belongs to the country itself. SADC just provides a platform of cooperation. For example, we have the railway which starts from Zambia

So, the benefits are there, but let's face it; that to be a beneficiary will depend on how you are going to maximize your benefits from that cooperation especially on (a) what you do in your home country and (b) what the Tanzanians need and we need to be very careful when doing an analysis to know what exactly we want. You have to decide what you want in this general field. You have to decide what you want to get before. Kenyans know what they want whether in tourism, industrial markets, and the like. They know it quite clearly and they sit at the table they negotiate. But we, the Tanzanians, go there with no agenda and sometimes they go to Nairobi like tourists because when they are asked what they do they have no clear answer! So, we must have this view that home ground is number one.

Other problems are due to our weaknesses. For example, who will do us a favour if we enter into the East African Federation now while 41% of our budget depends on external sources? We will join Kenya and Uganda because there will be one president who will be distributing resources; and we will be denied of services because they will say there are no resources. There will be no possibility of getting aid because other countries have not yet received it. Those are cooperation politics. So, at the end of the day, I think we should just be member of SADC. They have initiated several projects but that is how it is. However, at the end of it all, it depends on how we, Tanzanians establish ourselves economically within the country. If we don't do that brother, no one will come to our aid to share us resources.

For example, during the time we were members of East African Community, in 1967, we struggled to negotiate and in order to decentralize East African Community, the Headquarters were built in Arusha - Tanzania, and the port in Dar es Salaam. Kenya remained with Airways and Railways. Uganda had the post and communication services corporation and the East African Development Bank. So, we benefited a little bit; but when Kenya found that they were not gaining they decided to break it. So, the only way we could hit back was to ban trade with them. In fact, for some time, we diverted trade to India and internationally. Then, they realized that they made a mistake and they want to come back. That is why I say we must know what we want for our interest this time. Secondly, we need to know our capacity. Three, in my opinion, the East African Cooperation won't be a long term issue; so if we find that choosing SADC will be more beneficial and if our interests will be much better taken care of, as I told you, Kenya and Uganda will join SADC.



**Mwamunyange, Davis Adolf**  
**[Dar es Salaam; 30 March 2007]**

*Lieutenant General Mwamunyange joined the Tanzanian People's Defence Force in 1971 and was awarded a Commission in 1973. As a soldier in the Tanzania People's Defence Force, he was involved in the Southern Africa liberation movement at different times. He began to get involved in southern Africa liberation when he joined the OAU Liberation Committee in August 1988 as a military adviser, where he stayed until February 1990 when he returned to the Military Headquarters. He worked with the freedom fighters, especially in training. Following the independence of countries which were in confrontations, he got opportunity to attend co-operation meetings through the Inter-State Defence and Security Committee (ISDSC). The interview with him aims at showing the existing relationship between the TPDF and the liberation movements in southern Africa. At the time of the interview, Lieutenant General Mwamunyange was Chief of Staff of the Defence Forces of Tanzania. After that, since 2008 he has become Chief of Defence Forces of Tanzania.*

I was born on 18 January 1953, in the family of the late Beatus Mwamunyange who was a police officer. I got my primary education in Dar es Salaam, Shinyanga and Moshi and then I joined Mawenzi secondary school in Moshi. When I completed Form IV at Mawenzi, I requested to continue with education, join the army or study Marine Engineering. When I finished school, I received a notice to join the army; so I did that.

I finished my secondary education in 1970 and joined the army in 1971. I attended the foundation course and completed in 1972. Then I went to Monduli for military officer training course in 1972, and finished in 1973, and I was commissioned. I joined the Engineering Unit in Morogoro. I did not stay there for a long time before I went to Pakistan for basic courses on signals. I returned and went back to Pakistan for another course on signals. Soon after finishing the course, I returned, then, I was transferred to Tabora to strengthen the signals activities there. I went back for another communication course in Dar es Salaam. Then, I went back to Monduli for another course. In 1976, I went to West Germany for another course. When I returned I was transferred to Kisarawe at our Communications Centre. After that, I took a security course here in the country, and I was transferred to the Military Headquarters. Later, I went back to college for a course on security and recognition in North Korea. I returned to the Headquarters and then I went back to North Korea.

After returning from North Korea, I was transferred to Kongwa where there used to be a refugee camp in the past. We set up our school of security and recognition. I went to be head of the school. Then I went to Cairo, Egypt for the same studies. When I returned I was transferred to the OAU Liberation Committee in 1986. In 1990 I returned to the Headquarters in the Intelligence Section. Later I was appointed Chief of the National Service Force and came back to the Headquarters until today. I began to involve myself in

Southern Africa liberation issues when I joined the OAU Liberation Committee on 14/8/1988 as a military advisor. I stayed there until 1990 in February when I left.

When I got there I faced a number of challenges. The first was to know my responsibilities as a military adviser and to carry them out. Fortunately I was with Mr Hashim Mbita who was the Chief Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee. So, for me it was easy to deal with this challenge. I also got good cooperation from the Secretariat members. The second one was to know and build relationships with liberation actors like the ANC and its military wing (Umkhonto we Sizwe) PAC and their military wing, SWAPO and their wing (People's Liberation Army of Namibia) and so forth. I had to meet these people and associate with them so we could work together.

The third challenge was to visit the liberation camps to find out what is happening there, their needs and their problems. This is because one of the roles of a military advisor was to provide advice to the Executive Secretariat on issues of liberation armies. The other one was to provide various military aids for the parties, to advise and seek external military aid. Another issue was to prepare reports on the operations of the liberation parties to present in Liberation Committee sessions. The other one was to convene emergency meetings of the Military Specialists Committee. The sessions of this committee were organized by the Executive Committee of the Liberation Committee. As a military advisor I was responsible for organizing such forces.

So, I visited various camps of freedom fighters in the country and outside the country. In Tanzania, we had camps such as Mgagao in Iringa, Mkuyu Camp at Handeni for Umkhonto we Sizwe. PAC Camp was at Pongwe Sungula in the Coast Region. Another camp of PAC was at Masuguru and Dakawa for economic activities; and the Mazimbo Camp was for education; schools were built there for the ANC's freedom fighters.

Outside the country, there were ANC camps in Zambia and Angola. There was also a SWAPO camp in Angola, ANC and PAC in Zimbabwe, and SWAPO camp in Zambia. So, I visited all those camps to see their activities, and their shortcomings and reported them to the Secretariat of the Committee. I also dealt with educational aid for these parties. There were young people who were studying at Mzumbe IDM, the University College of Muhimbili, and teachers' colleges such as Korogwe TTC. And as I said at the outset, ANC established an educational centre at Mazimbu. So, I organized these educational activities in collaboration with UNESCO's representative in the country. In fulfilling my responsibilities, I also found that, despite successes there were many challenges. For example, both PAC and ANC had to be supported. Second, they had their differences, but we had to help them so that those differences could not affect the aid provided.

In order to attract aid, each party exaggerated its operations and bashed each other. So, we had to use other ways to verify the information they provided. I was getting information about the activities of these parties on the battle field via media and newspapers such as BBC, Africa Confidential, and Indian Ocean Newsletter. So, we used to discuss the

situation of the struggle by relying on those sources of information. We also used fellow members of the Liberation Committee especially the Military officers from different countries that were in Dar es Salaam to get the correct information. This was the biggest challenge in assessing the performance of the freedom fighters. There was no problem with SWAPO because it was the only party that most of the time they gave us correct information though it was exaggerated occasionally.

There was also a problem with some members of the Liberation Committee who arrested and imprisoned freedom fighters when they crossed those countries to South Africa during the liberation wars. These countries are Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho. Freedom fighters complained openly at the Liberation Committee sessions about the problem. A commission had to be created to go to those countries to find out the validity of that information. I was among the members of the commission. We went to these countries and interviewed various leaders including the Ministries of Home Affairs and Defence and the Military Headquarters.

They also tried to explain the geographical problems they had with South Africa. And that they were trying hard to help freedom fighters but South Africa had large network of spies which could notice the freedom fighters when passing with their weapons through those countries to South Africa. So whenever they saw them they reported in those countries that there were freedom fighters that entered in their countries on their way to South Africa. They could precisely locate where the freedom fighters were and how many they were. So it was better for those countries to arrest them and take action before the South Africans did it themselves. So, they said that they tried to help them but when their movements were noticed by South African networks there was no way but to arrest the freedom fighters and deceive South Africa so that they could appear to be taking action against the freedom fighters.

During the liberation movements, the role of TPDF was very large. Before moving to the Liberation Committee I saw how TPDF was involved. While I was in the Committee and even later I had first-hand experience of the role played by TPDF. The first role was to provide military training for freedom fighters of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. There were training camps in Nachingwea for freedom fighters of Mozambique and later for freedom fighters of Zimbabwe. Other camps were at Mgagao - Iringa, Chunya - Mbeya and Kingolwira - Morogoro, etc. When I was working as a military officer in the Liberation Committee, we also offered training at Mkuyu camp in Handeni, Kongowe - Msongola - Coast, and Mgagao - Iringa. We also trained the military commanders of the freedom fighters at Monduli. Therefore, TPDF was involved in training, in terms of instruction, as well as administrative activities in those camps. It was expensive. Much of the cost was covered by the Government but we also received funds from OAU Liberation Committee.

Young people from these parties did not only get military training but also were trained to be police officers at CCP Moshi, and prison officers. Others were trained to be teachers,

doctors and other professions, so that when they return to their home countries they will fill the gaps of expertise in those fields. On the other hand, apart from the training, TPDF was involved in logistics, including distribution of military equipment, office supplies, food, vehicles, communication equipment and so forth to the freedom fighters. The freedom fighters got such aid from friend countries such as East Germany, Russia, China and Algeria. The TPDF task was to receive the supplies and distribute them to the relevant parties.

We had a special unit called Special Duties Unit (SDU). This is the unit which dealt with aid and logistics. It was involved in receiving supplies at the port, storing them in warehouses here in Lugalo, Dar es Salaam, or at Mbalizi, Mbeya, and later distributing them to the freedom fighters. The SDU Headquarters was in the place where the Leadership Ethics Commission is located now. Therefore, SDU was more involved in logistics. But it also prepared and archived reports on the receipt and distribution of supplies.

After those countries became independent, the involvement of TPDF in those countries continued through the Inter-State Defence and Security Committee (ISDSC). This is an organ created by Frontline States to coordinate defence and security issues in these Frontline States. SADCC which later became SADC is the product of ISDSC. Therefore, TPDF participated in the discussions and provided ideas and advice on security and security issues in the SADC area via ISDSC. I had the opportunity to participate in these sessions. People from National Security and Police also participated in these sessions.

We also conducted joint military training, especially rescue training during disasters. We also exchanged students and intelligence information. When we joined the army we were told that, back in the past, TPDF had already sent our troops to help freedom fighters, particularly FRELIMO, in military operations, and to collaborate with them in the armed confrontations.

In Angola, TPDF was involved but not through sending troops; it took part under ISDSC. One mission was formed to spy the confrontation between the government of Angola and UNITA and to see the possibility of helping them. I was in that mission. We visited leaders of various ministries and the army. We also visited various battle fiends such as Quito, Cona Valley and other places. It is important to differentiate Angola at the time it got its freedom and the time it was fighting against FNLA. Talking about the involvement of Nigeria in Angola you have to bear it in mind that when the Portuguese left Angola they did not cede the government to any political party. They just dumped the government.

So, when MPLA, FNLA and UNITA parties were struggling to take control, the South African Government emerged to help UNITA take control in order to be its puppet. African nations were also divided on which party they should support. That is when Nigeria emerged to support MPLA. This was the era of Murtala Mohamed's leadership. Nigeria sent its troops to Angola to help MPLA to take control of the government.

The civil war between the government army and UNITA started after MPLA took over the government. UNITA was supported by South Africa. As a result, Angola requested assistance from the Cuban forces to combat UNITA, and that is the beginning of the Angola crisis after independence. These circumstances led the ISDSC to go to Angola to make an assessment of how to solve Angola's problem. In general our assessment showed that Angola had a very powerful military force in terms of military arsenal. Their problem was an improper military structure which ignored the chain of command; also they had the problem of having no military performance experience.

In the case of Mozambique, during the struggle between the government forces and RENAMO, TPDF participated. We sent our troops to various parts of the north, such as Manica and Tete. I went to Tete because our soldiers were there. There were no formal TPDF units that were sent to Mozambique but just temporal detachments for training militia along the border and for training citizens defence systems.

As for Zimbabwe, their freedom fighters were trained in the country. Even Nachingwea was involved in training Zimbabwean freedom fighters; it was not only for FRELIMO alone. Also after the independence of Zimbabwe the whites abandoned intelligence equipment. Zimbabwe did not have security communications. President Mugabe asked Mwalimu Nyerere to send specialists to train and manage intelligence areas. Mwalimu sent the military intelligence force to train and manage Zimbabwe's intelligence equipment. After the work was done they handed it back to the Zimbabwean army and returned home.

## Mwanzalila, White Zuberi

[Kongwa; 19 December 2005]

*Mr White Zuberi Mwanzalila, during the interview, was the Councillor of Kongwa. He has been living in Kongwa since 1960 when he was three years old. His details show how the freedom fighters from South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, and Rhodesia lived in Kongwa at different periods of time. He describes the relationships and co-operation between the people of Kongwa and the freedom fighters of those countries, including how they learnt the language, how they got married, and the way they visited their hosts even after their countries became independent. Mr Mwanzalila appreciates the way their guests interacted with the locals and followed the traditions and customs of Gogo they lived with. Being a leader of Kongwa, he expresses his sadness of how Kongwa has been forgotten by the country which stayed there for the longest time than any other one, South Africans, for not putting any memorial symbol. But he is also pleased with the leaders of the countries which had camps for their freedom fighters for their coming to greet the locals.*

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My name is White Zuberi Mwanzalila. I was born in 1957 in a village which is now the town of Makambako. I moved to Kongwa with my parents when I was three months old. I have been living in Kongwa since then. I went to Nyakongo Primary School and finished in 1972. I succeeded to get secondary education and after that I worked in several places. In 1984 I returned home to live with my parents and help them because they were old and they needed my help. In short I am the councillor of Kongwa Town Ward.

What I can say about our camp of the freedom fighters, basically as you said, this was the first camp established by OAU. The accounts from our parents say that the Father of the Nation and Benbela came first to scrutinize the camp before the freedom fighters arrived for the first time. During the preparations for receiving the freedom fighters, I don't remember exactly whether it was the beginning or the middle of 1964, the Minister of Home Affairs, I think it was late Kambona, came to talk to the people of Kongwa to prepare them for the reception of the freedom fighters.

He explained that the Government had taken this area for the freedom fighters, and that it was going to be a military zone, because it was going to be used for combat training for the freedom fighters that were going to liberate their countries. So, the citizens were requested to welcome the guests, to provide them with any support, to tolerate the behaviours they might find to be different from our traditions and customs. But he emphasized that those are our colleagues, fellow Africans, who had been harassed and persecuted. So, we, the free nation, had to give them support to ensure that they liberate themselves and become free. If you refer to the words of Mwalimu, the late Father of the Nation, he said "Tanzania will not be free until all African countries are free".

So, the freedom fighters began to come to Kongwa in 1964. Elder Muhidin Nuru with some government officials were the ones who received them in the area where the camp was. After a short time, when the guests started to get used to the place, as a normal citizen, he returned home and the camp was put under the army. We say the camp was under OAU because at the beginning even the Somali and Ethiopian soldiers came to the camp. The Ethiopians left children here; they left their children. Fortunately the children were few and were left in the Camp of the Zimbabweans. The children were taken by the Zambians and Zimbabweans. But the rest remained in Kongwa at Pandambili and are engaged in agriculture. They are there. The presence of the Ethiopians shows that this camp had a mixture of people. There were Tanzanians at the beginning, we had Major Changambebe, the former Commander of the camp, and the training officers were soldiers from Tanzanian People's Defence Force, featuring Chinese trainers. Some Chinese were also trainers. So, I can say that this camp was an important place.

First, currently there are big changes. In the past, this was a small area surrounded by wildlife. So, offering training was easy and the security situation was very serious. Every day, you would hear the sound of guns. We knew our colleagues were on target training on the Mount Mdinge. They used to shoot small guns, big guns and used to march while wearing combats. You could see that these people are really serious in training for the liberation of their countries. Training was going on; those who finished the training went back home. That means after a certain time

when we didn't see the ones we used to be with we knew that they already went to the front line. So, for a long time this camp was for training.

The Father of the Nation used to visit this camp. I would like to tell you that, I am writing a small book though I'm still not sure if I'm going to finish it. In fact, this was a secret camp for the national security. So, even when Mwalimu was coming, there was no information about Kongwa that would be written in the newspapers on the visit of Mwalimu and all his activities. He once came with the then Egyptian president Gamal Nasser in a big procession. Although they claimed to be going to visit NACO ranch, basically they intended to visit and see the activities of the freedom fighters because the airport was near the camp. I believe that, even though Mwalimu travelled with journalists, they did not report about the Kongwa activities.

So basically I would say that, Kongwa camp was for freedom fighters and it was a hub, but the information about it was hidden. It has been unfortunate that even at the national level this information continued to be hidden until now you are passing by and start to ask about it. If it wasn't like that, Kongwa would be much honoured because of its great contribution.

We are told that a memorial tower has been built in Nachingwea. I do not know where exactly they have built it, but historically Mozambicans' struggles started from Kongwa and they stayed in Kongwa for a long time. When the liberation of the country was close, then the plan to move them to other camps closer to the war zone for training began. The programme started in Nachingwea, and probably that is why Nachingwea is well known to even Mozambicans more than Kongwa. But I would like to say that, Kongwa is the founder of the liberation movements. If Samora and other top leaders were alive Kongwa would have been very far. They personally know it because they lived here.

Sam Nujoma lived here. In South Africa, there are so many military colonels including Colonel Roman who later became the General Commander of the Infantry. He stayed here Kongwa for training. There is a woman I can't remember her name but you can get it from the District Commissioner, also noted that. She was also a military colonel. Another colonel came here a few months ago, I think as I said they came to collect their historical information which began from Kongwa. They took photos of the places they lived, the training field and I worked with them for that. His name is Major General Nkose.

He stayed here. So, those who came here at the beginning are concerned about Kongwa. Late Samora came here after independence and invited the Kongwa people to go to see a free Mozambique. You lived here; you must have been to the camp I suppose. There is a tunnel and his house which is a symbolic house. But unfortunately he didn't live for long; he died. After his death, the war broke out, and the Mozambicans have completely forgotten us. They have recently started to come to visit us and Namibians have started to come too. Sam Nujoma came in 2000 to extend his sincere thanks. He later told Pohamba to

visit the cemetery and their historical areas. Then, he went to run for the presidential election and he won. Guebuza came here when he was a FRELIMO Secretary General before the election. He said he came back home where they started from. So he said he thought it was better to come home before the election to tell his relatives in Kongwa about it; and visit the areas where his fellows used to train and the graveyard of fellow Mozambicans. After that he went back to contest for presidency. He asked us to pray for him. He was elected president later.

But it saddens when you look at the area in which the freedom fighters used to live. Even the freedom fighters themselves have forgotten. We have been advising them when they come to do something about it. These five countries should see what can be done for the liberation of the coming generations. They should build a memorial tower of Mwalimu Nyerere as a founder of that. We requested this from the Government. As for the freedom fighters who stayed here, particularly, these five countries, they should establish an international university in collaboration with CCM because they were welcome by the ruling party, CCM. This university should enrol students from various parts of the world for the sake of maintaining relationships.

Secondly, we advised them to renovate the graveyards in which the very first freedom fighters were buried. The graveyards should reflect the status of those who were buried there, but until now that has not been done. We can see that the Government has started to make some efforts but we do not know where it will end. I still insist that, and I wish Mwalimu Nyerere were alive, this area which is in Tanzania, that receives all the credits for the liberation of southern African countries, deserves to be respected. It's an area where, the military camp we were talking about could be restored.

It is wise to restore the camp because it is the basis of the liberation struggles though the government removed it away. A few weeks ago, we requested for that when the Deputy Minister of Defence came. We requested that the camp be restored, though we are not sure if it will be restored. What will the Tanzanians remember if we don't recognize Kongwa as a historical site? Everyone acknowledges that the centre of the liberation struggles is Kongwa. But what is the Government doing now? What is it advising our colleagues to do?

We can say that the effects of the liberation wars exist in Kongwa. When our brothers were here, we did not get along with them all the time. We occasionally had misunderstandings. There were times they would come to look for women, as usual. They did not speak Swahili so they could follow even other people's wives. I used to stay in the area of Gogo and near our home was a very famous local club selling alcohol. My grandmother used to make alcohol, so they used to come to drink alcohol there. They might approach other people's wives and brawls began. Leaders had to run to report that at the police station and inform the camp leaders who would come to stop it. The following day would go to recognize them. But during their stay here misunderstanding could occur even among themselves. You could find freedom fighters fighting one another, until the Field Force Unit comes to stop it.

The whites used to come here, and there were traitors even among the freedom fighters themselves. They used to be sent by the Boers and the Portuguese as spies. When they came here and recognized, necessary steps were taken. They could be sent to court, or left the



army to deal with them. So, we used to be reminded throughout the whole period of liberation wars that we were part of the freedom fighters because we had to keep the secret. We had to make sure that these people had enough security. When we saw any stranger that we could not recognize, we reported that to the police; so, we participated.

But that is not enough, these people had families here. Mozambicans had families, Zimbabweans had families, Angolans had families, and Namibians had families here. In fact, there is a girl whose father is Sam Nujoma's uncle. We have the picture showing memorable moments when Sam Nujoma was still young. His uncle was called Otshona. He is the father of this girl; her mother died though. But this girl, who is the cousin of Sam Nujoma, went to Namibia to meet her father. Unfortunately her father had already died. She lives in Namibia until now. She came back last year to visit her mother's grave.

We also have another girl who went to Namibia and came back to visit her mother in Kongwa, but she never has returned to Namibia. When Sam Nujoma came in 2000, he met this girl and Sam Nujoma was very excited about that, because he had not expected that. Despite strong security this girl greeted Sam Nujoma in Namibian language. He replied and asked who she was; the girl said she is a daughter of one freedom fighter. Sam Nujoma asked her how she came back. The girl replied that she was Namibia but came back to visit her mother. It was a wonderful surprise. Sam Nujoma told the people of Kongwa, "We are here at home. The evidence is this, you can see the children; we ate together with you in the tembe houses (house thatched with grass), we farmed, we got married, and here are the children. So, Kongwa is a very important place for us. "

So, since you are collecting information about these things, the most important thing is to make sure that the history is well recorded, and respected; because this is a history and unfortunately most top pioneers of this history have died. Now you, a few leaders remaining must set up a strategy to make sure that, regardless the cost, you take care of this history because this is a great history. We, Tanzanians, are a sovereign state. In the past the UK used to be superpower in Europe. But in Africa Tanzania is superpower. We did not help only Mozambicans we helped also the Ugandans. For your benefit just to tell you, during the Ugandan war, Elder Obote was overthrown, he came to be hidden here, at the Pastoral College. That is history. After that we liberated Uganda ourselves. There are so many areas we that needed our help. So, we, as a powerful nation, have done great things. We must build a foundation so that our children can come to know the capability of our past leaders.

During the liberation wars, apart from offering military training, our soldiers fought together with the freedom fighters. The Nation knows that. The clear evidence was revealed when the current President, Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete visited Namibia. They took him to their museum and showed him the vehicle loaded with machines used for information transmission having a Tanzanian plate number. They said this is your contribution. Now if the vehicle went to Namibia, how about the fighters? Personally, my soul is really in sorrow because these things have not yet been given the respect they deserve. So I've been talking for too long but my request, I insist, is that these things should be made known to the people.

We lived with the freedom fighters, they had families here. Even in my family, my aunt had a child with one of them, who later went to South Africa, whose father was a South African called Kalambas. I personally think these freedom fighters had a good system. Wherever they expected to get a baby the man who was responsible for that would inform the head of the camp and they would go together to the Government office to report that to the Area Commissioner. The Area Commissioner would give them one person to accompany them to the partner's house. They would take the details of the partner and if the baby is already born they would take the baby's details too. So, in the case that the father is absent the rest were obliged to take care of the baby until it becomes grown up. You see that? When the child grows up, they come to take him or her to South Africa just like the one I told about.

As the war became so intense, they were removed in phases. After sometime Mozambicans came so close to Nachingwea. When the liberation wars in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe became fierce they moved to areas of Mbeya, Iringa and later to Zambia. You see, so they came to take their families to there. But members of ANC stayed here for long time and if my mind does not betray me, they left in 1975 or later and went to Mazimbu.

What is so surprising my friend is that Mazimbu has been given all honours. There is nothing for Kongwa. They came in Kongwa while very young and left for Mazimbu after they became older. The difference between the South Africans and freedom fighters from other countries is that they did not fight continuously. They used guerrilla war tactics. When they left for South Africa to fight the survivors of the fight came back and we could see them. They would stay here and set strategies before they went to fight again. The survivors came back. So, Kongwa was their base, and there were specific areas for them. When they were leaving for Mazimbu they left their little babies with us. They told us to bring them their children when they grow up to Mazimbu. Every year, they used to come to see their children, to clean tombs, and to bring their children clothes. When Major General Nkose came here I told the ANC people that the people of Kongwa will keep this legacy for long time. We, the initiators of the liberation wars stayed with ANC members for longer time than any other freedom fighters.

ANC people got married here in Kongwa; when they left for Mazimbu they left with their families; and when they finally returned back to South Africa they returned with their families. In terms of relationship, ANC people were like our relatives because they got married here and during the circumcision season they used to bring their children for circumcision here in Kongwa. When they had to circumcise their children at Mazimbu they used to come to take their Gogo in-laws from here to Mazimbu in order to maintain the Gogo culture. So, that shows we had close relationships with them. They have been saying that Kongwa is their home till today. Kongwa is their home. Even those who are in South Africa, they will come here.

But it saddens us that we expected ANC top leaders including Mandela, during his governance, would visit Kongwa when they came in Tanzania. This is because I'm sure he knows that his top leaders such as Comrade Mwamuya, who is one of the founders of ANC, Hamnsa Kaka, and Major General Nkose, stayed in Kongwa. They know Kongwa as the place

they started their political life and they moved to Mazimbu later. General Mason stayed here. What we say is that even when Thabo Mbeki took over, they have every reason to come here because some of the freedom fighters died and were buried here. They should come to see us for the sake of maintaining relationship because they got independence and we would like to hear that from them.

Let me tell you, after the independence of Mozambique, the late Samora came back here. A very large meeting was called. He addressed the people; he thanked them and the people of Kongwa were happy about that. And after that he spoke to the elders at Rest House. This old man Nujoma did so. He came here and called for a big meeting. He just spoke to us but we were satisfied, you see. Angolans entered into the civil war after independence, which caused a lot of disturbance. The Zambians have not officially come but they come to greet us sometimes.

But we count the ANC people as our brothers because they left with many women and children and they always visit us. How happy we would have been if their top leader came to meet and greet the people of Kongwa, because we have relatives in South Africa. The nation that left from Kongwa to South Africa is a mixed blood and will remain there, but those are Tanzanians. There are people of Kongwa, people of Mazimbu, people of Morogoro, and people of Dar es Salaam. But these people have never come to Kongwa. They have visited Morogoro and they really helped a lot. They have helped Morogoro; they have left many assets. But now we're telling them; why do you forget Kongwa the place where you started your liberation struggle? You cannot remember anything. We have this airport that was used for delivering their military supplies. There is the airport here.

ANC, after independence in 1992, while they were heading for their general elections, and after Mandela became president, we were told, and we saw experts coming from Dodoma to study the airport; and we were told that our colleagues, our ANC brothers, promised to expand this airport to make it a good airport, as their thanks for the people of Kongwa. But that promise has not been fulfilled. We even requested them to rehabilitate this road from Kongwa to Mbande as a historic one because it goes to their camp where they were having training on target shooting. There is nothing there, the area is not preserved. But if you go there, you will see the remains of bullets and bombs scattered everywhere, and you'll know that those men had work to do there.

I think those are the important things that the Government, through our political party CCM which is still the ruling party, should do. The party was the initiator of the struggle and fortunately it is still in power. So it should set a good network with those parties. We know that those parties came here for training in order to go back to liberate their countries. Fortunately, all are still ruling parties. Why shouldn't they have a joint strategy? Because we were together during the war and now we are independent. Apart from this diplomatic relationship, let's come to the relationship that has yielded the fruits that are visible today. So, this should be the strategy of CCM and those other ruling parties.

In the camp, essentially every freedom fighter group was in a specific location and with its leadership. So communication was like between countries. The ANC people had their own area and they know it till today. The Namibians had their own area and Sam Nujoma building still exists. Mozambicans had their own area, the Angolans had their own area and

so did the Zimbabweans. Now the South Africans, the ANC members and the Zimbabweans spoke English. Namibians also spoke English. Since English is the second language in Tanzania, communication was easy. But the Mozambicans and Angolans spoke Portuguese.

Portuguese was a problem even to us. So we used to communicate with them in a simplified manner. Sometimes they had to use signals, but they adapted to the Tanzanian languages quickly and so did the Tanzanians. There were Tanzanians who spoke the Mozambican language and some Mozambicans spoke Kigogo and others spoke Swahili. You know when you go to a new land you must catch up with the locals, so communication was not a big problem.

When I was in form two, I had many Namibian friends. South Africans were very familiar with Swahili and had their own learning methods. When we were very small, when I was like seven years old, when they came out of the camp, South Africans had sugar in small packets like candy but they were a bit big. So he comes in town, wearing his combats, he puts sugar in the pockets. When he meets a kid he says "Jambo?" (How are you?) So the kid responds, "Sijambo, shikamoo" (Fine). When the kid responds like that, he says "Take sugar". So you take it and eat. So he makes you feel good. So he asks, "Wapi uchwaa pombe?" (Where is alcohol sold?). You tell him, "Alcohol is at Mother Pili's or at Salehe's daughter or at Mother Mary's."

So they know they are going there. Whenever we meet them again we are already used to them. When we see them we say "Hi, I want sugar". So, they give you sugar. He tells you now say "kunjane," in South African language, he responds "skoani" and you respond "skoani". So, communication was like that. For the South Africans, it was easy; they could understand and when they left they were able speak Swahili very well. Others were good at Gogo. You could hear them say "Mbukwenyi Mdala, gono wenyi." When they are replied they could understand it without any difficulty. Since they stayed here for a long time, they had to get married now, so they needed to be able to communicate at home, and at that time, Swahili was not very common. Swahili was common here in town, but in the streets where many residents were Gogo, one had to speak Gogo at least a little bit. So there was no problem in terms of language. The FRELIMO people spoke Kimakonde, the language which is also spoken in Mozambique. There is a lot of interaction among the people at the border between Tanzania and Mozambique, so there were also some people among us especially in the army who could speak Kimakonde.

Communication wasn't a serious problem. We were able to communicate when we were playing football. In the 1960s and 70s, when football was becoming more popular, I played football with Zimbabweans, the Angolans, and more with South Africans. I also played with Mozambicans. So, sports also simplified communication. I could say that, the ANC people had a very strong team and their country was a developed one already. In the 1960s, those people came with things that our young people are currently doing. They cut bald, wore earrings, they dressed trousers loose, they bounced when walking, you could not believe this. It means at that time they had gone very far in terms of development.

And the ANC football team was playing a standard football that even our National team was not able to. I can give you evidence from the football competition here in Kongwa.

Kongwa team used to be champions of all time. We used to include these people in our team even when we played in the regional league competition at the regional level. We would steal these people secretly in agreement with the head of the camp not to disclose it.

We beat Maji Football Team, which was famous in Dodoma, eight goals to nil using these people. There were Hamzas Kaka, Paul Ntipiti and others. We claimed that they were people from Kongwa. Dodoma was surprised to see Kongwa having a very strong team, but the truth was that we took the freedom fighters!

After getting those results, the news spread throughout the country that there was a very strong team in Kongwa. The police force also had a very strong team at that time. It asked to play with this team of freedom fighters. They came from Dar es Salaam by plane and landed at the airport and came to the stadium and said we want to see the Kongwa Team that beat Dodoma Maji Team eight goals. There was a carpet here, and almost all the players of the squad were ANC players; about two of them were from Kongwa. We beat Dar es Salaam Police team four to two. Our ANC goalkeeper was called Amos; he saved a penalty, to the point that our opponents could not believe that. They were like, why shouldn't this team be a National team? So, they were told that these guys are temporarily in Kongwa, they are going out to fight soon. We just wanted to show you how Kongwa is like in terms of football game. So, in sports, they warmed us up.

But socially, what I can say is that, they did not end up in sports. They used to take part in all our national ceremonies. Also armies from various countries used to come. There used to be the Tanzanian People's Defence Force and the police though few and they had their own people lined up, listening a speech and singing their songs. They also celebrated the national ceremonies of the countries they came from. They used to dance their traditional dances here, and we cooperated with them very well.

They were also involved in our development projects. ANC members, working with Kongwa people, built a development building we call Police Hall, the building was very nice, and Mwalimu came to inaugurate it in 1968. It is there to date; if you are recording these events it is better you include that too because it has helped us very much. It used to be a dancing hall and when late Patrick Balisidya came to Kongwa that Gogo used to entertain people there. In the same building is where our bank NMB was born.

Some freedom fighters were medical doctors; and they used to work at our health centre. So that is why we say we had very close relationships with these people. In agriculture, they also could farm though they did not engage in it very much. But they were very fond of our foods. When the pumpkin season came, my grandmother was a good farmer, so they would order almost a lorry of pumpkins. We would load a lorry with pumpkins and deliver it to them for free. We used to give them maize for boiling, and they could also eat ugali (stiff porridge) with mlenda (type of vegetable). We could share with them. The Mozambicans used to eat snakes, and we were very scared of their habit of eating snakes; and they had knives all the time. When they walked on the streets they had knives with them. So we did not have a close relationship with them at the beginning, but later we came to know they were just normal people. But at the beginning even kids ran away when they saw them because when they were coming from target, if they saw a snake on the way they could kill it and put it around the neck. They said they were going to eat it.

They eat snakes! So, we failed to copy that. They were able to make alcohol using pineapples. The ANC people were very popular in brewing pineapple alcohol. But since we have scarcity of pineapples, that culture did not last longer. Another thing I could recall about food, these people were civilized ones. They did not choose food. When they visited the locals they ate whatever was available. The Namibians who were my friends, as I told you, used to eat in the camp but they used to visit me on Saturday and we would go to my place together.

My mother would give us groundnuts, boiled eggs, or ugali; we ate together. They would stay with us at my place the whole day. We also used to give them sugarcane. When it happened that I had some money I gave them twenty shillings as pocket money. When they wanted to take a little alcohol they did so. So they were fellow Bantu and we had many things in common. I used to give them books like English-Swahili dictionary; we used to get along with them well.

Their doctors used to work in the place which now a district hospital, but at that time it was a health centre. There was a doctor called Mark Johns. Later they returned to the camp hospital. They kept working there. There is a rumour going around that late Samora Machel had a child here. It is so widespread and they say he left with his child. Unfortunately, we have not had a chance to know that person because he/she has never visited us. But since Samora lived in Kongwa for a long time, as a human, you can't deny that; it is possible. This is unproven information because even the boy/girl himself/herself has not returned even once or maybe he/she died. So, we are not sure of that, because he probably left with his child. Samora came here and stayed for a long time; he must have had a woman. He must have had one because he stayed here for so long. Now, if it was possible to get a baby, we are sure he had plans. We don't know what happened because the country entered into a civil war after Samora's death.

I told you that the ANC people left with their wives and they are in South Africa but a few were left. I know a woman who was left here. As for the Namibians, they did not leave with their women, they just took the children. Many of them are here and if we are lucky we will see them. Of course, I can say that, the generation of the period of Mwalimu was made to believe in brotherhood; and that is why there were neither 'honourable' nor bosses; all people considered themselves to be brothers. It helped to put us on the same level; and we appreciated our brotherhood. The situation is not bad now since we still appreciate brotherhood but morally, we have swayed a little bit.

During the period of Mwalimu, the training in National Service Force played a major role in shaping the educated ones to appreciate brotherhood. They were really patriotic. But now there is no more National Service training. A person completes university studies and gets employed directly. Patriotism begins to disappear and that is what I see. It seems there are efforts to revive National Service though.

But for the educated ones, it is important to have a way for brushing them so that they may be patriotic to protect public property. If you remember the era of Mwalimu, there was no such embezzlement of public money. Such cases were very few, but now it has become an everyday agenda. This means brotherhood among the people is disappearing and selfishness is taking roots. So, what I want to say is that, the Government has not completely been lost, but we have

to learn because the fundamentals of Mwalimu are known to everyone. There are fundamentals that can't apply based on the current situation, but there are some which need to be continued so that our unity can be maintained.

Of course, you know the late Father of the Nation was gifted love since he was born and he had leadership talent. He was bothered that his fellow black people were suffering and he decided to help them no matter what. Yet he was able to convince leaders of some countries which had already obtained independence. He used OAU to show them the problems facing southern Africa and forge African unity. I remember, after South Africa's liberation, when the black took over the government, he was invited to go give a speech in South African Parliament. In that speech he hoped that instead of depending largely on European countries South Africa would help economically other African countries because South Africa at that time had already a strong economy just like the European economies. So, basically even the Tanzanians were expecting that.

Basically, if that country was bothered by African problems like how we were bothered, it would help us to make progress in terms of technology. We have a lot of valuable minerals, they have long-term mining expertise. They could come here to invest under good deals and our country could benefit. Those should be the strategies. They are good at animal keeping, and have expertise in different types of industries. They would come to help us make industries more productive by using their experience and the country's economy would be better. That's the truth, but so far, I have not yet seen them bothered as we were and as was Mwalimu.

The secondary school is useful to us because our children study there. But as an administrative area, Kongwa has a vast area. We have enough area for whatever they would want to establish. The camp area is eight hundred acres large. It is a very large area. The area is too large for just a secondary school. They can still do anything in the remaining area. We have a very large area; even if the army came back we would talk to the Government and we would agree to each other because the Government is ours. We like to have a secondary school like Tabora Boys which is under the army. So, it is possible to have a secondary school and the camp in the same place. There is no problem.

Groundnut production collapsed years ago, though it helped us to get those buildings. Historically, after the Second World War, the war veterans were brought here to be prepared them for a new life. They were discharged from military affairs to do production activities. They set up a groundnut farm which was very large. Here in Kongwa, the farm started from Mbande to Kibaigwa, up to Songambele. They also connected the farm to the railway from Mpwapwa. However, they did not succeed. The project was not successful and even the railway was removed after the project died and they left us with those buildings used to be a railway station, which fortunately have helped us. So, no groundnut farm anymore.

On behalf of the Kongwa people I would like to thank the Government and SADC for introducing this Hashim Mbita Project. This project is good for the nation. Our history and the records of our contribution will be well documented. It will be read by generations and these leaders will be remembered for what they did.

This is a good thing. Just to emphasize, keep up with your project, and make sure you get all the information, and advise the government about what you think need to be remembered. Thank you very much. As I introduced myself earlier, I am White Zuberi Mwanzalila, the ward councillor of Kongwa.

I'll give you the entire history of Kongwa so you can know it well. The history of Kongwa began in 1909 when Anglican Church missionaries came and established a pastoral college at Mlanga in Kongwa. The college was formally opened in 1913 when it started to provide education for pastors and primary school teachers for Anglican missionaries. So this college brought people of different backgrounds who came to study because it was for the whole East Africa. People from Uganda and Kenya came for studies and went back home when they finished their studies. Kongwa started to be known because of this college.

Historically, this college is known even in Europe because of teachers who came from England, Austria and other countries to teach in this college and disseminated the information when they returned home. The college is well known and is still offering diplomas and degrees in Anglican religious education. So, that is why I say Kongwa begun to be known in 1909. And as I mentioned at the beginning, during the Ugandan revolution by Idd Amin, the president of the time, Milton Obote, was hidden in Mlanga Pastoral college when he fled Uganda. He stayed there for some time until things cooled down then he left. So, we have a history from Mlanga.

After the Second World War, the British brought here their war veterans to engage them in different activities by establishing a groundnut farm for European industries. These Europeans came and signed a deal with the Chief of Kongwa, the late Mahinyila.

The Chief sold them a very large area from here to Songambebe, a village near Kiteto. It is about 25 kilometres from Mbande to some areas of Kibaigwa. The boundary of the farm is the last village of Kibaigwa. When the Europeans came they cleared the area and started farming in 1944. They constructed many buildings for themselves. There used to be one special street for them called Uzunguni (the place where the whites reside). And because of the presence of that very big farm many Indians came to live here and they had a street called Uhindini (the place where the Indians reside).

There were also many Somalis whose street was called Usomalini (the place where the Somalis reside). There were also Uswahilini and Ugogoni streets. People used to live in classes. The groundnut farm brought people from various countries. There were also people from Mauritius who worked as foremen to supervise farming activities. They were allocated an area which was named Mauritius Camp; and unfortunately the Gogo were not able to pronounce Mauritius Camp properly and now if you go there the place is known as Morisheni.

The groundnut field made the town of Kongwa larger than even Dodoma because it offered employment to many people. The Sudanese, Ugandans, Kenyans, Malawians, and Zambians used to work on this groundnut farm in different specializations. This gathering led to the mergence a big town of Kongwa. The roads in the Europeans' residence area were of tarmac and they built a large airport which helped us during the liberation struggle and it is still operating until today. They also built a referral hospital. Kongwa had a very



large hospital. They built a health centre and among the community health officer came from Kongwa.

It was a very good college. Elders used to say if your illness can't be treated in Kongwa Hospital then, your referral will be to Kenyatta Hospital in Kenya, not Muhimbili. This Kongwa hospital was very large and it had even an x-ray machine at the time and had a power station, the whole town had electricity. So, if this project had lasted longer Kongwa would have been very far in terms of development because there were many commercial activities and there were some Europeans who supplied food to workers on the farm.

There was one white man named Mr Buy. He lived at Mseta, located in Mlali Division, but it is within Kongwa District. There is a big valley. He used to cultivate fruits and vegetables etc., and he had another home at Magiwa. This white man was a farmer and mineral researcher. Kongwa, during that period, was blessed. The groundnut field brought the railroad. They built the railroad network from Msagali through Kongwa to Songambebe. The main role of this railroad was to supply agricultural equipment and to transport groundnuts to the harbour so that they can be shipped to Europe.

These Europeans built a very big school for their children. It had class one to class twelve, which was called a European School. The school was moved to Iringa after the farm collapsed. There are two old schools in Iringa whose equipment was taken from Kongwa. So the groundnut field created Kongwa's good environment.

Unfortunately, the project did not last longer because of drought. There was severe drought in 1948 that forced the whites to stop the groundnut farming project. So, they moved from Kongwa to Nachingwea; and thus, they removed their railway and took some other basic things. Unfortunately, most of their buildings were wooden so what remained as a memory is just one block building which was roofed with tiles.

They left some block buildings of what was their hospital. The new buildings of the District Hospital have been built following the structure of the old hospital. They also built a prison which is used until today. They left houses which are now occupied by the DC, Administrative Secretary, rest House and OCD. All district leaders had special houses which we inherited at Uzunguni. They left the buildings used to be a railway station which later were transformed into camp of the freedom fighters. So, the groundnut project didn't leave us with nothing.

They left us with a water system which started from Sagala about 10km from Kongwa. This water system was used here in Kongwa for drinking, the railway station activities and for their steam trains. This water from Sagala is still used up to date and it is so helpful. They dug many wells which are still used. It gave Kongwa a different shape. Kongwa was prosperous when the Headquarters were here.

We benefited from the road from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma which passed here. So, I can say that, it was unfortunate that the project was not successful but it left a history in Kongwa. The ranch is the product of the groundnut farm. When the groundnut farm failed the whites shifted to cattle farming. The farm was very famous even during the time when the whites themselves were selling meat at

Tanganyika Packers. They used to get meat from Kongwa. Later on, the Government nationalized it and it was put under NARCO which is still farming cattle.

Nationally, we have the best cattle in Tanzania. So we are proud of the product of the groundnut farm project. We have a farm for goat feed. We have a research farm called PRC. The whites during that time had number one ranch called PRC; and number two is Kongwa Ranch. That means number one is currently the livestock feed research centre.

The centre is known nationally. It deals with dairy goats farming and feed research. All those are products of the groundnut project. So, Kongwa has a very long history. After the groundnut project we inherited many things and the buildings have been used for other activities. They became freedom fighters' camp which came to revive Kongwa town which was dead. When the liberation struggle started this town became so active with many people and good business. Indians made money by doing business with freedom fighters; the same people who did business here during the groundnut project. When the project failed some Indians remained here others moved to Dar es Salaam and Dodoma. The Somali people were here until the freedom fighters left, and the town was so busy. Many Indians have moved to Dodoma and Dar es Salaam. Now we have only one Indian; his name is Satro Remtulah. He is still here with his family until today. So there is only one Indian person, but many Somali and Arab persons are still here.

Perhaps I should say that, Kongwa was the Headquarters of Mpwapwa District when there was extensive groundnut farming. The District Commissioner and other leaders I mentioned used to live in Kongwa. After the collapse of the groundnut farming project, when the whites were still there, the situation was not so bad. After the independence the Headquarters were moved to Mpwapwa. After the District Headquarters were moved to Mpwapwa hatred between the people of Kongwa and Mpwapwa emerged because we felt that the people of Mpwapwa took our district by force.

We were under Mpwapwa for a long time until in the end of 1994 when Kongwa became a district and it was declared district in 1995 and the DC came. Kongwa was a district already but we were still under Mpwapwa because the District Director was still in Mpwapwa. In 2000, formally, the District Council of Kongwa was formed. So, we have been a district for seven years now. Since Kongwa embraces development, we have managed to change completely our district hospital. It now has the real status of a district hospital because all the buildings have been rehabilitated, we have brought back X-ray services, we have ultra sound machines, we conduct operations, we have a mortuary and all other services are available. It has become a district hospital with all features. If a person is referred to Dodoma Hospital that person has really big problem.

We have constructed the district buildings and secondary schools. Currently, Kongwa town has three secondary schools. The promotion of Kongwa to a district council has boosted the people's morale. We have built the town which at one point went down in terms of development. We rebuilt the town because after the departure of the freedom fighters we remained with the army. The army is a big institution that made the town of Kongwa continues to be strong. But in 1984 the army moved to Mikumi and our town went down again.

It was unfortunate that in the same year 1984, the construction of a tarmac road from Morogoro to Dodoma started. The road was to pass through the town of Kongwa because the old one passed through there but for the reasons that we don't know it passed through the ranch. So, the construction of the road from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma passing through the ranch, ten kilometres from Kongwa, has killed our town.

People had to move to Kibaigwa to do business because there was totally no business in Kongwa. Other people moved to Mbande, and a few remained in Kongwa. After Kongwa became district, it has begun to revive. We have civil servants, we have people from various places and even the number of business people has increased and the town is expanding as you can see for yourself. I walked you around here today I believe you have seen a lot. There are signs of the expansion of the town. We, the people of Kongwa, are very happy now.

We felt very sad when the military camp was moved because we believe that the legacy of the freedom fighters had been preserved by that military camp as the army was involved in training them. So, when the army left the people of Kongwa were very disappointed and we had nothing to do. But when we became a district things have changed and now we have power. Last year, the Minister for Defence, if not mistaken, came here. We took him to our historical camp. We told him that this was the camp of the freedom fighters. Samora, Sam Nujoma and many South Africans stayed here in Kongwa.

So, we ask the government to think about rebuilding the camp in order to preserve this history because the Government had that plan. We told him that we want our camp to be restored if possible, so that the people of Kongwa can see the important history of liberation is preserved by our army. Because issues in the government are done by following the procedures, we hope that our request will be fulfilled and we will succeed. But what I want to say now is that the government has already noted that this is a very important area which needs to be archived.

In September, the President of the United Republic of Tanzania came and told us that, the government had a plan of preserving this camp so that the liberation history does not get lost. In the beginning of December, the archaeologists came and we walked them around the area where they did their work. We believe that government has started to strengthen our camp, and to us Kongwa people we see it as an honour to our country. You have come under Hashim Mbita's special project and you are doing the same job of researching and preserving the history. Because these issues are done openly, we, the people of Kongwa, are very happy since Kongwa will now be in the national and international history as an important area.

Kongwa people are peasants; we farm groundnuts which do well in this area. We also grow sunflower, maize and sorghum. So what I think is that, we need sunflower and groundnuts processing industries which could package them properly. The government should help us get markets outside the country so that peasants can benefit from their farming activities.

We have a big market for maize at Kibaigwa. This is an international market which fulfils maize needs all over the country. For example almost all the maize sold in Dar es Salaam comes from Kibaigwa. The Kibaigwa market has improved the economy of the people of

Kongwa because peasants have a reliable market to sell their maize after harvesting. But what we are thinking now is to convince people who have some food processing industries to construct those industries here in order to process our maize here and transport the maize flower to Dar es Salaam rather than transporting the unprocessed maize.

I want to let you know that, maize flour from Kongwa is transported to DRC. It is also processed in Dar es Salaam. We have the best quality maize because we don't use any chemicals during farming. We don't use fertilizers because our land is fertile in nature. We cultivate maize, it rains, we weed and finally we get good maize. No chemicals are applied to our groundnuts, so they have a good market in Dar es Salaam. When people know the maize is from Kongwa, they buy it because they know that we do not use chemicals in cultivating them. So, if we get people who can put maize mills we could improve our people's economy since they will get jobs.

Even the price of maize could go up. The price is low now because one buys it here; transport it to Dar es Salaam where it is processed. The person who gets more benefits is a middleman who is in Dar es Salaam. If we had the industries in Kongwa, our peasants could benefit from selling their maize at high price. We need three types of industry: sunflower processing industry; it will be helpful since we grow sunflower in a large quantity in Mlalo. It should be noted that the sunflower we cultivated was sold to MOPROCO industry which we hear that it has been sold to Aboud. Sunflower is bought by people from Morogoro and also from Iringa. We also grow sorghum in a large quantity and it is the only crop which sustains in drought. We used to be disappointed because when we get good harvest we get no buyers. Last year, Honourable President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete through our RC Lukuvi encouraged us to cultivate sorghum because it grows well in the entire region of Dodoma. He also promised us that, the Government would give Dodoma a favour by making sure that it buys sorghum from Dodoma.

So, the price of sorghum went up and that of maize went down. Farmers responded by growing more sorghum because the District commissioners and councillors went out to encourage people to cultivate sorghum. The farmers did that and fortunately there was enough rainfall and we got a lot of sorghum. As the Government promised, it bought some of the sorghum and I think you must have seen a go down with a blue cover when you were coming here. It is full of sorghum. The Government started to buy sorghum in September. The Government could not buy it all because it didn't have enough money and so, the farmers had to take their sorghum back home.

So, as for sorghum, what I can say is that, the Government needs to have sustainable plans for buying sorghum so that the crop could be cultivated every year and I believe this will eradicate famine in Dodoma. Currently, sorghum is sold in the Middle East. The Government could also find new markets for sorghum, and I'm sure it will sell more. The people of Dodoma will have a reliable source of income from sorghum. They will cultivate and sell it and even the Government will also sell it in the international market. I would support the Government's initiative to continue to buy sorghum so that Dodoma farmers could grow more sorghum. Sorghum has many uses. We, farmers, use it to make ugali which is delicious and good for health. It does not contain large amount of carbohydrate and that is why people who are suffering from diabetes are advised to eat it. So, it is not the

crop that one can say harmful to human beings. Also, Chibuku Company uses sorghum to make alcohol and those from brewing companies use it to make beer.

### **Mwiru, Kingunge Ngombale**

**[22 July 2008]**

*Mr Kingunge Ngombale Mwiru has been fighting for independence since he was a young man. He began to fight for independence of his country Tanganyika, as a member of the TANU party, since it was established on 7.7.1954 being a member of the National committee.*

*In 1958, he went to Liberia, Dakar, and France for studies, but he continued with the movement of African liberation wherever he was; where he also met with famous liberation activists like Amical Cabral.*

*He returned back to Tanzania in 1966, and in addition to teaching at the party college-Kivukoni, he was deeply involved with the youth, but also he met with freedom fighters from different countries, including Dr Mondlane of Mozambique, who enabled him to keep close to the liberation movement of those countries.*

*Later he was appointed the Secretary General of the Pan African Youth Movement at its headquarters in Algiers, where he had a good opportunity to meet representatives of almost all the southern African countries-liberation parties such as Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and even Guinea Bissau.*

*He later returned to Tanzania and became the Secretary General of the TANU Youth Union, where he had a good opportunity to build close relations between the youth union, the TANU party and the other liberation parties. Later in the party, he was one of the founders of the partnership policy between TANU and other liberation parties.*

*He was also on frontline for public awareness on participating in the liberation struggle, through the party and the government at different times to culminate the liberation of African continent. He continued with these activities until the liberation movement ceased – after all Southern African countries gained independence.*

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I'm myself a fighter; I have participated in the struggle for Tanzania's independence at the time it was called Tanganyika. Fortunately, I joined TANU party very early. I am fortunate that when I finished Tabora School, my colleagues such as Temu went to Makerere, but I said I will go straight to work; I became a clerk in 1954. The same year TANU was formed on the seventh day of July. Fortunately before that I had joined the TAGCSA, the Tanganyika Government Civil Servants Association; it was like a Trade Union for government staff. I joined my colleagues. Immediately after joining them, they made me a member of the National Committee. It was at the time when the Secretary General was Ally Sykes.

So when TANU was formed on seventh of July, Mr Sykes was among the seventeen. And it seems he was the one who was assigned to be the Secretary General because there was no Secretary General at that time. He is the one who prepared the first TANU cards. So when the cards were ready, in less than two weeks after the party was formed, he called for a national committee meeting – saying that, guys you have read that the TANU party has been formed, and that it is fighting for freedom. We said, well, he told us –what do you say? Well, we told him we just want to join. He was the one who gave me the card. I joined and he handed it over to me one hundred cards to start a work. My colleagues in the committee also were all of them given hundred cards each.

Since then I became a great activist of TANU. I was working from morning till 4.30 every day. Taking my bike and go to New Street Headquarters where today they call Lumumba – to work and assist on the minor jobs at the party's headquarters – almost every day until I decided to quit the government job so that I could work full time in the party. I worked not so long at the headquarters there. Later Mwalimu appointed me as a district secretary, he sent me to Rufiji to organize the TANU Rufiji district.

Then I went to Tabora's general meeting. Later I was chosen to go for studies abroad. In 1958, I went to Liberia. What happened back at the end of the fifty-nine to sixty-six years I missed them because I was not around, being in Liberia for studies, Senegal University of Dakar, and France where I went at the end of sixty-sixties. However, when I was in Liberia, and when I was in Senegal I closely followed the struggle for liberation. Fortunately in 1961 when I was coming from Liberia through Conakry to Dakar I met Amical Cabral in Conakry, at the time he was forming his party. He told us now we are going to initiate the struggles. I had my young fellow Tanzanians who were supposed to travel to the Eastern countries. We were waiting for a decision from Dar es Salaam at TANU headquarters. I had plans to go to the University of Dakar, so when Liberia got violent, I went to Dakar. When I was in Dakar I was meeting with Amical Cabral as he was passing there because he had his students there. So I was closely monitoring what was being done to fight for independence.

On my studies in West Africa, it happened when the Father of the Nation, Mwalimu went to the United Nations to claim for our independence. Now while he was there he met an American religious organization, I think those were Episcopalians, he talked to them. When he spoke to the trusteeship council there were other people who were religious people. They were talking to each other that this young man explains things that make sense into the mind, a very bright man. So they followed him and he told them that one of his biggest problems was education, he would want young people to get educated, but there were no many opportunities for higher education. So the group offered him in the first place two chances in 1957. When he came here he spoke to the central committee and the positions were given to Paul Rupee and Muharam, while in 1958 they offered another two positions. But later Mwalimu told Brother Elias Kisenge, because he was acting as the Secretary General, to ask them whether they had a third chance, because they had appointed me and Gisler Mapunda, and there was another boy here in Bagamoyo, Shaoani Nyerwa Kisenge. When he asked them they agreed that all

three of us will go, and we got three chances. In 1959 we had more chances, about twelve chances, because many more went for studies. So we went in that process. But there was a problem in Liberia, that's why most of us got away from there and the problem was contradictions.

From here we moved with the spirit that we were fighting for freedom, as I said, I was the TANU secretary for Rufiji district. I organized the district-where we had organised elections for all the leaderships, in fact we did just good things. We went to Tabora's meeting with my friend Kisenge who was in Bagamoyo. Mavunda was the assistant secretary of the Morogoro region, in those days it was called the Eastern Province.

So we went with all the ideas that the people were occupying their country, so it is a land of fairness and equity-with no harassments and oppression. When we went to Liberia we encountered real hardships. The country was in problems as a small group of people took over the country. Because there were those former slaves-the black Americans who were released and who became the founders of the land where their children had taken their generations. The rest were called natives and other laws distinguishing them. So there were laws of the civilized and the natives, and then there was a forced labour. In fact Liberia had a serious controversy with the International Labour Organization on the issue. And it was really a problem because there was a bigger farm, which is there even today - the Firestone's rubber farm, and very big farm. While we were there the farm had thirty-five thousands workers. It was the largest rubber plantation in the world at that time. And the leaders themselves had their own farms. The president had about three thousands employees and the Vice President had two thousands and five hundred workers. And every minister must have his own farm and every farm must have workers, and labourers must be searched out in a way that is almost forced manner. So every chief - they got chiefs there, had a part of it. There is a paramount chief who is awarded his quarter and then he divides to the chiefs, and sub chiefs. So they come to the village - they take you and you and you that you go to the farms.

So we encountered real hardships and we were very vocal, those guys, but this is not possible. We started to speak so much in underground but we very influenced students there. And then we had some ideas of socialism - socialist ideas among ourselves so we influenced the local students. So now it was really hard. The countrymen disliked us so we started to have bigger tensions. I was the leader of foreign students, leader in the sense that chairman of the steering committee. In fact, leader of all the organizations, the US style - was of that committee, very powerful committee. I was the leader it.

We were in great conflicts with the principal of the College there, very troubled. So we reached a moment, for our home students particularly from Tanzania, and we had Kenyans as well... But especially for us, we were politically very conscious. So they began to say that, we cannot continue studying here. Others just started to escape and disappear. I told them that I will not escape; I still have a job here. I was doing political work to motivate the youth - it was very subversive. So later I left for Dakar. In Dakar it was a good luck because there was a team of students' leaders; one from Dakar University and others from Paris. Those in Dakar had their organization for West African French Speaking Students and France had their

organization. Students from Africa, Black Africa and France were visiting English-speaking Universities. They travelled to Nigeria, travelled to Ghana, and went to Sierra Leone and came to Liberia. They went to the Liberia state University, and came to our college (Curtkin College). Now they faced us there and we talked all night. We were completely stubborn. They said, "Sir, do you know how students of our English Speaking countries are not so much Leftist, how did you managed to be so leftist? How much do you master?" You are our fellowman. "I said," But I'm not going to finish here, they will kick me out. "They said," Sir, even if you want today; we have power of influence there, you can come to Dakar. We'll give you a scholarship, no problem. At the end I left and went there. When I arrived in August, their college starts in October, so I got a scholarship and then I became the only Tanzanian student at the University of Dakar. I was going to France for doing research; I went to do research on the French in social psychology. I found issues related to politics and others. So that's how it was. When I finished there I returned back home.

Now when I returned, the party assigned me to go to teach at Kivukoni College of the party, to teach party leaders and there I was lucky in one way or another. There was an American professor - a very great Marxist and who searched for me at Kivukoni and found me. We got to know one another very well. He was the one who took me to meet Dr Mondlane. That day we sat with Dr Mondlane - all three of us until ten o'clock in the night at Kurasini, at his house during that time, and we spoke very much. In fact it was my first time to meet Dr Mondlane. Dr Mondlane told me about his young men, his fighters, and he told me about Marcellino Dos Santos. He told me that this one you will match very well - he is your fellow. I see as a philosopher philosophy-like and a Marxist you will be very well acquainted. You need to meet Samora, meet Marcelino, and meet Chissano. So after that, it was a good base for FRELIMO's side. After meeting Mondlane it was now a good step to meet more other leaders later. Thereafter I started to get involved in fighting. Not just for Tanzania but for the African liberation movements which were on fire at the moment. I did not stay longer at Kivukoni; I was appointed Secretary-General of the African Youth Union, the Pan African Youth Movement, at the Algeria headquarters. The good thing with the Pan African Youth Movement was that; it was also supposed to engage with issues of African liberation. So it was a very good place to meet the representatives of the African liberation parties around all of Southern Africa. There we had them including Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Angola, and Namibia as well as Guinea Bissau. All were represented there and therefore had young representatives in the Pan African Youth Movement but with their leaders coming there I had a good opportunity to meet them.

I got a chance to strengthen my mutual understanding with Mozambique leaders, Angola, Dr. Augustine Neto. Amical Cabral was famous in Algeria. And we as the Pan African Youth Movement were planning to support Africa's liberation. And I personally organized a large seminar of the youth unions of various African countries as well as the African liberation parties who met in Dar es Salaam and made a great seminar for supporting African liberation in Dar es Salaam at the end of the year sixty-eighth. It was a very good meeting as it played a great role in raising people's awareness particularly Tanzanians in connection with the whole issue of supporting the African liberation struggle.



But I did not stay very much in Algiers; I was recalled by the TANU general committee of my party to return back so as lead the youth in the National Army as their commissioner. However, I continued to cooperate with my colleagues here in various aspects of African liberation in any meetings. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has made sure that I participate in pushing forward the interests of African liberation. They involved me in the delegation to Addis Ababa and so on. And later I became the Secretary-General of the Youth Union. Now I have found a better field for building closer relationship here at home. Not only among the youth and the liberation parties, but also between the Youth Union, the TANU Youth League, the Party at that time when Comrade Hashim Mbita was the executive secretary General of TANU, and with various liberation parties.

One thing that leaders of the liberation parties had told me and were insisting was that they were saying; your Tanzanian government is doing great things to help us fight for freedom. But we see there is a small weakness; you have never been able to promote the participation of citizens and citizens themselves to begin appreciating what the government is doing in their name and on their behalf in this great task of liberating Africa. Of course even me I had seen that our government was on the frontline for the liberation of Africa. But it needed a greater concern for citizens first and for them to appreciate what they themselves did, as well as to be engaged in various ways. That is why the TANU Youth Union at the moment felt it was good to start a deliberate process. During their memorial days and parties' liberation activities we were joining them. Sometimes we were doing their functions at the Youth League headquarters deliberately where we invite the party Chief Executive Officer to come there. So young people as well as many others gathered to build awareness and recognition of the on-going struggle in Africa, and how Tanzania carried a heavy burden on supporting those who were struggling for independence. In so doing - we could share with them, not just FRELIMO, SWAPO and ANC but also other parties. I remember one time when Amical Cabral came to Tanzania Mwalimu brought him to the TANU study group which we had at the TANU Youth League. He gave us a little lecture telling us about the on-going struggle in Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. Because of that he left very comfortable that he has met young people of our calibre - who had a very good understanding. Mwalimu told him that the young men are the ones who are driving us all to move forward.

So through TANU Youth League - the party itself more and more rather than letting its government work - it was the most emerging and donated contributions to the party's headquarters for the support of Africa's liberation. The contributions were handed over to the African liberation militants.

Now, for the youth I think it is enough because we did not continue to be young - we became adults so we have progressed. Our party cooperated with the other liberation parties even in teaching their cadres. The parties' cadres have gone through Kivukoni. FRELIMO's cadres have gone to Kivukoni and SWAPO's went to Kivukoni with various other parties' cadres passed at Kivukoni. All of these were in an effort to help each other to prepare for liberation that has a similar attitude in Africa.

But on the side of our party that probably Comrade Mbita will have explained to you - as you said you will talk to him later... But the TANU party had the power that other liberation

parties probably did not have. Let me start talking about the party's position. The TANU party compared to other parties struggled for independence at that time was stronger than our colleagues' parties. Not because our country was rich. Tanganyika was one of the most unprecedented countries. But the great force was built on the work that Mwalimu and his colleagues had done so that the struggle for liberation in Tanganyika was made to be of citizens and of theirs really. So our party became a fast growing with thousands and thousands of members at a rate that self-consciousness of demanding independence became so big that failure to support TANU you seemed to be a traitor - that you are not a patriot. I'm talking about patriotism in the sense of nationalism. Here some people mix patriotism with their words of nationality and do not know which is which. I am not talking about nationality. I am speaking about patriotism. That anyone who appeared to be opposed to TANU seemed to be non-patriotic. With support of the majority of the people - we had financial power for our party. That's why the TANU party was able to support other parties in Africa through the party itself and not through the government at that time because we were not talking even getting a government at the time but TANU itself.

We helped each other very much in East Africa, Central Africa and Southern Africa. The Congress Party of Kamuzu Banda's first automotive cars - those Land rovers were given by TANU. And they crossed the river at Songwe - they crossed the river at night. In the morning people were amazed to see the party passing the cars - their job was just going to register to have the cars. But almost every party that participated in the struggle for independence in this area of East and Central Africa has a history of collaborating with the TANU party.

But more than that in the whole issue of PAFMECA, our biggest vision was Africanism. That Africa is one - so we must integrate power to bring redemption and freedom to Africa, do not just let it, no. We must associate with the efforts that I think were based on one of the lessons we learned from our history. You professors of history will remember when visitors invaded our country. The biggest shortcomings of our parents in the past were our relinquishing one another. Germans entered then every tribe was defending itself. One of the greatest proponents aimed at detaching from colonialism were the Hehe. They were really powerful but because they were alone that was why the Germans conquered them. But if you look at that history of the Hehe war - if they had to be supported by others there - they could do something. The Germans could not stay. But they were only Hehe when the Germans came were beaten at first. They went and gathered strength there - then second time they managed to defeat the Hehe. And the last Maji Maji war had at least an effort to expand participation of the Matumbi who informed their neighbours that we had begun - then the Ngindo, Pogoro, Ndendeule, Ngoni, Sagala and so the Zaramo participated. But as well it was not wide enough - if it would have been synchronized properly since early. The Germans would have been lacked where to step. I think that's why our leaders have done after creating TANU and others there to create their Parties. We will arrive where we want to arrive. I wanted to say that because is so important for the history of our party.

For the history of our country we have contributed significantly to support our colleagues' efforts and of our neighbour's in terms of materials and assets. And that's what has helped us achieving where we wanted to go. With Mwalimu's

statement that we are ready to delay the independence of Tanganyika - was only a demonstration of the spirit itself that whenever possible to go together in a hurry to gain independence because the issue here is African independence not one country's independence while others are still oppressed. Now I think I'm going to leave it there if there are a little bit questions then I can go on.

I will talk more about the things in which I myself think had a hand in the whole issue of liberation. First of all, when we were fighting for independence - our high leader, Mwalimu was looking at the issue of liberation in Africa as a whole and he saw that we could go ahead of independence earlier but other countries could be delayed because of different circumstances. And there are people who were closer to Mwalimu know it. Mwalimu met Dr. Mondlane in the United States of America at the United Nation when he was going to claim independence. When Mondlane saw Mwalimu coming from Tanganyika - a country to northern Mozambique followed up a lot on Mwalimu's information. They met and talked, he said to him, "Sir, you are better off at your home to have a party fighting for freedom." We in Mozambique those things are impossible. So Mwalimu promised him saying that post-independence Tanganyika will invite you to come and give you a place where you and your colleagues could prepare to defend the country's independence and it really happened. After our independence Dr. Mondlane came in contact with the President, Mwalimu at that time they found a station here. They established a centre here, even FRELIMO itself was created from here. They had their parties with different names; from here they created one thing calling FRELIMO and started their anti-colonial movement against the Portuguese.

But the people of South Africa with their major problems - having informed that Tanganyika had gained independence. They were the first to apply for a place here and they were invited. The first group of nurses and freedom-fighters came.

And after a while every party was welcomed and was given a chance. Lastly this country became the centre for South African independence fighters. All of them were assigned areas for their trainings. They have their most popular areas like Kongwa, Nachingwea and many places like Dakawa and other few places. And our party TANU, the government took the issue of giving them opportunity to fight for independence as their first duty to fellow Africans - our brothers who wanted their own countries to be liberated. And that made a good relationship. If you go to Kongwa - the adults remember well and they remember those senior leaders including Samora who went there for training. If you go to Nachingwea as well and as you go to the liberation parties which are now in power - the warriors are aware of each other while others know each other by the camps where they were. Some call themselves as from Nachingwea and some from Kongwa and so on. It has thus built a lasting historical solidarity between our country and our fellow's countries. And many children of these countries have been buried here. As ANC have absolutely graves in Morogoro and every time they are going to honour each year.

Of course there were problems as well, because in some countries they had two or more parties and then they were in conflicts among themselves. And one time we had to intervene. I remember one big problem that occurred when Dr. Mondlane was killed on a bomb attack that had been hidden in a book - which is quiet believed to have been installed by the Portuguese government spies; he was their number one

enemy thus they must followed him there he was. But here it brought a little trouble because within the remaining FRELIMO leadership they had two attitudes but the problem seemed to be greater because some of our own people - we Tanzanians pretended to know much better - were the ones we joined in one side or another without understanding the real situation of the struggle in the vessel. When the issue finally reached at the university, Professor Temu and Professor Kimambo were you still at the college? In nineteen sixty nine, I called our young men - they didn't know the issue then they had to hide it—leave it to the Commander in Chief, the President, he knows. They pretended to know too much.

But finally Mwalimu made it right. He called all those involved in FRELIMO those top ones. You remember Reverend Msimani and Marcelino Dos Santos, who were Vice Presidents and Samora himself as the commander of the army. And people from our side were called all the top ones, ministers who were concerned with those issues and so forth. Then Mwalimu told them that Mozambique's work was just one, Liberation. Mondlane told me that my commander is Samora, so we recognize him. The mission is just one the battle to fight against the Portuguese. Those who want chattering can stay here and make words but we know who the commander is. Those who want liberation will only follow the liberation commander. Now you know about the death of Mondlane and Samora holding power after Mondlane's death they did not make an election. They were in the war, they had their own ways but they made an election within FRELIMO not election outside FRELIMO. Machel became the head of the party as the President of FRELIMO. They continued to struggle until seventy-fifths when they gained independence. It's likely they know much better and when you will have a chance to go to Mozambique one of the people to make in-depth conversations with is Marcelino Dos Santos. I think he is the founder of FRELIMO but also a philosopher; he has his own style of analysing issues. I think they have had major problems for several reasons.

One, the war of liberation was not completed to the south. The liberated areas were the northern - until the Portuguese government collapsed and a new government emerged. The contentious regime collapsed and came out of the state of progressive people. And Portuguese were tired of war. The cost of running war is not easy while Portugal is a small country. They also relied on exploiting Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau so as to run their country. Now because of the war they had to change the strategies. They were supposed to send troops in thousands so they had to sustain war and that was a problem. But the process of liberation, controlling the territory and converting the public to make them understand the liberation means what; it ended before other areas were not yet liberated. That was one problem.

The second and the biggest one was that - there was a great enemy of South Africa their neighbours. South Africa did not really want to see the Africans who are holding power at its border. And Zimbabwe, Ian Smith also did not want. So they were confronted with very great enemies. And those enemies were exactly who invented or who caused these opponents though they were really Mozambican people. But they have received tremendous support from South Africa and by Ian Smith.

You also know from the liberation struggle - the armed struggle and then running the government here it come demobilizations. On one hand demobilizes and on the other hand controlling the government while sharing positions of power. The process often produced frictions and confrontations within the movement and within the organization. So FRELIMO have experienced these problems of having people who have lost their hope, and have missed what they expected to gain. So later it was easier to collaborate with those who have already decided to be used the new Mozambique government. Their problems were really serious but the Mozambique government under Samora had a lot of problems. It was not easy to settle because Portuguese themselves stayed there for about five hundred years, so with such mentalities they were difficult to change. Then Samora's radicalism was the biggest threat to their neighbour. It was an excuse to their neighbour and we saw ourselves-they had to kill Samora

So things went well because we were able to provide the required leadership. And those who had problems were not just FRELIMO and others who had problems with them often Mwalimu had to give them appropriate advice so that things could go well. In our party we believed that we are still in the struggle for liberation all the time. And one reason is that the largest parts of Africa were not yet liberated. The second reason is that neo-colonialism was still in motion and persisting – ready to use the puppets to sabotage.

That is why from the two emerging issues we had to issue a specific policy on African liberation affairs. First, the issue of Portuguese colonial movement on our southern boundaries because they had come up against us - bringing their planes, blasting bombs and at sometimes trapped bombs on the ground as well. In the south we had to start a special process of preparing people to face the situation. So even the militia issue started in the south, Mtwara, Lindi and Ruvuma because of the hostile movements that were being conducted by the Portuguese-Portugal had said they would do as the US did in Vietnam. In Vietnam you will remember the Americans had South Vietnam but they gave it the right to invade the North. Therefore, the Portuguese said they had the right to follow FRELIMO where they were coming from and they were coming from Tanzania. So, that was the first thing that made us being prepared.

Another is the Uganda event when the Commonwealth countries were meeting in Singapore. And our President Mwalimu Nyerere, President Obote and President Kaunda were the greatest speakers of the liberation of the African continent. While they were there Idd Amin – the General of the Ugandan Army took over power; he expressed his hostility towards Tanzania. You will remember that after he took over the power, he invaded parts of Kagera. And in this first case he wounded and killed some of our people. They wounded and killed RPC Hans Pope-picked up his body and carried it off the other side. As a result of this serious threat from southern by the Portuguese. The National Council had to meet. Brother Hashim Mbita remembers what happened. Then we made a great decision to say that in order to strengthen our defence-people should be taught weapons and defence. And that's where we provided the nineteen seventy-one guidelines. Fortunately the architects of this leadership were and Comrade Hashim Mbita and me while Mbita was the Chief Executive Officer; I was the TANU Youth Secretary General. And in that guideline we talked about the whole issue of the African revolution and the whole issue of African liberation and on how be defensive and

advocating for the interests of Tanzania and African in general.

Historically that guideline had a profound effect. People are reducing the guideline on the fifteenth article- and that's the problem of people. You don't be watchmen and so on as that is the guideline. But the guideline has made very big decisions before reaching the resolution of people to be taught to defence. As it is in the twenty-first and twenty-second articles as well as those which were drafted by Mwalimu himself on - if Tanzania would have to fight war of independence saying his leaders would be all soldiers. They would be soldiers, meaning it would have been a liberation movement as it should be - but we did not have to. But he goes on to the twenty-first article saying that the basis for the protection and security of Tanzanians is on Tanzanians themselves-every Tanzanian and especially every patriot. People's participation in the defence of the country is the fundamental thing. And now the decision has come to be thoroughly proven in 1978 when Idd Amin invaded our country. He was ready to crash and prepared himself completely. Our army is not a host of invasion or attacking other countries. So he prepared himself there and said, "I will finish them just once." But the power of the people has made him defeated. A small army - as the Mwalimu said but professionals and their work was to prepare the public.

Those prepared young people, the public and the militia were ones who came from every region - all of them on their way to the border. At that time I was the Regional Commissioner for Mbita. Good luckily those young men - my militants had practiced with the Tanzania Peoples Defence Force for two or three weeks in the forest. Violence begins so those young people almost all of them got qualified. There came General Luhanga to take them there. To look at those who are in a good state, health and what. Yes it was a very original contingent and they were too emotional! They were put on the TAZARA train left me and told me, "We are going to scourge him." They came out of thousands and thousands of people to join the army. That power under the leadership of our commanders was the one that managed to eliminate Idd Amin with his outrage. So many people have come to learn the issues of involving the public in defence.

I know when we made that decision there was a leader who refused - as he told me no for the issue. But he did not know what it meant. Believing people is one of the biggest things in leadership. But you must be a leader of the people then you can trust people. If you are a leader over people you cannot trust them. If you're upholding your personal interests while they are holding arms there will be a day of anger and they will say that you old man go and stay aside, you are unsuitable for us. But the decisions were right with Mwalimu in the National Council of the National Assembly. And I recall Comrade said, "We have crossed Rubicon." Now in the past young people were demanding weapons but the water was not yet to get hot in Mwalimu's language - people were reluctant. But when we got to the place in the National Council of the Nation we said we trust the people and let's prepare them our army will be strong. Because, even those with large armies like the United States of America, were not those volunteers?

So, that helped us very much. There were some weaknesses because in order for these things to be sustainable need the leadership itself to be sustainable as well. Because we greatly expanded the militia security that pacified the country and the country was stable. But at all times the issues of volunteering require incentives. With a great incentive is moral incentive while sustainable moral incentive depends on the character of the leadership as well. If the top leaders will stay idle then reasons for the public to volunteer disappear slowly.

That is why the emergence of 'Sungusungu' to the Lake Zone is a great example of failure to maintain proper security system. It has reached to a point where the moral incentive has decreased, things went wrong and the public saw that they have no advocate; they do not have a guard. So they decided again to establish their own instrument that resembles the same as militia security system. So, that's part of our history. But those are things that still need to be discussed and should be done because it is a very good basis for controlling the country while the people themselves are overseeing the security of their country. You cannot rely on paid people, soldiers and so on. It is impossible; it's not a good procedure.

You know those who fight for their rights have a tendency of seeking and I have searched for myself. There was one person I met in Rufiji; whom I went and slept with in the same village. Someone there had certain book and he told me I had a book here. I read that book written by the Russians and I saw it very interesting. But even before that I was already had a great interest and I read even *Das Capital* without understanding it. At Samora Road you know I was going to the library looking for issues on my own, looking for philosophy and political science and generally looking for ideas. You know one time they came to remove books there; they removed the books that they thought were political books. At Tabora I was reading randomly, I even read Einstein there. I did not understand his theories of relativity but I was just reading for searching.

But I read *Das Capital* here when I was an activist in TANU. Salum Hamisi studied in India was the one who brought the book. He came with it when he returned here in 1965. You remember he came with Karl Marx's *Das Capital*. I read it a little bit. So when we went to Liberia— we three were late I, Mapunda and Kisenge. In fact half a year which is six months had passed. But since we were three and after seeing us three they gave us a placement test as the Americans prefer placement tests to see you're at a what quality. Our three professors sat and said, "These people are so impressive." They prepared special courses us. They saw us as the leftist's people of the left. So they assigned a certain Professor of philosophy to teach us philosophy.

No one was taught philosophy but they introduced a philosophy lesson for us and in philosophical matters they included the elements of the Marxism. A class of three persons, later we came to discover that the guy was a CIA person. He was very smart and he thought he would pull us out and put us in the line he wanted. But later we discovered that he gave us such books that are very critical to Marxism and Socialism. But we were smart enough and we were going to read such original book's versions. Then we discovered some and even those quotations were incorrect. We asked the Professor, "The book you gave us, the author here quoted Marx says this but why does not he say so in original Marx's version?" He began to see us that we were clever, we know, and we were matured enough. But he helped us very much. So I myself pursued a Socialist thinking and when I went to Dakar - there was not a very good place because you know the French is a hotch-porch of ideas even those professors we knew were not Marxists. Those were completely conservatives and if you're progressive they make sure that you fail. So we had to set up a strategy; we had to know how to write his paper in order to pass while you stay with your position. So, I have not studied anywhere but I have found by myself.

First, on the concept of socialism since the first constitution; the first TANU

Constitution stated that our main goal was to prepare the Tanganyikans for self-domination. And that's what was the main issue and made every effort until Tanganyika gets its self-control. So that was the first and the fundamental thing. So all the other things contained in the constitution were circulating in the matter of preparing the Tanganyikans for self-rule. But to the people with wisdom that was the proper one. My friend you are going to war, you know what you're fighting for and you're fighting for the country's independence. Talk about the independence of the country as a slogans then that liberation struggle is your ideology. For the purpose of uniting all people into one but these other ideologies and so forth can lead to split from the beginning. And that is why TANU was able to gather people of all kinds. But as I said in the past; people who struggle for independence have their own expectations. They struggle for independence because the colonial domination denied equality, the denial to freedom and harassment. So the sense of equality, justice and freedom existed. And that was the great aspiration of our people. But we were told the solution was to put the country under control.

When we reached at controlling the country in the ninety-sixty one, Mwalimu in the early sixty two said, "Le me briefly quit the government while strengthening the party." And then he did great things because he began to develop party strategies, he looked forward and told us what kind of country do you want to build, and how to run a government. Then he developed an early idea of Socialism. And which it means a country of upright people where there is freedom and justice. And that's where they developed the promises of TANU's member. These promises and rules are a very big thought that Mwalimu has put it in a nutshell. He begins all human beings my brothers and Africa is one. All human beings are my brothers; neither did all Africans be my brothers, no. The greatest philosophy of humanity - a very big one, no party has philosophy.

But even we ourselves have that but we repeat as parrots but we have to understand and catch it. All human beings are my brothers and Africa is one. He tells us the most basic things. Corruption is an enemy to fairness I will not give or receive bribes. He says, we say again I will educate myself according to my ability and I will use my education for the benefit of all. That's a great philosophy that he built. These are the things to teach our children. He puts us in the country we want to build. Let's build this kind of a country that is caring for humanity, caring for Africans and that's why at the end you will remember, I will be a good citizen of Tanzania and Africa. So he developed this since those eras and in essence that's really socialism itself. Looking at all these you see he created a world outlook and a social outlook which looks like someone who believes in socialism.

Then socialism has been strengthened by the concept of self-reliance. This is based on practical experience after seeing how to develop the country. He has seen that those taking steps ahead are those who rely on their own strengths. Others can provide additional assistance but we must rely on our ability. This is something you learn about the attitudes. He has looked to the West, has looked to the East, and has been looking to Asia and China in particular; self-reliance goes with equality for those who are self-reliant. And self-reliance begins with you one person. If you cannot be self-reliant how would you talk about the country being independent?

So our party's ideology has remained until the Arusha Declaration. We have



found a complete concept of socialism and self-reliance. But now you know that all intelligent humans are learning from experience; what they are doing and what the result is. And there are people saying we have dismissed the Arusha Declaration, people just say. But we did not throw it off. We did not throw the Arusha Declaration or we did not abandon socialism and self-reliance.

But according to the experience since 1967, our Ujamaa perspective was closely related to the concept of ownership of the economy as it is in socialism; State ownership which is the emphasis on the Arusha Declaration. The emphasis on socialist country is on citizens themselves own their economy through their government. We have made a critical analysis because we have seen here our state ownership of the economy has been with which results. Although at first it seemed to go well and the progress was good. But when time was going on we experienced serious problems which are obvious.

One, the impact of the persisted corruption within the state ownership and almost all our corporations were seriously affected by corruption. They were also seriously affected by inefficiency until they reached an extent that instead of producing an extra-profit to contribute to the country's treasury. Now the agencies were supposed to receive subsidies so as to progress. Then the organizations began bankruptcy, others when we stopped giving subsidies began bankruptcy. You might expect that the agency itself would increase the possibility of having new jobs so as to get more jobs for the people; instead they were closed. But this is not our experience only. Even in our colleagues' countries that were pursuing socialism on the basis of the state ownership, the situation has been the same. Inefficiencies and corruption to the Russians and all socialist countries were common.

The other thing that affected, you know the state ownership persisted and extremely denied competition. And so you know these things are distorted theories. I have worked hard to read Marx and his colleagues, Engels and colleagues, even with Lenin. There is no where they say that socialism does not want the competition. But the theory was later developed in the competition between the West and the East. You are exaggerating as you say socialism means no competition. Capitalism means free competition but the truth is not the same and it's totally not true. Because the capitalists have a plan as well that competition is not in everything. No competition in terms of security affairs. Does the US allow competition in their defence issues? No it is a state that control, is not it? But the Russians thought they began to plan everything and they refused competition now when you reject competition then you are welcoming inefficiencies. So you must force people to buy goods which are substandard. Now are doing so in your country what if you want to sell abroad? So your business will have problems directly.

So I say we studied the issue of the Arusha Declaration in the nineteen-eighty nine, ninety, ninety one and ninety two. In ninety two we released a new party's stance on socialism and self-reliance. We said that socialism and self-reliance in the nineteenth and so on, will mean the citizens themselves own and run their country's economy in a variety of ways: First and foremost, individually through different ways like in agriculture, as it is a shop. Second is through cooperative and other legitimate unions. Then the public companies where most citizens will have shares and joint venture companies. The citizens will grow big owners with multiple

stocks. Now by this definition we are getting rid of the aspect of the state ownership of the Arusha Declaration. We are going to the citizens themselves to own.

That's why since December of the nineteen ninety-two when we passed that policy we focused on the issue of stocks. We did a very big job but we wanted the majority of the people to be mobilized to buy stocks so as to own their country's economy. For this reason the state of ownership that we have seen it did not brought us far instead of it is inefficiency, corruption and so forth. Unfortunately we are not strong enough on propaganda and in spreading our position because we thought this was the right position. Because politics is for the people not for the gods, where meaning for gods is permanent. We wanted to go with time and we wanted to do things in the interest of the people. If you see clearly that it does not help the people then you are just struggling with dogmatic ideological reasons. Just because one great master said that something then we does not go in. But here are the social philosophies for answering the social matters which are human affairs. I think we all together know that socialism and self-reliance must be made in empowering citizens to own and run their country's economy but in different ways.

Now the problem we are facing because people are saying, "But our country is not a socialist, it's a capitalist country." I say, well. Did we ever say that our country is a socialist one in the sense of economic structure? The Arusha Declaration states that "our country is still not a socialist". Ten years after the Declaration, Mwalimu gave a speech in Arusha and said our country has not yet became a socialist country. Even now our country is not a socialist one and that's not a problem to our country. What's the main focus of our policies is on doing what, how to build a country? That's a big issue.

And we CCM members say that our aim is to create a country of the upright people who are free. A country governed by justice, and everyone has his or her own dignity and one is being recognized by his or her personality. That's our goal, but here's a journey because you cannot be equal if your economy is still backward. You cannot have a hand hoe based economy then you are hoping to build a country of upright people. It will be a country of people who share poverty and that are not the aim of socialism. So the level of productive forces and the level of production capability must be promoted and modified. That's why CCM's manifesto states: Our main responsibility is to build a foundation for a modern economy. That's to modernize the economy, to modernize education, to modernize agriculture, industries, infrastructure, and modernizing communication.

Modernization will enable you reach a place where your productivity in the community will be high and meet the requirements of the people. Education for all is fine as how we are doing right now. We have almost achieved the aim of Universal Primary Education. We've turned to secondary education; more than one thousand secondary schools were built during the last year. We will reach our goal of one secondary school per every ward; we are going to the health sector so as to make every village to have a dispensary, every ward to have a health centre and a hospital per every district and so on. But social services must be paid for. So the base of the economy should pay for social services. If you didn't change the economic base eventually you will fail. Socialism is possible if you modernize the

economic base and when you increase productivity, you will find a huge surplus, paying for education, health, road, and so on while you're going forward.

So, for those who say our country is a capitalist one – in Europe, among the capitalist countries, there are socialist parties, isn't? Yes. But the aim of such socialist parties is to control the country, in the long run to become a socialist country and then to be equitable and so on. That is why the power-fighters when they come into power take actions as far as they can so that they can convince the people to continue choosing them. That means, you can do well but still people see you as misfit. Then they bring in the Rightist-man who comes to eliminate everything you've put. So that's how they are competing in Europe.

So that's how it will be for us. Our aim is to create a country of people who are equal, free, fairly treated and so forth. That's a socialist country. We take these steps but people must accept so that we can have the opportunity to do more and so we can reach where we want to go. Do not ask me why our country itself is neither capitalist nor socialist. That's why we are socialist and we want to change. So it was a very difficult task. CCM and FRELIMO have been very close. We had to create a co-operative agreement and we were setting up two leaders who were representing their parties in joint meetings and then we met for talks. During the late Sokoine's era, I and Chissano were selected when he was the Prime Minister but it did not take long time before Samora died and then Chissano became the President. I and Mariano Masinde represented our parties in the joint meetings. We were meeting every year to talk about problems and things we can do together. President Samora Machel's death was a great shock, quite a bit. The Central Committee had to send a great message under my leadership. We told them that Mwalimu was at a meeting in Europe and it is too difficult over there.

That was not assistance; it was mutual co-operation between the two parties and the governments. We thought it was good to maintain parties' relations and we didn't just leave the governmental relations only. We had regular meetings - very good meetings. We attended their conferences and you know FRELIMO, our colleagues party was incorporated into the structure of the Marxist-Leninist Organization. So, when they were at the general meeting, they'll talk and when it came to elections time no foreigner was allowed to attend the meeting. But our meetings are open and even during elections time; foreigners stay indoors.

In nineteen eighty-seven, Mariano Masinde came at the general meeting which was held at Kizota. I told him to stay inside because the other guests we invited were allowed to go out during voting because it took so longer and wanted us to plan for them to go and see the cows, animals and what's on the parks. I told him to come and see how we are doing. So he stayed at Kizota and saw everything to the end. He said, "Sir, your things are very good and I'm going there to tell Chissano and for us to make it openly."

So we went to Congress, Mwalimu and I with other people. Mwalimu just greeted them in the Congress, gave a little greeting and then returned and left me there with all the leadership. Now during the time of the election I was invited alone and they agreed for me to enter in. While inside, I saw their things were different from ours. To them the Political Bureau decided everything. First of all, those who are in the NEC as our own it is here; they call it the Central Committee, they have

set up that one-third of the current delegates must leave; the one that decides who comes out is the Political Bureau. It decides people who come out just because this should rest, this does not fit, and so forth. Then the new one-third party required to fill the vacancies is also decided by the Political Bureau. Neither people have asked to be considered for nor voted by the people. Of course it is the Political Bureau that determines who and where should be. They call new names to fill in there. Then, the chairman of the meeting who is also contesting knocks and asks those who accept the list of all. That's the list from the chairman to the two-thirds and the one-third. Who accepts the candidates has to say "Yes" All take cards and vote on cards. You show a card number, those who disagree, so it's over. And the election is over.

But Mariano told me what we are doing is right but if that is necessary, I will tell them and you must enter and see the difference. But they took the approach from the masters. As the Marxist- Leninist party that's how they do but we are very different from them. And this is the issue to be very stressed much on. We have been independent since the beginning. Since TANU was established. It seemed like Mwalimu had a resolution that the party had to be independent; very independent in terms circumstances, property and ideologically independent. Our politics is socialism and self-reliance but these colleagues are Marxism-Leninism themselves. So, the Angolans ask us as we were saying socialism and self-reliance, quite then in the nineteen-seventy seven, the time when I went with Sokoine. At that time we were establishing CCM, I did not go even though I was in the committee of the twenty people. Mwalimu called me and said, "Sir, you cannot go to establish CCM. I want you to go to Samora. There they have a Congress. I want you and Sokoine to go there. "So we went there. Then here came Marcellino who was representing FRELIMO, he went back and found me still at the Congress.

So he informed them that they have established a political party which is called the Revolutionary Party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi). Samora told the people during the Congress break and he said call Ngombale for me. So I was followed and I went to his room there with Marcellino. He said, "How about the Revolutionary Party then? What kind of politics? Is it socialism and self-reliance with revolutionary party alone? You are losing time. You waste time. That's time" Samora had real many issues.

Generally, about Rwegasore it is true that at the time when TANU was established there were many Tanganyikans who lived in Burundi. They were there and opened a TANU's branch in Bujumbura. In the movement also to seek for the independence of Bujumbura, these Buyenzi Swahili were vocal. And they had people; one was called Ali Mashango who later became TANU's chairman for Tabora. He had a printing press in Bujumbura. He had the means of even releasing-advertisement because of the printing press. Prince Rwegasore is a Tutsi in the system of Tutsi, Batwa and Hutu. He was an extra ordinary that he exposed the desires of the majority who are the Hutus and so forth in seeking for independence. So he was a good chemistry between TANU and UPRONA and between him and Mwalimu. He came here and Mwalimu considered him as his son – that was something that the Belgians did not like so much. They did not like it so much and that came as to precipitate the attempted murder of Rwegasore. He was shot. They killed him just in the afternoon at a hotel which is there till today in Bujumbura. It is

called Lake Tanganyika Hotel. But as I know in writing it depends on the source where you found it and from what kind of person. And if not found a counter source to correlate with it, then the existing remain as the only truth although it might not be the truth.

You know the TANU branch in Bujumbura was really strong. In 1958, when we were going to Liberia there were branches of TANU in Nairobi, Entebbe, and Bujumbura. In Bujumbura we were received by members of the TANU branch. They came to the airport and we talked; they were completely informed that we were going there. For we were five people, we stayed there talking with them this and that. Mr Rwegasore was a progressive. And Mwalimu who was usually the person who attracts people then it was easy for people to translate why is this young man following Mwalimu? Surely, they want to have a link as it was. But these were only people's interpretations. It was clear that Mwalimu had a great influence on people even in East Africa. We have gone to Nairobi airport in 1958, where we were absolutely dressing in traditional clothes.

We dressed in Khaki trouser and white shirt; nothing more. The Kenyans staff followed us there, asking "Are you from Mombasa?" When we replied that we were not from Mombasa but we were from Dar es Salaam, they said, "Nyerere's people, very clean, very good things". By then TANU was offering great support to Kenya's struggle. You know when Mr Kenyatta was in prison, the rest were looking for support and the great support came from TANU, from Mwalimu.

Congo's problem to Lumumba – the Congo of Lumumba: When it came to the upsurge of refugee from Congo coming here, we had not reached the time of absolute independence. They were received by TANU and those from Bujumbura as well as from Burundi who were in the tragedy of these problems were as well received by TANU in Kigoma, the mother of Hamza Kasongo.

There are many Makonde in Unguja, and they had joined Afro Shiraz. Therefore, the Makonde in the mainland they also participated in TANU as they all joined TANU. We can only search for this later. The Kenyans also participated. But those Makonde are one, just like the Maasai, these you cannot stop them. They are the same people. The difference between our Makonde in the mainland they do not cut themselves while those in Unguja do.

There were centres which had freedom fighters, and FRELIMO stayed in some of these. That means those houses were ours. That's why they were saying that they stayed at Mdagawa – so many of them stayed. Because the camps were ours, it depends on how long they stayed there.

About the house, in Mbeya there is a house that FRELIMO was using. However, if there was a head of them coming, then the rest were relocated elsewhere to give room for the head to come there. But the usual camping sites for Samora were in the bush. You will find him either in Nachingwea or in Dar es Salaam. But when the war ended, some of our Portuguese prisoners captured were sent to FRELIMO camps.

## Namwa, Nashikale Namala

*Sister Nashikale Namala Namwa is a daughter born in Kongwa; his father being a freedom fighter from Namibia and her mother being a Tanzanian with Gogo native. Nashikale was taken along with other freedom fighter's children, and went to Namibia to vote before independence. She now lives with her mother. When President Sam Nujoma came to visit Kongwa he ever talked to him, and even got money to build her mother's house. She was also promised to get a support which she says she hasn't got it yet. Her biggest regret is the lack of contact with her remaining brothers in Namibia.*

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I am Nashikale Namala Namwa, I was born here in Ugogoni on the fourteenth day of the fourth month in nineteen sixty nine and I grew up here. My father and mother met in nineteen sixty-seven and they lived together and that's how we were born. We were born three. I have one young brother called Nangula Namala Namwa, who is currently in Namibia but we do not have any contact. My elder brother was named Chekanao and he was in Namibia, but he died. I have studied here up to standard seven, unfortunately I did not continue with studies. My mother is also here at home.

My father was the army commander; he was leading the army and other tasks that we cannot know at their workplace. He left here in nineteen seventy-two. He went to Europe for studies, after he returned he went to work abroad and last time he was in Angola. He worked there until the year nineteen eight-three, where he died after their car was hit by a bomb. Three people died.

After completing class seven I just rested. I worked as a house-girl in nineteen eighty-four and stayed in Tabora. In nineteen eighty-five, I came to live here and unfortunately I got pregnancy. I just rested at home, engaging in small businesses, selling cassava, alcohol and soup.

After giving birth to my first son in 1986, in 1987 I was lucky to be taken by my brothers who took me to Zambia. I lived there for three years until 1989. I went to Namibia to vote and then get back. I requested to come to greet my parents. After coming here I was stolen all of my stuffs. After the holiday my colleagues went back and left me here. In fact, Namibian children are currently not here; most of them are being taken away. If they are in other places, I really do not know but here in Kongwa, I know I'm the only one who has remained – I returned and I'm still here. It was difficult for us to remain in Namibia when we went to vote from Zambia, because the country was not free. The movement of Savimbi's war was still in place. So it was difficult to stay there for many of us but we had to go back to the camp in Zambia. Our camp was at Nyango, so we could not go until the

independence was attained. After independence I could not go because I was already back here. The independence was attained while I was here. All of my friends in Zambia went. I remained here just because I did not have anything that would cause me get back there.

When President Nujoma visited Kongwa, I spoke to him as my grandfather, meaning that after I introduced myself to him he was able to identify me quickly and recognize his leader. He entrusted me to honourable Kikwete, while he was a Minister of Foreign Affairs and Isidory Shirima was the regional commissioner and Saitabau was the Kongwa District commissioner. He entrusted me to them that if I wanted to go there I should tell them of my trip for travel logistics. If I want to live here they had to find settlement for me because I have complained to him that I still have no settlement as you can see, my life is difficult. They were told that if she wants to live here just build her a house and you and I will communicate. But after he left, when I made follow ups to them, they could not help me. I then followed Kikwete in Dodoma in the parliament, where I was led by someone who was a security officer, named Paul; he took me to the parliament. I was lucky to go in and meet Ndugai; he took me to Kikwete and talked to him. He told me that he could not help me, but I had to call the Director for East and Central Africa, he is the person who could help me in all my affairs. He left me and went away.

My late father had a brotherhood with the retired President, Sam Nujoma; I cannot know in deep because our father left us when we were too young. What I knew was just as our father used to say that President Nujoma is our grandfather, and he was like his son, because Sam Nujoma was older while our father was young to him. No help from Namibia comes here to help us. Taking children to Namibia was personal decision. Others could go but others could be forbidden by their families that you can go there but because there is a war you might be killed. And some denied their children as they were born by the Namibian fathers as many were banned and are in the streets. The ANC were taking their children with them. But many Namibians were banned although everyone who got children in any country there was a register book to write. That I am so bin so, I have children somewhere – so in every country they were visiting they were writing names of their children who were born there. For example, our father here wrote three of us, in Zambia two children whom I went and stayed with them at home. In Angola there were two children, in Germany he had one child. So he had set up a list of his children so that even if he is dead his children can make monitoring – that I went to Tanzania and gave birth to three children, I went to Zambia and gave birth to two children. I went to Angola and I got children; I went to Cuban and got children.

It's difficult to have all the children know each other because we are not acquainted to one another. The only one I know is called Nujoma who was also born in Zambia; I lived with him for so long. The second one I did not stay with him as I hear that as I arrived in Zambia he had done a test to go for studies abroad. The cultural heritage of our father's tribe, meaning of Namibians, is closely related to the Gogo culture of Dodoma, they are bit similar, because if you look back in our father's village, they cultivate sorghum which is a normal life like here. The Zambians have their lives which are similar as the Gogo – I did not investigate so

much because most of the days we were staying in the camp. We were not allowed to leave. There were days that you planned to go out as you went to the shop where you buy fresh vegetables, just near the camp. But you do not get a permission to go around as if you are free, no.

Currently I would just love to live in Tanzania. But to get back to my father's home country becomes difficult. Its difficulty is caused by my children. If it was permissible to go with my children it would be Ok. But now getting back, you will be received yes, but to start life with the kids – you do not have a job; you do not have any education, what will I do to live; you end up becoming a burden to your brothers. For example, on part of my father they were born three persons. He was born my father who was an elder, my aunt named Nashikale and our uncle named Isaac. This aunt died in their camps in Angola. A bomb hit where she was and she died. Now our father is also dead. That uncle I do not even know where he lives. And in my father's village I do not know if they are still present; at the same time they are telling us that our grandfather and grandmother are both old. Tell me how will I live? To whom will I go? Yes. In my father's village they are present but now I do not know any relatives. But I would like to get any help that will enable me to have my own home. That's to have a good life just like other people.





## Mrs Nashikale

**[Kongwa; 19 December 2007]**

*Mrs Nashikale is the woman who bore three children to a freedom fighter from Namibia. They lived just as good friends while they were here before her husband left for studies in Europe. After leaving, they were in contact for a while, but the communication finally ceased. The Namibians came to take all the three children and sent them to their camps in Zambia. Her old son died while in Namibia, the second is living with her, and the third one is in Namibia but she has no contact with him. She regrets the extent that when the father of her children died she was not informed, and when her son died she was not given any information, and she has no information about the remaining son in Namibia.*

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Our Home is at Mlangwa in Kongwa Maji. The first husband, who was a Gogo, we got married in 1963. I stayed at home with my husband, and we had two children. Later, when we quarrelled and broke up I left and returned to my parents. I stayed home for some time, before I met the father of these children, and he was coming at home until it became a marriage. In 1967, we got the first child, the late Chekanao, then the second came, and then the third. In 1972 while in Dar es Salaam, he left for studies, and I returned home. So after he has left he did not come back completely; so I stayed here.

When he went there we were just communicating. Later the communication ceased before his relatives came to take the children, but I refused. The one who was entrusted these children was elder Makangila. He is already dead. He was entrusted – even this knows, that these children are under the care of elder Makangila. He said when he was leaving, that elder Makangila would look at his children. Even when problems were happening I was going to tell elder Makangila. The same when they came to pick them, we went with elder Makangila and my parents at the office, they registered and we went to Dar es Salaam; we took photos, everything, then they took them. They were members of the SWAPO party. I did not give birth to a different tribe; I did with the SWAPO only.

I was just a married woman. They loved me and I loved them, so fortunately God gave us children. After talking to them so well we lived with that man very well until he left and told me I remain here, but he would come back. He told me that he was in a dangerous job and he was doomed to death, so I should stay with his children but then he would come just to pick me. I said Ok. He left me here and he went away. After he left, then the children came, I said I wanted their father. They said he would only come, but he had already died in Angola when he came from studies in Romania. The stuffs he had left with me in Dar es Salaam

disappeared. I educated all my kids up to seventh class – they did not have the chance to continue with studies. But the other one who is there left school while in class three. The other one died there but instead of my colleagues to contact me and tell me that your child is dead let us do this or that, they did nothing. So far I do not understand if my child really died, I do not know. Those who came to pick the children did not tell me nor did they write me a letter. So I do not know if my son will find me dead, or whether he is dead or alive – I do not know.

There are other women who were married to SWAPO people. Foebe, I think you know her, her kids went and they all settled there. No one came back, at least those of mine they came and I saw them all. But those of Foebe, she hasn't seen them since they left. There is the late Joseph who died recently. Another SWAPO's woman from Ibwaga, her children also died there. Here I am still alive with Foebe who is my neighbour, and our children are still there. But we are not sure because there is no contact. We are here, but do not know that we have children? We are here but they do not know that we also had children? We would like also to see our kids; my son died and no information given. So even here I wanted not to say anything because it pains me so much – I'm tired! My children were registered with my dad before he died, and they said they would be coming back. Now if that has died, they would just come and tell me. You know Sam Nujoma came here while I was in rural Dodoma. If I were here I do not know what it would happen. I could talk to him just because I knew him and he knew me.

Arrangements to talk with the Namibian Embassy's people, I do not understand anything. As you see me here, I do not know how and where to start and end. After all where will I get such confidence to speak to people? I'm not worth. I would like to talk to the Namibian embassy about my son but I do not have such ability to do so.

My Namibian husband came to fight for independence. He loved me and I loved him. He really loved me. He loved me so much and I loved him so much that we could finally get these three kids. He was very caring for me, and this house I remember Sam Nujoma built for me. When Sam Nujoma came he met their child and gave her some money that facilitated to build this house. He asked her, where is your mother? The child answered that I was in Dodoma. So he gave her some money so as to build me a home because I was still there. He built me this house which I live now.

Of course they are still grateful to me and about my child they have told her everything – President Sam Nujoma when he arrived here with President Kikwete. They told Nashikale that, she had to send a message whenever she got a problem, and Sam Nujoma would be sending some assistance. This child has struggled a lot up to Dodoma, but she did get nothing, although she was told to communicate of anything she wanted and could be given. She has followed to the end until she became exhausted, so she just decided to stay.

What pains me is that I have not found the solution for my child who is currently in Namibia. I do not understand whether he is alive or dead, because there is no

communication. Every time I write a letter, I do not get answers. I do not understand whether he is alive or dead like his relatives. The most pain I experience is that I gave birth to these children and raised them while I was a widow, when my husband was away. Even those who came to take my children, I have no contact with them.

When they came to take the children they really did not give me a chance to go to Namibia. They were to take the kids to my husband. I thought he was there and because I knew him to be fond of children, I knew when the children are gone he could come back with them. Unfortunately when they came to take the children, he was already dead. It was like a fraud on how they took the children. So it was like that but whether my child is alive or no more, I do not know. And we documented that they would be coming to see me, with some assistance that my child would be bringing, but nothing is happening.

My request to them is to help me see my child who remained there. I would like to see my son if he is alive. If he died like his fellows then let me know that he does not exist. But why I am not informed that he is alive or not? There is no letters as he used to send me letters; I have no contact with him. Now how can I understand? But the other one is this whom we see here. Women who were married by refugees we did not have any arrangement to form our own organization. We just got love only; that means everyone had communication with her husband.

I understand there were five camps that existed here; there were those of Namibians; namely, SWAPO, Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South Africa – the ANC. But I do not understand if they all left kids here. I know those who were left with children here is me and the one I am mentioning to you, Foebe – those are ones that had contacts. I do not know if they have left children in other camps. I just heard that the South Africans have also come to pick their children, but others I have no idea.

My regret is for my son who died and I do not know his grave. My colleagues do come from Namibia to see the graves of their relatives, but no one says I will take this woman to go and see her son's tomb. Even if I don't recover anything but I would see that my son was buried here. The man I had children with him, no one came to tell what has happened to him. So what should I do now and I have become an adult – an old woman. Where will I get a help. I'm here with my daughter and my grandchildren who help me a little and give me greetings, it is enough. I see this kid like my son there as your fellow's kid is yours too. In fact, I am thankful. You are warmly welcome. I have my son's cry. If you really have come to help me to see my son – the deceased sent a servant to come to see me; he said if he

had to come any day, I could not continue staying in a slum. He said that his father was economically very capable, although he is dead, and he had to come with a car. Going there is when he died. He was the one guiding these and after he died my hope that I was hoping for has gone, and there is no communication while people understand that there are traditions of people that when an individual has died, her mother should be informed. But they kept quiet and without his sister to bring the information, I could know that Chekanao is alive whereas he is dead. Now she has been left alone, what if she dies who will bring me the information?

I have a bag full of letters of my Namibian son but I have to burn all of them. When they told me that he was dead, I saw that I should take all of them and burn them. That's why I became mad and left for Dodoma. I stayed in Dodoma for six years without receiving any letter from my son until he said he could not come because the war had begun in Angola and there was no chance to pass through coming to Tanzania. We began writing letters with Makangila, we even wrote in English but until now there is no answer. Now I was thinking here that I do not know my son whether he is alive or not, I do not know. If he's dead like his fellows, they should let me know so that I can give up, because now that I'm already old, I can die anytime.

I know these people are Africans but why don't they know the African traditions? On death of a person, one is supposed to verify, be it of his son or his mother. With me I bore with a Namibia only, not any other race.

Even Frank, who is a South African, we have never heard of him. When they arrived they wrote letters but now it's almost five years every time I write letters there are no answers. He found his father being financially good; he got married and told me he had a baby. But every time I write, please let me know if he's dead, they do not answer.

## Nuru, Muhidini

**[Kongwa; 19th December 2007]**

*Mr Muhidin Nuru is one of the earliest leaders in Kongwa. He moved to Kongwa in nineteen forty-eighty being a technician in the groundnuts project. In 1953 he was elected a councillor representing the small town of Kongwa. He later joined TANU party to claim for Tanganyika's independence. He was elected chairman of Kongwa district, and a representative of the Central State in the Executive Council of the Party. After independence, in 1964, he was very involved in establishing the first camp of independence, in Kongwa. Elder Muhidin Nuru was among the inhabitants of Kongwa who had received the first group of freedom fighters, who were from Mozambique. He was in the forefront to encourage the inhabitants to have a solidarity and patience with the foreigners. Based on his explanations, there was a great deal of cooperation among the locals and the freedom fighters. His regret is that there has been no record of the fact that Kongwa was in frontline in the liberation of several Southern African countries, and he proposes that a school be built comprising all the five nations that passed through Kongwa in the pursuit of their independence.*

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I, Muhidini, came here in 1948; I entered the black-smith work in that groundnut farms. At that time, I was coming from Kongwa and participated very well. Luckily again, the whites were many and the Africans were many too. Here our town was once elevated to a township status; fortunately God blessed me that township status existed at the time when I was the first African to live with the whites along with this old man, Titus and Mr Shauri who is now dead. We were three Africans; one Indian called Karim, he also died. We remained here until 1953, the organization collapsed. In collapsing of the organization we had just to stay here as we lived together, because we were already inhabitants. So we lived very well, and our town returned to the status of a small town. So I joined back to Mpwapwa District Council to be a councillor representing Kongwa. I did very well, and fortunately it happened that we were demanding for freedom. So I joined the party, and fortunately I became accepted, sitting here and became a councillor. Then I became the chairman of the youth of our party when they chose me in the election. But at the same time it became increasingly frustrating that the chairmen of the youth were independent on themselves because the five districts including Kongwa, Mpwapwa, Dodoma, Kondoa, and Singida were all under one province, the Central Province. Fortunately I had been contesting for all the areas – so I was able to represent at the Executive Committee of the Party. I also did very well, even Mbita knows me as I know him, because he was also the Executive Secretary of the Party.

Fortunately we kept on doing so, and we were fortunate that God enabled us in our struggle, fighting for our freedom. In attaining our independence, it must be at a district level but in the party, not at government level – the government was to be in Kongwa, and here had to remain this way but in the party had to be a district. We called ourselves that we have gained independence. In 1964, we were called by

Mwalimu Nyerere, he made a phone call to Mpwapwa, and the Mpwapwa's district commissioner, relayed it to Kongwa. The phone call had to find Mr Mbita and me. It was good when we got the news that we were to be ready to welcome the coming visitors, and we had to prepare a meeting place. Happily, the Mpwapwa council had bought the entire station building and became under the council, so the space was available. Mwalimu came with President Sékou Touré of Guinea and President Ben Bella of Algeria. When we showed them the building itself, Ben Bella viewed the building, went in, talked to Mwalimu, and said that it would be good, it was not a bad place for them to come and start staying here. We were entrusted by Mwalimu to do the cleanliness in all those houses, and for one week he said they would come, but he cannot tell us exactly when they would come. Mr Shauri and I got up and went to the prison and asked for manpower and luckily they accepted our request. We cleaned all the houses and painted limestone on them, we did everything hoping that they could come at any time and when they arrive we can welcome them. We were going there from five o'clock in the morning and stayed there until six o'clock in the evening. Every time we are there expecting that they would come at any time.

Mpwapwa district officer was informed that the visitors had left Dar es Salaam. But he said he could not come to Kongwa, and all the responsibilities of welcoming the visitors were handed over to two people, I as chairman of the TANU Youth League, and Mr Shauri. Then we did that work, they arrived here at twelve o'clock, on the twenty-fifth day of April in 1964.

The first group was from Mozambique and came on twelve military vehicles, we helped them, but unfortunately they were followed by a Whiteman from Dar es Salaam to find out where was their camp. The leader of the coming group was named Elias Mango. We showed them their settlement and we had forgotten to prepare a lamp, we had to leave after we have showed them bedrooms and everything including food there. We thought we would look for a light plan, as how would they eat at night without light? When they were coming from where we invited them at the camp, as they were now heading to the town, the white man followed them to see where their cars stopped – he went to hide in the bush with his car. When we arrived there my friend, Mr Shauri, did not see, but when I looked, I saw is this not a white man? I told Mr Shauri to stop the car. When he stopped, he asked me about the name of the place. I said, "You do not see that Whiteman, did they come with him? "We have to take him to Mr Elias Mango so that he can explain if they were in the same group or not."

So the Whiteman left and ran by the car and passed by. We got up there and went to the police station to report. We went out with five policemen to look for the Whiteman. Unfortunately, the man went to Dodoma instead of heading to Dar es Salaam, when he arrived at Ng'ambi and saw changes he had to turn back. Now when we got there to watch the direction of the wheels, we followed that direction. But the phone had been called to Dodoma that if they see any car with a Whiteman in, they should stop it. After he got there and saw different situation he turned, we saw the car from a distance and we had to find a better place to stand - on the bridge. He came up there and thought there was a chance to pass through, but there was a bridge with a big canyon. If he could try to pass over, he could fall into the canyon, he stopped the car and we caught him. The old man had nothing else; he had just underwear, fully naked! When we took him to the police, we searched him

but we did not get even a shirt, except the files. There is one file he did hide by pulling out the sponges and then inserted the file, when we searched we found it and took it. We called the regional administration which by that time the regional commissioner was Ali Mtaki, and he told us to take the Whiteman to him. We took him there and we did not know what they did to him, what they did, we did not know the outcome, and we did not know what the file was. But the Whiteman we know was a spy, because why did he get into the bush and hide?

To the freedom fighters, Mwalimu Nyerere said, "Stand firm and be watchful otherwise you will be beaten – have faith and forgive these people. These fellows are coming out of trouble, so they will have other things which are not good for you but you just try to make them be good people. "So we stayed with them but they had habits which was not very good.

If someone comes – while a wife comes to fetch water there and sees him following her and says I need you. And she says I have my husband and he says I am a man too. He enters up in the house even if he finds you eating he just comes in and does not care first. But as Mwalimu told us, we decided follow the words of Mwalimu. Surely a real man with his mind does not have to do so – these are slaves, so let us be patient with them. In fact, we endured much. So we lived with those until they were ready and it was about the fifth month, as on the twelfth day they started their affairs.

South African came a bit late, and then Angolan came. Three Angolan parties came up with their chairman and received them. I and Mr Shauri were responsible for welcoming and orienting them. All of them came. But when their leaders came, they were coming and then leaving. We said because these are Angolans let them stop first. We mean we were staying with them and discussing where they would pass through. The Portuguese were there so where will these pass through, so they had to have a mark time. Those leaders were going back to other countries. And leave here for military trainings, but until Mozambique gets independence it then it will be easy for them. But after staying for a while they began to make a mess, but the mess itself meant they were personal, for personal issues. Other things are not like fighting for independence or anything; they were far away from their other issues. Because they were themselves taking our women and sisters, we chose them on the hillside, behind it that even if they a tank is blown it should not reach here. Even if they shoot bullets they could not reach here. So, we moved the people who were there, leaving themselves alone while they were doing their military trainings.

We had the Namibians too; they came with their leader who was Sam Nujoma. Now we saw that this place is not worth for them. They stayed for at least three months and we told them that here you should not stay since we saw that from here to where they lived there was a very thick forest to enter into Angola. So we thought together with Nujoma himself that he had to go and stay in Mbeya, here is nearby. They will go and pass through Congo Brazzaville and it's easy as there is a machine – a railway from here to Zambia, you see. They came out here and stay there – yes they went and started to stay there. And those South Africans we told them they had to mark-time first, until we found a place for them to stay, and then we sent them to Morogoro. We told them that they had to stay as they are at their home place. We told them to conduct the little things but also to get involved in issues related to the war. But that war should not be powerful because you still have long journey to go, where will you pass through? We are looking for a place to pass. For the Mozambicans it's quick to jump just as they enter, but now for these South Africans, it's stressful.



We suggested the ANC to go to Morogoro because first they are people who love themselves. They are very self-centred and more aggressive, they are not courteous to anyone and they do what they want. Now we saw that they should go and stay in town there as here they would bring quarrels – they would bring us quarrels and may fight among themselves. MPLA and the ANC ever fought here in Kongwa, but they fought for the football game. They had their mistakes at home internally. They were waiting for the fight and the fight took place there in the stadium after they finished their match then they went in to fight. They were communicating themselves because, among those there were some few who had caught some two or three Swahili words – so they really liked Swahili. When they came to town saying "*what's up*" and they ask, what is the meaning of this? Let's go, what do I say when I want to tell someone, let's go? They are told do not say that, you just say this.

Here we got benefit; the first benefit was receiving variety of visitors. Army officers were coming from different independent-African countries even the commandos who taught the freedom fighters. So we were fetching them from those African countries that were the leading warriors. When they came here and luckily there was no chance. There was no room so we had to find one big house here in town for them to stay and conduct their activities. So, one thing we understood and we've got one advantage to know some countries, these from a certain country, what language they are using and what they are doing. And the Namibian came with their women – they taught us even handball sports. We were having our team that went to Dodoma and won, the same team we took to Morogoro and emerged victorious. We got the cups at their stadium.

You hear me, when these people moved away they did not come back completely, but fortunately now they are coming now for the sake of making history. Even yesterday I took a photo with a South African woman; the military officer, it is at home. Her little girls were bothering her, saying to her, "You belong to that country that you liberated? You were at the same place, at a certain country called Tanzania. Where is this Tanzania now? Why do not we know it? We want you mother to go with us one day." They held her that woman and she came up here with those children. They had to look for me and see me and fortunately they found me; they told me to take them around. So those kids asked me questions, I showed them the graves, I showed them everything. Where they lived, where their life started, we went here and there showing them where they started the war. Where they dropped their bombs – you see! We came up to here and they told their mother to take a photo with me; we took a memory photo.

Honourable ward councillor himself was studying; so how did he come to know these? He was at school and he was not involved in these matters nor knew nothing, he came to know them at old age. Now I tell you why we said Morogoro, we said Mtwara and not Nachingwea. There were some important reasons we saw when those who had finished the training where had to go? And the place to go must be in Mtwara – Mtwara was nearby, they just cross over the water. And here there were motor boats and canoes, about three hundred and seventy ships. These were coming either from China, I do not know exactly, we boarded them all to Mtwara. Even Mr Mbita was present. Mr Mbita was the first to lead the army through the water and emerge on the land and shoot bullets. Hashim Mbita is a Tanzanian strong leader.

Do you hear! I indeed participated. I've participated very well and I understand the beginning, up and down. Among us here in Tanzania at the beginning it was in

Kongwa; even today I can tell you that the airplane that landed here it is because of special reason; to bring a member of parliament, but it is not permitted for any aircraft to land as it has been removed from that map. Even when some other colleagues came from South Africa we measured the airport. They have been insisting that, those South Africans have been so insisting that this airport should be made for fighting. To be the landing airport and we'll make a road up to the tarmac road so that someone can go down here to Dodoma. If we say that Morogoro has been made a memory of the liberation of different countries, it is not true because it was ourselves who gave Morogoro to the freedom fighters. And in Morogoro there was no any activities meant for liberation struggles. They were training only. Any freedom fighter had to go there. Up there is where there was their boss.

Elder Hashim Mbita is the one who knows this best. I personally thank Hashim Mbita, as he did a great job. We would like to let him come one day that we can show him, for he is the first leader in Tanzania who volunteered. Not even a single soldier volunteered, except Hashim Mbita. Now he does not even see the meaning of the camps and what they are doing. He must come one day and we will let him walk so that we can show him. Mtwara was known for its proximity to Mozambique – you cannot put people here; they will go to fight there. It is better that the camp remains there; they cross and go to work. That's why we made Mtwara a camp site. Even their leader, Elias Mango, who took them here and get them there he then became a traitor. Elias Mango with a certain woman, named Zainab or Zena, these two made a move and went to Mozambique to side with the Portuguese army. That's why due to this essence, Samora Machel was elected there and it did not take time, he came to say goodbye to us, having a presidential status. They settled and decided that why should we fight and loose our people; people want their country, and Machel became the president.

With Mondlane, I did not just see him, we even shook hands. This came and he was a giant man. So he was at the camp to see his people; the space of the house became smaller that they had to find an alternative in which they came up with an alternative of getting cement to make cement bricks. Now he thought how he would get cement. He called Mr Shauri; then Shauri told him he was looking for me to pick Mondlane from the camp. When he got the information he sent a car with instructions to pick me up at the market where I was doing business that I was needed at the camp. When I asked what was there, Mr Shuri told me that the FRELIMO's top leader needed him there but because he was busy and I was the one who knew more what to do, so I had to go. I went up to there, I met Mondlane and we talked. He said that I should show him how we could build another house. I told him that we had one plan; we did not need cement, we could build the house out of soil. He did not believe, I told him if he did not believe we should get in the car and I would show him of the houses we had built. I went with him and told him how we produced mud bricks and houses we built on those bricks. He told me what he wanted, was me to volunteer to teach them how to produce those bricks. In building there were technicians who could build – so we went there to talk to those people. In the morning they have to find me here, so I showed them how to produce the mud bricks. We did not burn the bricks, because why should we burn? It could take a long time while most of the people had no space. Houses that were built by using this expertise they are still present even today in the camp. Dr.

Mondlane had come from here before he went to be bombed and died in Dar es Salaam, in the year sixty nine. Dr. Mondlane was not living here in Kongwa; he was just in and off. Elias Mango and Samora Machel they lived here – they were the forerunners that came earlier.

Our UWT women were very useful for the preparing drinks like alcohols, but they did not participate in other ways.

No children of these freedom fighters have remained here, they are all gone. They really lived but after everyone has attained their independence, they came to pick their children from here. They met their fathers and gave them money. And those women who bore these children with the freedom fighters, some left with their husbands. I'm not sure who remained here, may be two or three.

Again, elder do you hear me, that we people from Tanzanians, especially from part of Kongwa, we are very thankful although the government could make our area a place of remembrance. We mean that, we are the key reminder in our continent of Africa. Today there are some children who studied in Kongwa. They came here and we sent them to the school they studied; they took pictures and they gave money so that those buildings could be refurbished. So the town is known to London, Nigeria, Guinea Bissau, and mostly to Ghana because Ghanaians were there too. We would like Kongwa to have a special memory for supporting these liberation activities in southern Africa.

The groundnuts project was not a permanent project. It was a British plan to bring the whites in Tanganyika. Since Tanganyika was under the trustee of the United Nations, it could not be easy for them to just bring their people. So they sought a technique to bring the whites. Here entered people who were freedom fighters only. But later anybody could come to work but initially they were brought for that purpose. This means it was an intention of the British government to introduce the whites into the country. Even if one groundnut could be sold for one hundred thousand it could not be enough to compensate the cost. Here in Kongwa we are cultivating groundnuts, we have exceeded in groundnuts production. Now it was here that there would be one factory to process the groundnuts so that we could sell the groundnuts to the factory and oils would come from here. But now we are failing and our groundnuts are going to Dar es Salaam, so we are going to sell them there. But we had to sell them here and the government has to help us bring the factory so we could sell to the factory to get our own money here – for them they process oil and go to sell. This is one of the best ways to make Kongwa not to fall too low, as it became a country that is still considered in the continent of Africa that it can be remembered.

We would like to say things such as the revival of the airport, but we should look carefully and think, because you can revive something that will work for profit; and we can do something that will not be bring profit. What I see here to be the biggest thing to do is to find us a factory for processing our groundnuts and bring here the factory. With that factory you will see our town growth up, and even you will hear our memories, than that of a railway. The railway has got no profit, what will it carry? Just sit and think that the maize is carried on trucks to Dar es Salaam. Where are we going to load the maize into the train from which point to which destination? So I see this plan of reviving the railway is just a waste of money.

Ideally, we should be brought an oil processing factory. We produce a lot of groundnuts and we will benefit; firstly our children can get job, secondly, we small farmers will send our groundnuts there, we will have money into our pockets. This will be the most important thing than other issues of reviving the railway.

In remembrance of Kongwa in the history of the liberation of southern Africa, for me I think here must be made a headquarters. I've ever talked to the Namibians that here we would like to have a school of all five-countries that passed here – one big school to be here so that a child will benefit from education given at the place where it was a centre for African liberation. We would like the government to stress on this thing; that this area should not be completely forgotten because is a memorial place. Therefore, a school should be built for all the nations that passed through here.

MKUKI NA NYOTA PUBLISHERS

## Salim, Salim Ahmed

[Dar es Salaam; 31 January 2007, 7 February 2007]

*Honourable Salim Ahmed Salim was born in Pemba, he started involving himself in liberation struggles and international affairs since 1957, when he was still very young. He was a member of Boy Scouts Movement; the movement that made him become courageous in many things in his life. He was also a leader of students' organisations, journalist and political parties' youth wings. After completing secondary education he started political activism and his first international activity involved him to travel to Cuba after Cuban revolution in 1961 as a representative of Zanzibar office. In 1963 he was a one of the founders of UMMA Party; an umbrella of "nine parties" to oppose the ruling coalition of ZNP and ZPP. In 1964, Dr. Salim began officially his services in the government when he was appointed Tanzanian Ambassador to Egypt only when he was 22 years old. In February 1965, he was appointed Tanzania High Commissioner to India, where he stayed until April 1968 when he came back to Tanzania to a director of East and Central Africa in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and it was during this time he dealt with liberation struggles in the southern Africa, especially with liberation parties and Liberation Committee. In April 1969 he was appointed Tanzanian Ambassador to China and in January 1970 he became Tanzanian Permanent Representative to United Nations in New York where he worked up to October 1980. While in the UN he dealt closely with liberation struggles in Africa, especially in the southern Africa when he served as a chairperson of Committee of 24 and when he was in the Security Council from 1975-1976. Honourable Salim Ahmed Salim is remembered for his efforts to fight for Namibian independence and fighting for the return of China to the UN Security Council. He is also remembered for his contribution in the diplomatic struggles against colonialism, not only Africa but in the whole world. After coming back from UN, Honourable Salim in different times he served in various posts such as Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister for Defence and Prime Minister. In July 1989 he was selected Secretary General of OAU where he served until July 2001. Dr. Salim has continued working on national and international issues; and during the interview he was a representative of the UN Secretary*

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### *General to settle Darfur conflict.*

I was born and grew up in Pemba. My father is from Pemba and my mother is from Unguja. Because I come from Pemba let me make it clear although it is not important. I started involving myself in liberation politics and international affairs when I was still very young. In fact, when I was joining secondary schools in 1957 we were sitting for standard eight then we joined standard nine; we were only three of four people who passed those exams from Pemba. But that doesn't mean we were so intelligent but it was just a luck; the chances to go to higher stages were so limited. We went to join Sekondari School in Unguja.

I was a member of Boy Scouts; and that helped me in one way or another because I learnt many things like cooking, swimming, and leadership. Fortunately, I reached the stage of troop leader. I received a support from one of my elders called Francis Xavier, who was a close friend of my father and he taught me English and English table manners. When I tell people about table manners they think am joking.

It is very important to note this that Mr Francis Xavier taught me about solidarity. Imagine he was just a friend of my father and I was not his child but he treated me as his child and most of the time he volunteered to teach me English. He helped me very much because even when I went to secondary school one of the subjects I performed very well was English.

Even later the language competency helped me in many things even before graduating from the University. I was appointed ambassador when I was in secondary school and that background helped me.

I went to Lumumba College, which is now called Lumumba secondary school, and stayed there for four years. In 1958 I started being active in politics and in that school we had many white teachers, mainly British. Sometimes when teachers were absent I could go to the blackboard and write “Down with British Colonialism,” “Down this! Down that.” So that spirit of activism started since then. I was always preoccupied with Zanzibar’s politics, especially for the youth. I founded a student union that I called All Zanzibar Students Union. I became the first Vice President of All Zanzibar Youth Union that was linked to Zanzibar Nationalist Party by then. Later I became a Secretary General of All Zanzibar Journalists Organization, and in fact helped me because I got opportunities to visit various countries abroad.

In 1960 I completed secondary school and in 1961, after the Cuban revolution, I got an opportunity to go to Cuba to get military training but I did not go for military training instead I worked in Zanzibar Office, and that helped me to mobilize public opinion because that time Cuba was a young nation. I stayed in Cuba for nine months. In Cuba I shared the office and the residential house with people from Africa National Congress (ANC); I therefore got a chance to be introduced effectively to the political situation in South Africa. By the time Mandela was jailed I was in Havana and Ambrose Mwakwane was an ANC Representative. With him we had times to discuss Southern Africa politics. I was only nineteen years when I went to Cuba and before that I was involved in Zanzibar politics through Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP), believing that it was a liberation party. But later I learnt that ZNP was hijacked by right wing people and ultra conservatives whose goals were different from ours and that is why in 1963 we pulled ourselves from ZNP.

I went to Cuba and stayed there between 1961–1962, and in 1963 we pulled ourselves from ZNP, and founded Umma Party. After founding Umma Party we formed what we called “nine parties”, as we were closely working with all opposition parties to oppose the ruling coalition of ZNP and ZPP. Zanzibar had parties such as Zanzibar National Party, Afro Shirazi Party, Umma Party, Afro Shirazi Youth League, Umma Youth League, Zanzibar Federation of Trade Union, All Zanzibar Journalists, Students’ Federation etc. I was also a editor of the nine parties journal and an Executive Secretary of United Front of Opposition Parties under the chairmanship of Mr Karume. But that was a very short time because it happened in June 1963 and in December 1963 I left for China and when I was in China back in Zanzibar the Revolution took place in January 1964.

When I came back to Zanzibar Mr Karume wanted to appoint me an ambassador but that was not my preference. I wished to stay at home because I had already spent many years outside my country and I had no experience as an ambassador. In 1964 when I came back I was only 22 years. I knew that if I was an ambassador I had a duty of sending briefings to the president. I could not resist that and in 1964 I was appointed an ambassador to Egypt when I was still very young.

After the revolution we made sure we took hold of all things that we got greater legitimacy of running the government and controlled all things that were done by ZNP and ZPP. For instance in 1964 in the mid of March I went to Algeria with the late Seif Bakari and Mr Maulidi Mfaume to attend an Afro Asian Solidarity People’s Conference. ZNP had already sent a delegation to that conference but we insisted that they were not supposed to have a delegation and we made sure we had a representation from the revolutionary government and from Afro Shirazi. We succeeded in that and from there I went to Cairo to begin my work as an ambassador; but my embassy did not get a diplomatic certification because my letter of credence was signed by Mr Karume and it was written in Kiswahili with English translation. I arrived in Cairo on 20 or 21 April; but I was aware that the Union was about to come. I was a

defacto and not de jure ambassador. After the Union, Zanzibar ceased to exist as a sovereign state, so I could not present my credentials to President Nasser; but it still had a Zanzibar flag that was left by the late Ahmed Leshadali, who was a representative before me. I went there as an ambassador so Leshadali was an Acting Ambassador because I was an official Ambassador and I stayed in that situation for three months. It was in June when all ambassadors representing Tanganyika and Zanzibar were called to Dar es Salaam by Mwalimu Nyerere and he officially appointed me ambassador of what was then called Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. After that I officially reported to Cairo and presented my credentials to Egyptian President Abdel Nasser.

I was very lucky or unfortunate for two reasons. The first the OAU foundation meeting in May 1963 in Addis Ababa. Secondly, the first Ordinary Assembly of Heads of States and Government was held in Cairo and I was there as an ambassador but I had a limited experience in diplomacy; I didn't know protocols. Not only that but also Mwalimu came and he was awarded a State Visit. So I had two challenges; firstly, I did not know what to do with that meeting; and secondly, I did not know what to do with that State Visit. Two interesting incidents that always stay in my memories. First, on 23rd July was the Egyptian day to mark Egyptian Revolution. On that day I was very late to arrive to the stadium while all other African leaders had arrived and I did not know the procedures and the flag of my nation was there. When they saw my car they directed me to the stadium gate; it was not just a stadium actually, but a place where President Sadat was killed. You can imagine the state of embarrassment! I really felt that I made a scandal. The second interesting incident was accompanying the President wherever he went. Ambassador Liundi will explain to you about this. I just stayed in the hotel and the president asked where I was. I didn't know that I was supposed to be with him. So these are just the anecdotes of my youthful experience.

Thirdly, although we had an embassy there, frankly speaking we lacked experienced and competent personnel in various issues like finance. We didn't have an accountant. I was with other persons; namely, Idd Saleh, who was my first Secretary wangu, there was the late Ahmed Leshadal, and Amin Swai; and none of us was qualified accountant. I only used my little experience I learnt from my father who was a clerk of Clove Flowers Association. I only knew about debiting and crediting but at the same time I wanted to use the money faithfully, without any single cent being lost. It was very funny, the money was spent and the message was sent to the Foreign Affairs telling "Money is finished. It was an experience whereby by October or September two accountants, the late Abdallah Swedi Balozi and the late Faraji Kilumanga came. Therefore, I was learning to be an Ambassador on the job, unlike our counterparts from the mainland who had already experience and they received specialized training or they were seconded to various embassies; but to me it was a different case because I was trained on the job.

Egypt was a good place to learn because Cairo was a centre of so many things; centre of Pan African efforts, and it was called a centre of African Association. There were many offices for liberation parties like ANC and PAC from South Africa, ZAPU of Zimbabwe, SWAPO of Namibia, NPLA of Angola, PIDC of Guinea Bisau, and MNSDP of Sao Tome. I was very much involved with liberation parties, especially the representatives of those parties because Tanzanian embassy was located at Ahmed Ishmet Street, Zamalek that is where the African Association was located. In addition to those representatives, people like Lumumba were also represented in Cairo. Frankly speaking, Nasser had a very strong Pan African Policy especially with liberation parties. Even Radio Cairo was one of the few stations that supported the struggle. So Cairo to me was a good training ground, and it gave a huge access to many things.

I have talked about the first Summit OAU and in that meeting there was an interesting dialogue, and others call it a confrontation, between Mwalimu Nyerere and Kwame Nkrumah on African unity. The concept of Nkrumah was: "There must be African unity now", and Mwalimu said that the issue of African unity had to be done in phases; you can't say African Union can exist immediately. Apart from the OAU summit there was also a meeting for non-aligned movement that was held in Cairo. That was the second meeting in the history of non-aligned movement; the first meeting was held in Belgrade. I got an opportunity to attend and so that was an exposure to me because I contacted many leaders such as Sukarno, Tito, Benbela, Kwame Nkrumah, and Mwalimu, of course. Others were Shastri who came after the death of Nehru.

The third event was the first Meeting of Legal Parastate that was held in Alexandria. Those were the moments of good introduction to regional and international politics. I can say that is the background on how I got into international politics, a part from the local politics. Cairo for me, was also a challenge because there were many Tanzanians who lived there and majority were from Zanzibar; and most of them were very unhappy with what was happening in Zanzibar. Thus one of the legal challenges to me was to explain the rationality of the actual event instead of dramatization of what was happening in Zanzibar. It was interesting. Fortunately, I hope, I did not stay for long in Cairo. I stayed there from April 1964 and in February 1965 I was transferred to India to continue with the same appointment. Before going to India I came to Dar es Salaam. What I learnt with these jobs is that there is no permanency in diplomatic duties. I felt bad because I expected to do many things while in Cairo but I couldn't. For instance, the only place I went at that time included Cairo itself and Alexandria. I couldn't visit some places like Aswan and Luxor.

So after I presented my credentials to Indian government in April 1965, the first thing I made sure I did was to know well India. I am among the people who know India very well and



sometimes more than the Indians themselves. I visited the whole of India, and to me it gave me a very good lesson because despite the challenges it had but still it was a democratic nation. Their newspapers were very vibrant and their leaders were so strong. In January 1966, the Prime Minister who was called Lal Bahadur Shastri died and there came another another Prime Minister who was a child of the former Prime Minister Nehru, whose name was Indira Gandhi. Nobody expected that Indira Gandhi could become a Prime Minister because the people who called themselves “the big chief party” wanted their person to put their own person, and Indira was a bit harsh; they wanted to dump her. But it turned out that after three or four months Indira Gandhi defeated all who opposed her.

When I went to India I learnt a lot of things. First, India was a great country with tremendous potential. But secondly, some of the problems about India were not known to many of us. India has a serious problem of caste system, and there are people called untouchables. The truth is that you are not allowed to give even a glass of water to untouchables. That is a terrible discriminatory system in India. The second thing that many people do not know about India is the education system. In India there are some of the best academic institutions and there are some of the best educated people. Of course I am talking about India where I stayed from 1965 to 1968. People are coming from USA, UK and other European countries to India to pursue courses in India especially in IT, medicine, and economics. So far it is still the cheapest place to educate people. I know some of the Tanzanian youth who studied medicine in India were considered as less educated. I know Professor Kinabo, who is now the Head of Ophthalmology department at Muhimbili got difficulties because he studied in India. But I learnt that it was a misconception and since I didn't have any basic university education I had to enrol myself at Delhi University for correspondence degree program because as an ambassador I couldn't attend classes on daily basis. I was to sit for my Undergraduate exams in September 1968, but it was very unfortunate that in April the same year I was called back to Tanzania to serve as Director of Africa Desk. I tried to appeal so that my stay could be extended in order to complete my undergraduate program.

India was also a centre of non-movement as it was for Cairo. The Indian politicians were truly nationalists and non alignment advocates as it was for Egypt. So that was another great opportunity for me to learn more, not only academically, but also international relations at a more practical level. By that time we had few African Missions; they were about eight or nine. And for us as the representatives of the United Republic of then Tanganyika and Zanzibar we were a centre of many African students. As they were coming to us I got an opportunity to learn more from them about politics in African countries where they were coming from, especially for the students from west Africa. We also had a with a group of African ambassadors. That was manifested when President Kwame Nkrumah visited China and Vietnam before he was overthrown. Before going to China he visited India and we received and prepared a function for him and we had a discussion with him.

In India I served as an ambassador for three years and I got an opportunity to improve my academic status and I knew India very well. I observed an outstanding contrast and it is still there. There are extreme rich people and extreme poor people in India. If you visit Bombay, or Calcuta, you will see poor families along the roads and they have erected poor structures that own them for generations. There was a tremendous difference and that was a problem. In India there was a problem of food shortage and they depended on a program called Food for

Aid from USA but today India is not only self-sufficient in rice and all essential food but also is an exporter of food. How did they go about to do that? Was it through revolution? It is easy for the country to get rid of abject poverty, totally dependent, to the position of strength, and so on.

When I was in India the war between India and Pakistan erupted, but the most important thing that I want to say was about my patriotism. Any person who spoke bad about my country I was furious and I dealt with that person. There was a newspaper called Standard Times that wrote a malicious article about Tanzania. In one of its editorial talked about revolution and insisted that people were killed because of revolution. I became so angry and I went to see Indira Gandhi, who was by then a Minister for Information before she became a Prime Minister. I told her, “Minister, we have good relations but look at this. Our country is abused”. You know, she calmed me down, and said, “Look Mr. High Commissioner, do you know how many insults I get here everyday? How many abuses? How they write against me? How they write against my father Nehru?” She advised me not to wage war against newspapers but the most important thing is to educate them. And from there I established good rapport with newspapers of on many subjects, and my life became much more reasonable than before; but also my contact with Mrs Gandhi, when I knew her as a Minister of Information, helped me very much even after she became a Prime Minister; I could have an easy access to her.

In Delhi I had a lot of friends, and among them were intellectuals, the business community, and others, who used to come and have a drink. It was also a nice experience. That is India where I stayed for three years from April 1965 to April 1968. During that time when I was returning from India there was a nikaambiwa Nigerian Civil War, and Tanzania recognized Biafra. We can argue on the merit or demerits of that, but that is not my point. My point is that Tanzania recognized Biafra, and one of my best friends was a Nigeria ambassador, a gentleman by the name of George Doug Edwin. Later I knew that Tanzania announced to recognize Biafra; the same day the Nigeria High Commissioner prepared a dinner in my honour. I could not tell him about Tanzanian stand on Biafra in that evening because I was not supposed to reveal a state secret and I could not cancel a dinner. It was the most uncomfortable dinner in the history of my life! Thank God, because of the time difference; India is two and a half hours ahead of Tanzania. So, by the time Tanzania announced recognition of Biafra and by the time BBC announced Tanzania’s decision, I was already back at home in my residence. And so I was spared about that traumatic event but it took a long time for that High Commissioner to forgive me. He considered me as a person who betrayed him. But there was something I couldn’t tell you on this issue. And that was an introduction for me to become a Director of Africa and Middle East. I came back home and I stayed for one year and to to my opinion, it was also an important learning experience in 1968 and after staying the whole year in the country. There were a lot of activities that were going during that time including liberation struggles and the Biafra issue trying to explain to different countries during that one year.

Let me refresh back up to 1965, when I came to Tanzania. During that time the Tanganyika I knew was Dar es Salaam alone. The day I flew to China I stayed in Dar es Salaam for one day and in 1965 after I became an ambassador to Egypt I came back and we had a journey to Dodoma. I travelled together with the late Philemon Muro, who was a Tanzanian High Commissioner to UK and he was based in London; and another was Athuman Sharif, who was our ambassador to USA. My first reality check was travelling from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma by a car. I was always thinking of arriving but still the journey was too long. My perception of distance in Zanzibar misled me. I keep telling people distance in Zanzibar is different because a person travels from Unguja to Makunduchi, and you tell people you had a long journey, or Mkoani to wete in Pemba, just 30 or 40 miles and you complain it is far. Now imagine travelling to Dodoma and the road was not paved as it is today. It was quite an experience, because

from Dodoma to Tabora and from Tabora we flew to Kigoma. It was a good exposure and good education to me to know the breadth of our country, richness of our country, and the problems of our country.

While in Dar es Salaam I was involved in many things and during that time there was Good Neighbourliness Conference, and Mwalimu encouraged about having good relations with neighbours. Of course there was a close relationship between Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. The person who was involved was Haile Sellasie, President Kaunda etc. One of the tasks that was given was to organise the Regional Good Neighbourliness Conference. On the day of the conference we received a message the President Mabutu was coming and he was accompanied by President Bokassa of Central African Republic, but President Bokassa was not invited and we did not expect him coming. But what do you do now? Mwalimu directed us to welcome him. Bokassa came with fanfare claiming that he was a future Emperor of Central Republic! But the thing that I remember the most when Bokassa was leaving, Mwalimu, Kawawa and I escorted him together with other ministers, then Bokassa held Kawawa's hand and handed to him a \$100 or \$50 note. Now Kawawa was wondering, what are these for? Our fellow in those countries have a different culture; and he was just showing an appreciation. But if you are caught giving that amount of money to a Prime Minister of a country, it becomes a serious issue. It was one of those things.

I was a director of Africa and Middle East from 1968 to 1969. It was a very exciting time because I worked closely with Mwalimu, mainly on issues of Africa's development. Mwalimu was a close follower of African events, and always when he wanted something he asked for information. We had a good team in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; we had Obed Katikaza as our Permanent Secretary and Ambassador Daniel Mloka was a Director of Policy and Research. We used to send messages to Mwalimu, and he could send us a memo with his responses in red ink but he didn't write much. When Mloka was an acting Permanent Secretary proposed to Mwalimu that our ambassadors should retain the title of ambassadors after being recalled back to the country.

After that Mwalimu appointed me a Tanzanian ambassador to China; and that was again April 1969. I had a history with China because that was my second time to go to China. The first time to go there was when I was a General Secretary of Zanzibar Journalists Association). I went to Indonesia for Afro-Asia Journalist Conference, it was early 1963 or late 1962. I remember there was a tag of war between Russia and China on racism and other issues. I went to China to attend the meeting with a group of other Africa journalists including my friend Rajabu Saleh; another was from South Africa and another from Tanzania mainland and one was from ZAPU. It was a very interesting visit because it was my first time to go China where I was exposed to Chu en Lai who was a Chinese leader of that time. The second exposure was in December 1963 when Chinese wanted us to help them with translation. They had a China Editorial (Pictorial) that they wanted to be translated in Kiswahili. That explains why during the revolution I was in China in December, January and February.

Thus when I was appointed an Ambassador to China in April 1969, I had already gained experience about China. It was an exciting time, though very difficult. It was a time of great proletarian cultural revolution, and soon after we arrived we had an opportunity to attend the ninth conference of the communist party of China. It was my fortune I presented my credentials with Zambian ambassador at Tiemann Square. The great people who were there included Mao Tse Tung, Chou en Lai, and all the top brass of China and later we had a group photo with them. That photo helped because it was part of recognition from our Chinese friends. In November 1969, our Permanent Representative to UN, Ambassador Akili B. Danieli died suddenly when he was attending African Group conference in New York. So Mwalimu decided to appoint me

Permanent Representative to UN where I reported in December 1969.

It was the most memorable period, also in context of the relationship between Tanzania and China, and the type of respect I got from the Chinese, because by that time they had fewer friends; the African Missions that were in China during those days included Tanzania, Zambia, Guinea, Mali, Congo Brazaville, Egypt, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Ghana. But Tanzania and Zambia were treated as special friends of China because by that time Chou en Lai had made his famous visit to Africa, and when he was in Somalia, he made his famous statement “Africa is ripe for revolution”, which put him troubles with some countries including Kenya that insulted him as “uncivilised”. But Mwalimu’s reaction supported that statement that we were truly ready for African revolution, and we meant about liberation struggle. And that was the beginning of solid relationship between us. The time I went to China, already Tanzania and Zambia were discussing about the railway construction.

During the whole time of my stay in China I had an access to all top leaders. I met Chou en Lai, not less than twelve times, either on tete a tete, or on bi-lateral basis or through Tanzanian delegation. Furthermore, Chou en Lai used to come into our embassy for the celebration of Tanganyika Independence Day. So he had a special affection with us because by that time the Chinese were practising reverse discrimination policy, so Africans especially us Tanzanians, had a privileged position. Other countries close to China were Pakistan and Albania. The Eastern Europeans and Western Europeans generally had tough time with China. I remember the Dean of Diplomatic Corps, who was Hungarian ambassador, always came to me to ask what did I discuss with Chou en Lai whenever he heard that I went to see him. I was telling that it was about our relationship with China. The problem was that other diplomatic missions were starving of information while we had that privilege of accessing information. Another problem that I had was that Premier Chou en Li allowed me to go wherever in China, while other ambassadors were restricted. The Zambians also got it, and some other Africans. The ambassadors were permitted to visit Shanghai, Canton and Beijing only, while my first visit was to North Eastern China Dairen, Fun Chung, Helun Kiang. He also allowed me to go to their nuclear facilities, but unfortunately zao my time there was short. That incredible access to the Chinese Leadership helped me to cement relationship between Tanzania and China.

From China I was posted to United Nations but before going to UN I came back home and we had a famous Ministerial Conference of Non Aligned Countries. In the United Nations I had a long history because because involved very much in liberation movement. I presented my credentials to Secretary General U Thant in 1970, and later came Kurt Waldheim. While in New York I had to accomplish what I started in India. I registered for my postgraduate studies in Columbia University, where I specialised in International Affairs. It was not an easy thing, because by that time the American master’s degree was for two years, and I had to finish it in less than two years since I was joining the Security Council in January 1975. I joined Columbia University in October 1973 as an ordinary student because I didn’t want them to know that I was an ambassador. This helped, except in one case it put me in difficulties. There was a my Professor Aikay who taught me Chinese Foreign Policy. One day the department of African Affairs invited me to give a lecture on relationship between Africa and China, the case of Tanzania as the ambassador. In that lecture there was a good audience and in that audience there was Professor Aikay. After that lecturer my situation became so bad because he knew me and whenever he lectured he was asking me “what do you think?” Now instead for me learning I was asked to give opinions; but it was an exciting period. I stayed in New York for a total of ten

years and a half, and despite many things happened but our interest was more on liberation struggles.

In January 1972 I was elected a chairperson of Liberation Committee, and it was called The Special Committee With Respect of Implementation of Declaration for Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (General Assembly Resolution Act. 1514 XV) that was the formal title or otherwise the committee was called the Committee of 24; it was a committee of 24 countries although at some point there were fewer than these. In that committee we dealt with the independences of all colonies in Africa, Caribbean and Pacific where I dealt with countries called Nive and Rarotonga. I went to Nive, a very small country, leading a delegation of the Committee of 24 to discuss the future of those two countries. The population of that country was only 12,000 out of which 7,000 lived in New Zealand. When we went there they categorically told us that they never wanted independence. Therefore we made a recommendation that led to the Resolution 1541 of the General Assembly that recognised them as people who were free to choose what they wanted called Autonomy Without Full Independence. Apart from dealing with Pacific issues but my full concentration was for Africa.

We were proud of the Committee of 24 because it made a huge contribution on liberation struggle, with an exception of UK and even USA on the issue of Rhodesia. The Committee mobilized public opinion and we dealt with Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, SaoTome, Principe, Cape Verde and Namibia that was also dealt with UN Council for Namibia. We did not South Africa as a topic for discussion, but we considered the implication of its policy on countries like Namibia and Southern Africa. We also dealt with Seychelles and Comoro.

Let me give a concrete example; until 1972 liberation movements were not recognised as genuine liberation movements but they considered as terrorists. More importantly, they had rights to petition but were not allowed to participate in the meetings. In 1972 when I was a chairperson of the Committee we decided to send a delegation of Committee of 24 to the liberated areas of Guinea Bissau. It was a very bold and risky move because the Portugal government did not recognise Guinea Bissau as anything but Part of Portugal. The decision to go there meant that we were challenging that position and we also wanted to prove if such liberated areas existed. *na ilikuwa pia haitambui kama kuna kitu kinaitwa liberated areas of Guinea Bissau.* I prepared that trip very secretly; it was only the Secretary General who knew about it. So we went to Conakry and we used Conakry as an excuse to hold a meeting of the Committee of 24. Committee of 24 was meeting at the headquarters, but sometimes they met outside the headquarters. In April 1972, again April, we had a meeting in Conakry but when we held that meeting we had already sent a team to Guinea Bissau that included one delegate from member from Tunisia, another from Equador and one from Sweden, and the team had a component of a secretariat. In a sense, I made a mistake although it was not a mistake per se; I had told one of my colleagues who was a Secretary General for General Assembly for Decolonization; he was from Niger and his name was Saidou Djermakoye. I told him that we were going to liberated areas and requested him to continue chairing the meeting. With good intentions he warned the Portuguese ambassador that, "I want to warn you. We are going to send a team to the liberated area, if anything is going to happen to them you will be held responsible." That was a technical mistake because of that information. We had to take extra precautions because of what the Portuguese did for the duration of the mission in that area. They were sending saturated bombardment to frustrate the mission; but luckily the mission went there and they succeeded. We continued with a meeting at Conakry and that mission established that there was something called liberated areas, where the Portuguese authorities had no access, and was controlled by the liberation movement, that time PAIGC the

Party Africaine for Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, led by Amical Cabral. That was an important psychological breakthrough. Due to that, in September the same year 1972 during the 4th Committee of the General Assembly I pushed that liberation movements be given a status of observers and it was accepted although our western counterparts opposed that.

I went to see Cabral and told him that we had the votes and we could push the thing in the General Assembly, but that was what was going to happen. He didn't even think twice; he said there was no problem, he didn't have to speak because it was important to maintain friendship and solidarity with his colleagues. Unfortunately that was the last time because in January 1973 the Portuguese killed Cabral in Conakry. Of course it was agreed that liberation movements were just observers in the General Assembly; so people like Sam Nujoma and those from ANC started being observers of the General Assembly. It was a significant breakthrough because up to that time they had no such access. Indeed it was one of the major diplomatic breakthroughs through which we argued the case for the liberation struggle and they considered that armed struggle and armed resistance were legitimate although it was contested verociously by the western countries, who considered that anyone who took a gun to fight was a terrorist. Therefore we succeeded to get a recognition that liberation movements have the right to resist by all means at their disposal.

After that event we were very active as Committee of 24 that worked together with the Liberation Committee whose Headquarters were in Dar es Salaam in diplomatic work and mobilizing international support and international opinion for the liberation movements. Two things happened, which are interesting to mention. One is the International Conference to Support of Portuguese Colonies and Namibia that was held in Oslo. I think it was sometime in 1973. After Mozambique got an independence we held an International Conference in Support of Zimbabwe. At that time these international conferences were important in mobilizing support to isolate colonial regimes. And indeed we succeeded to isolate the Portuguese and you have to remember that I had a constant fight with Portuguese, especially Rui d'Espiney Patricio who was the Foreign Minister of Portugal and he would come to the General Assembly and made a statement that "Portugal is a two continent country, so Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome are part of Portugal." I immediately responded and attacked him that he did not know the Geography. I asked him why owning the country that is beyond the borders and I asked him why Tanzania which is close to Mozambique was not part of Portugal?

And this things came to be seen in 1974 when Portuguese Revolution took palce and then negotiations began between FRELIMO and Portuguese government had started. When the negotiations were not going so well I came in 1975, and the late Samora Machel requested me to send a team to the liberated areas of Mozambique in order to put more pressure because the negotiations were not going very well. So I agreed with him that the United Nations would send a team to the liberated areas of Mozambique. In reality we didn't have to send a team because the negotiations took a momentum.

But indeed I was seriously involved with issues in Zimbabwe as chairperson of the Committee of 24 and as a Tanzanian representative to the United Nations. In 1976, Mwalimu appointed me to lead our delegation to the Geneva Conference of Zimbabwe. By that time I was assisted by Judge Warioba, who was a Director of Legal Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We also had other people from Mozambique, Angola, Botswana and Zambia. From Mozambique there was

the late Fernandes Morwan who died in plane crash together with Samora Machel, Raphael Maguni. Chisano also came to that meeting as a Foreign Minister; Angola was represented by President Dos Santos who a Minister for Foreign Affairs. By that time Tanzania chaired the Frontline states and so I had to be a chairperson of that meeting. We had quite an interesting period of 3 months in Geneva. We had an advantage because Mwalimu was following up on these negotiations on daily basis; we got two calls in a day, sometimes he would call when you least expected. In the middle of the night he asked what was the latest.

As far as the negotiations were concerned, we had our colleagues from Zimbabwe who came for negotiations; and these were Ian Smith on one side and the other side had Joshua Nkomo and his team. Then we had Robert Mugabe and his team; maning that there were ZAPU and ZANU against Ian Smith. Those were two distinct movements with differencet characters. We had Ndabaningi Sithole who before was a member of ZANU but later defected. Sithole came to Dar es Salaam and later to Mozambique but was doing nothing in the liberation front. At the airport he could tell us, "I just came from visiting my boys in the camps." And he knew that we knew he didn't have any boys in the camps. We did not repudiate him because our aim was to help them and it was dangereous to denounce him because they could start questioning the credibility of the remaining groups.

Bishop Muzorewa was also a character. Bishop Muzorewa did not have a single person fighting anywhere, but he was there with Ian Smith. He even once said, "While our boys are fighting, these so called leaders Mugabe and Nkomo are dining and wining and dithering here in Geneva." That was an interesting period, and we were very actively involved because the struggle had two faces on itself. The armed struggle per se, and the political struggle, and both of these were important and they complimented each other. The negotiations were also a part of the political struggle. It was a very difficult time because on the one hand we had to deal with the British, and on the other hand with the Smith regime, but we also had to deal with our own people, the liberation movements who were at logger heads. Others were serious, for example ZAPU was more serious, also Nkomo and his people and ZANU were also serious. We had an opportunity of knowing people; for instance Joshua Nkomo was a good leader but he was like a chief. Every time you went to see Joshua Nkomo he will throw out everybody and only myself, Joseph and Joshua would remain for a discussion; his vice president went out. Every time you went to see Robert Mugabe you will fmd two or three people there, at least he will have Tongo Gara. So, you can see the difference in terms of leadership by that time; that is Robert Mugabe of those days. I don't have a judgement on the current experience of Zimbabwe. We were even more involved with Namibia. There is a difference here, Namibia talks and also the fighting, but the fighting was not as intense as the fighting in the case of Zimbabwe. Most of the work for Namibia was more of political work.

Therefore, apart from the support of Tanzania in the liberation struggles, diplomatically Tanzania played a big role, both at the level of the UN, OAU, and at the domestic level. Mwalimu himself spent most of his time for personal involvement, personal commitment, in time and energy. On our side, Namibia was treated at four levels in the United Nations; the first level was that of Committee of 24; the second level was at UN Council for Namibia, in which they were only discussing issues of Namibia. The thirs level was that of General Assembly in general, and the fourth level was the Security Council. Lakini on a regular basis, ilikuwa Committee of 24 na UN Council for Namibia. In 1971 or 1972 it was the time when the African Group wanted to get the UN judgement from the International Court of Justice, ICJ, on the status of Namibia vs South Africa, and the judgement that given was o hopeless. We all revolted and the Court of Justice started losing its credibility, and we requested to file for another opinion. It was in 1973 when they came with an opinion that says, "The occupation of Namibia by South Africa is illegal." So we had two things, we had South Africa occupying Namibia as a colonial power, but

as an illegal colonial power. Although historically Namibia was a mandated territory after the end of second world war, but South Africa continued occupation despite the fact that they were supposed to leave.

Tanzania played a particular role in 1976 when I was a President of the Security Council. In January 1976 Tanzania had a seat in the Security Council from January 1975 to December 1976. After considerable consultations and efforts, we managed to adopt a Security Council Resolution, under my Presidency, called Resolution 385 (1976). This Resolution is the one that talks about Self-Determination, Independence etc. Frankly, this Resolution was the one that laid down a framework that eventually caused the Resolution 435 of 1978.

What happened in between? There were negotiations between *Western 5* on one hand and Frontline States, plus Nigeria, on the other, in support of Namibia. They were actively involved in the negotiations both at the level of New York, and at the level of Dar es Salaam. The influential people were coming to Dar es Salaam so often including Andrew Young and Donald McKenzie, who were UN representatives and from the UK we had David Owen who was a Foreign Secretary. We worked with them very closely to the extent that some of their statements were prepared by Comrade Nujoma and Ben Gruel. The Tanzanian Mission was extremely active on that, on the Security Council area, in the Committee of 24, and in the UN Council for Namibia. At all these levels, we put pressure to support Namibia for its independence. That is as far as Namibia is concerned, and it was not easy. Comrade Nujoma was making our life difficult. You can negotiate something, then next day he changed the mind and said, "I am going to shoot all the Boers there, shoot them down!" Now when he said "Shoot them down" and then of course all that you have gained in the negotiations, is lost. But for Nujoma that was his style, and in reality he proved to be a tremendous statesman. No shooting took place but those statements were meant to intimidate the white people.

When I was elected Secretary General of OAU I got an opportunity to go there in 1989. It was fortunate, that it was on the eve of the independence of Namibia, and I led the OAU team that went to Namibia, prior the elections. It was quite an experience because at that time the South Africans were in control and we went to the areas where the Namibians were active since SWAPO. We flew in an aircraft, at treetop level! We asked the Pilot why he was flying at treetop level? He said they were afraid of SWAPO missiles, because at that time SWAPO themselves hadn't come inside. But we told him that we were supporters of SWAPO, otherwise we could have been shot down. Thus I was fortunate to be present when the South African flag was being lowered, and Namibia flag was hoisted in Windhoek on 21 March 1990. That is as far as Namibia is concerned.

We can talk about Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and so forth but let me go back to that episode in China although it does not relate with liberation as such, but it is part of my experience. One of the countries that were in the forefront in support of restoration of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was Tanzania. And that started even before I went there; it started with Ambassador Malecela, who was there before me and thereafter came the late Danieli and even before that, Tanzania was always consistent in its support. When I went to New York in 1970 we continued with that position. Of course I had the advantage of having been to China before, so we were doing it with more passion, when it came to supporting them. In 1971 the Chinese were admitted; and all the time there was a group of Sponsors of Chinese Resolution, and in that group included Tanzania, Zambia, and there were some other African countries. There was Albania, Pakistan, Syria, who were the usual supporters at that point, as far as China was concerned. But Tanzania were the leaders because every year during the General Assembly there came that resolution, and the sponsors of the resolution will talk in terms of



“Call for restoration of the People’s Republic of China and Expansion of Taiwan Regime.” But before we could vote for that resolution, Americans had their own resolution, “To consider that the issue of Mission of China was an important question within the meaning of the Charter of the United Nations.” Then an important question means what, it means you require 2/3 majority. Therefore, even before you come to the substantial resolution you have to vote for a procedural resolution, and we always lost on the procedural resolution. The Americans were always able to mobilize a lot of supporters, and whenever we reached an actual resolution we lost always, before we sponsored China.

In 1971 things changed a little because firstly, the Americans started to think of their entry into China. Again, if I can go back, when I served as an ambassador in China, very few Western countries were represented there; the Nordic countries were there, British were there; but Americans were not there even Canadians. Of course Eastern Europeans were there in full force. When I was there, the big thing was when the Canadians would be coming. There was this big rumour in the diplomatic media, but until the end of my service there still Canadians did not come. Therefore, gradually the western countries were beginning to normalize their relations with China, with the exception of the Americans who continued to maintain a very hostile position.

Then in 1971 something interesting happened. Just as the General Assembly was starting the discussion about China, Kissinger, United Nations Security Advisor visited Pakistan, and made a secret visit to China. So it was clear that the Americans were re-thinking their policy about China, but they wanted the world to continue with their hostility towards China, until when they settled down. Now the sponsors of Chinese resolution came with a strategy, and I still remember, because these things are interesting, a small thing can make a difference. The weekend before we moved for consideration of the resolution I had attended a function at the residence of an ambassador either from Guyana or Balozi waTrinidad & Tobago, the Caribbeans were very close friends of mine. They told me, Mr Salim, what matters now is to get in touch with those people who have been opposing the resolution. If you continued with a resolution but did not push for it you will lose. An ambassador for Trinidad & Tobago had already started to think, before he even started to support this resolution of ours, but was prepared to support it, because he knew the Americans themselves were beginning to change. I told him it was okay, and I took that as a hint.

Therefore on Monday morning I convened a meeting for Sponsors of Chinese Resolution; the sponsors were few although supporters were many. Debate had already started but that day we did not vote. I had to prepare a strategy, I had to tell them the way things are going, we should move to vote on that day. My position was supported by the Zambians and to some extent Pakistan, but the Europeans, Albania and Romania said, “No no no! It’s not right! We shouldn’t rush into this.” I told them, “No, we have made an assessment, and we should move.” We entered into a long discussion, and eventually we agreed that we should move. But it was the best kept secret in the UN, because no one knew what we were going to do; and because we were few in numbers, it was easy to maintain that. Therefore, we distributed responsibilities to each other on who should do what. Unfortunately, or fortunately for me, depending on how you look at it, they gave me a responsibility for the unexpected, at the General Assembly. Anything unexpected I was responsible to deal with it. So we went to the General Assembly, and the place was full. And we moved that the voting should take place the same day through a secret vote. There was one ambassador called Barudi of Saudi Arabia, an interesting fellow. He had a tremendous capacity for flabbergasting; the man was absolutely eloquent, and he was there from the founding of the United Nations, and he would

remind everybody that he was there at the creation. So he spoke for almost two hours trying to smother that resolution but we told him he could speak even for five hours, but we would still insist on voting. When it came a time of voting the place was absolutely packed, the whole Assembly, and the atmosphere was charged; it was very tense. People were divided, some supported America and others supported China. During the voting we had to follow procedures; you explain your vote before or after the vote. And once the process of voting begins we all voted. Now, the Americans did one blunder, this George Bush Senior was American Ambassador and during voting, before the Chairman had started a roll call vote, he called one country after another and the American ambassador requested for a floor, he said, “Mr. President, I call for an amendment” on our statement that said “Decide to restore fully the lawful rights of the People of the United Republic of China and to expel forthwith the Shein kha Shek regime” something like that. The American ambassador proposed to delete this part, “to expel forthwith the Shein kha Shek regime”. Of course I was responsible because that was what is called ‘unexpected’. As a Representative of Tanzania I said, “Mr. President, the Rule 136, the Rules of the Procedure are clear. When the Assembly is in the process of voting, no one, (I remained quite for thirty seconds) not even the Representative of the United States, (people clapped the hands) can interrupt the process of voting and therefore, Mr. President, I request you to rule the Representative of the United States utterly and completely out of order.” The General Assembly became quite; the President was Adam Malek who later became the Vice President of Indonesia, and at that point in time Indonesia’s position was not different from the Americans. They fully supported the Americans, but he was the President of the General Assembly and the rules were clear. He trembled and hesitated and later said, “Yes, the Representative of Tanzania is right, the Representative of the United States is out of Order:” Clearly that was a psychological killer against United States’ position!

Once we read that, then we could move for the Resolution of Simple Majority. Minutes of the charter were just a simple question that requires a simple majority, and we got a simple majority. Once we got the simple majority, when there was the substantive resolution, then adoption. So we won with a majority. From there they say that we danced and I am known for that, but in reality I did not. My team there included Sykes and Mselle. Mselle was more active; he was clapping hands from the back. But then the price I had to pay was very dear. After that event I started receiving hate mail, fortunately I have preserved them and one when I will write my autobiography I will include them. One of those was very classical, it was written:

*‘Dear African bastard, I vow death unto your communist loving kind, you barbarian. Why don’t you go back to the jungle where you belong and live in the trees...?’* But I was very naughty. Bush Senior was not talking to me because he was furious. So after receiving that letter I made copies and replied.

*Dear Ambassador,*

*I am attaching here a letter which came from one of your citizens. I thought in this case of China many African countries had voted for the United States and now I can see there is a generalization, and Africans are being called Baboons, and the like. We want to see the extent of civilization in your country.*

Bush Senior is a very decent man, he replied in his own handwriting:

*Mr. Ambassador,*

*I am very sorry you have received this letter. This person does not represent America, is*

*a person whom I don't want to know. I don't want to meet him and I can assure you he does not represent us. That's how we patched up with Bush eventually.*

I had another problem. Later that year I was the Chairman of African Group, and we had that debate sometime in November. After chairing that meeting I went outside and met journalists outside the room, which was not normal because the media were not supposed to be outside the room, there is a special room for the media at the UN. When I asked they said, Mr. Ambassador, the Press Secretary of the President Nickson, has said, 'He will wipe out the glee from the faces of all those who celebrated American humiliation'... and so on and so forth. What do you have to say?

I said, "Look, I don't have to comment on what the President of the United States said, it is not my job here at the United Nations." That was the answer. But later the youth in me dictated me to say something more, I said, "Listen, I can tell you, this is the age of modern technology, I challenge anybody to show me where I danced. But even if I did not dance or if I danced I do not have to make an apology to anybody. We were happy, and so on and so forth." The journalists decided to focus on 'I don't have to make an apology to anybody'. That was it, it was a tense period for everybody. The Americans believed that Mwalimu would revoke my appointment and call me back; they asked, "What about Mwalimu?" I told them, "Do you want to know? I have got a congratulation message from Mwalimu. He is very happy about what happened." Of course they couldn't push Mwalimu, and so that is what it was. What was interesting when the Chinese came in now to take their seats, at the end of that month, the Chairman of the African Group was the Ambassador of Congo Brazzaville, gentleman with the name of Nicholas Monya. He said, 'Yes we are happy to see our Chinese comrades here, yes we dance! The only regret we have we did not bring our drums with us!'

That is an episode about China. We played a critical role to help Chinese join the UN, and they never forget that. I tell you, in a sense, every time I go to China it is almost like a celebrity. They are so much happy but unfortunately, if we tell the Chinese we didn't dance, they become extremely disappointed. I had this experience about four years ago when the UN Secretary General appointed me to join the Commission called High Level of Threat Challenges and Changes to Plan the Future UN. I worked with other influential people from America, UK, France etc and we held our meeting in China. One day I was interviewed by a lady journalist of one of the televisions for one hour. We had a very long interview; she asked me, "Tell me what happened in the UN?" I told her the whole story. You know, she was crying? She said, "I thought you danced, I was very happy you danced!"

I told her, "Okay if you think I danced, then I danced." The Chinese were very happy for a long time. Of course the China thing cost me in one way because when I contested for the position of Secretary General the Americans consistently vetoed me out without saying why. The Chinese on the other hand told me that they were going to vote for me as long as I was in the race. That was one fact that made me to be in the race. Another factor was the Summit of the Lost South in Cancun in 1981 that involved Presidents from the big nations in the world; namely, American President Rais Reagan who was accompanied by his Vice President George Bush Senior, The UK Prime Minister Margareth Thatcher, President Miterand of France. African countries were also represented and Tanzania was one them; Nigeria was there, Saudi Arabia and Algeria were there also; there were about 20 countries or so. From Latin America we had countries of Mexico, Brazil and so on. Reagan was very popular but sometimes he did not many issues; he didn't have an idea where Namibia was; and he always made simple statements. During the discussion Mwalimu reduced Reagan almost to nothing; he said, Mr. President, to you everything is privatization, I agree with you about the importance of private sector, but there are

things they cannot do. And then there was an issue of subsidy, Mwalimu asked him if they had no subsidy? “Do you know how much the United States subsidises the American farmer? And in talking to us you are saying we should not subsidize our people!” Reagan changed and became furious; Mwalimu told me, “Salim, forget about the question of United Nations Secretary General now.”

I have not said anything about the period when I was a Minister for Foreign Relations and when I was a Prime Minister, Minister for Defence and so on that may be interesting. We shall talk about them the other time.

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## Sarakikya, Mrisho

[Arusha; 10 April 2007]

*General Mrisho Sarakikya was the first Chief of Defence Forces of Tanzania, after Tanganyika got its independence in 1961. Although during those days the armies were under the control of the UK Queen, but still they participated in the liberation struggles in the Southern Africa without the knowledge of the military leaders. After the formation of the Tanzania People's Defence Forces in 1964, the army fully supported the liberation struggles in collaboration with the Liberation Committee in providing military training to the freedom fighters from Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, and South Africa in various camps that were established in different places in the country. Also the army was in the frontline to provide food, medicine and clothes to the freedom fighters. The military training was not given to the freedom fighters but also to the citizens living across the borders so that they could protect and defend themselves during the dangers. And these trainings were mainly given to the Tanzanians living in the southern border with Mozambique where they were trained to protect themselves against the attacks from Portuguese and their agents. His story shows how Tanzania was in the frontline to support liberation movements in the southern Africa; including the role of the army and the citizens.*

I remember that we got independence in 1961 when politicians already had the idea that they were supposed to help our colleagues in Southern Africa to get independence, especially the countries of Mozambique, South Africa and then Rhodesia. Those were just ideas but the implementation was difficult because by the time we got independence we had no army instead we depended on Kings African Rifles that was renamed Tanganyika Rifles in 1961. But still Tanganyika Rifles was under the control of the Queen until 1964 when we established ours.

Although we got independence, the goal and intentions of our leaders led by Mwalimu Nyerere was to help our fellows Africans, the ability to give them support directly was difficult because of the situation at that time. We had our own army that was under British rule; and so we had to secretly welcome these freedom fighters to come to Tanganyika. This was a secret that was kept by making sure that the British army did not get full information. Until 1964 the efforts to support the struggle for independence began. At that time, as you remember, there was a revolt in 1964, and all the British were removed out of the army, we took the responsibility ourselves, under my leadership as the Chief of Defence Forces.

In 1964 we welcomed FRELIMO fighters from Mozambique and MPLA from Angola who had their first camp in Kongwa; and after that we formed more specialized camps for different groups. FRELIMO moved to Nachingwea, the famous Farm Seventeen. The leadership to support these fighters started with OAU and one of the agreements was that the Executive Secretary of OAU Liberation Committee must be a Tanzanian. I think Mwalimu pushed for that purposely because if they wanted us to host the Liberation Committee then the Executive Secretary must be a Tanzanian for security purposes. By that time the security of the nation was crucial. And the first Executive Secretary was Sebastian Chale followed by George Magombe and later Hashim Mbita.

Even when we started the camps we had to put more focus on security of the country because we were receiving arms from the so called iron curtain countries; namely Russia and China. These two countries were in the frontline to provide arms to the liberation movements. The

western countries refused to support us because they knew we were going to kill their close relatives who came through colonialism. Indira Gandhi of India has no objection in helping us because she was close to Mwalimu. So, for security purposes, all the weapons that came were kept by TPDF armoury. And any person who wanted arms had to communicate with TPDF. In order to implement that we created a special unit that had a TPDF officer to assist the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee.

At the time we reformed the army in 1964 we had to train the FRELIMO fighters in the southern part of Tanzania and when the Portuguese knew that we were supporting FRELIMO they started sabotaging us. TPDF had the duty to protect our borders and at the same time training our soldiers, building and managing the camps. It was not a simple job. We had trainers from China and others came from Russia depending on the type of weapons that were used; for instance if the weapons came from Russia then we had trainers from there. We also had military trainers who were going with the freedom fighters to the field to train them how to use those weapons. But we were more close to the Chinese because they supported us in terms of military training and weapons. The Indians did not bring their people because they felt that there were special people who were capable of training our soldiers.

I remember Mondlane was killed in 1969, and actually I was the last person to meet Mondlane before his death. On that day he left FRELIMO office with a book that he threw at the back of the car and came to my office at Magogoni. We talked for two hours on the problems that existed by that time. We discussed how we could send weapons, food, blankets and other needs to the fighters. From my office he went straight to his residence at Msasani Beach. After arriving in his home and sat on a couch before the bomb exploded and killed him. About twenty minutes later I received a phone call informing me about his death.

I ordered my soldiers to find more about the explosion. The experts on explosives from the army went there and found he was blown off; the blood was everywhere and his body was torn apart and he was dead. What happened is that after arriving at home he decided to open that book which he threw at the back of the car. Unfortunately it was not a book but a bomb. So they soldiers took him to the mortuary.

So in order to avert more problems with the leaders of liberation movements we talked to all post offices to do an x-ray screening all the parcels that were sent to the freedom fighters. We worked with the security organs to find out if it was safe there. Three days after we started screening we got other five books that were sent to the leaders of the liberation struggles. So that gave us a hint about the death of Mondlane.

What those colonialists did was to take a book and they cut it to make a hollow that was filled with explosives with a battery connected to explosives and they closed the book. As long as the book is closed it was safe, but by opening it the battery was linked to the detonator. Through x-ray screening we discovered how they were connected. And our experts realised that those books were safe so long as you don't detonate. They removed the detonator and it was safe. So that is how Mondlane was killed. After thorough investigation it was found that the bombed parcels were coming from Seychelles. Police officers did that investigation but until the end we did not know who was responsible. Later it was concluded that Intelligence and Security Services should be given that responsibility of investigating more. Since they wanted to use that method to assassinate the freedom fighters; they changed the tactic after we apprehended that.

The Portuguese were using various methods to sabotage our borders and that is why we had to defend the whole southern border along Ruvuma River. The Portuguese were crossing the river and planted land mines on our side along the roads, in the farms etc. and many of our

people were killed. In the beginning we were announcing the deaths of our people; but we later learnt that by announcing the statistics of the deaths of our people they were motivated to do more harm and they spread the propaganda that they were doing more harm to us. We changed the modalities and we had to provide militia training to the villagers so that they could protect themselves. In every village we trained them how to do self defence against the war planes that threw the bombs. They learnt how to dig the tunnels and hid themselves in. We trained them how to use weapons and that is why in one of the villages they used the gun to shoot down the Portuguese war plane. That plane was written made in Canada, or something like that. That was an evidence that our system of defence was working very well.

I remember on day I went to Mtwara to do an inspection of our operations and I slept in Mtwara so that the next day I could travel to the border villages. The next day I changed the mind; instead of using the planned route I decided to tell the escort that we are going to use another route. After a number of hours since we started the journey we heard that in one of the villages people were killed by the bombs that exploded. We had to turn back to that village and on our arrival there we calculated the time and distance we realised that they in fact targeted us; it was exact time of explosion if we passed there. Many villagers had died. Those were anti-personnel mines that exploded whenever a person stepped in them. The bodies were blown off and completely destroyed. No bodies were recovered. The soldiers had to close that road and those bombs were meant to kill us and not the citizens. We had to intensify the trainings by instructing them that they should not run quickly towards the explosions. We also told them not to prefer using the roads and paths instead they had to pass through the forests. There were a lot of incidents.

The explosives were intelligently put to the extent that even our mine detectors could not easily mitigate the explosions because they easily exploded. That is why we had the defence villages that were very well organised and the people were very well trained. That helped to spread the militia training and spirit was spread all over the country.

Our soldiers went to Mozambique to support FRELIMO; and they were sending back report about the war. The late Samora Machel and I during the Christmas in 1970 together with Chissano crossed Ruvuma River and we never used the roads or paths for all seven days; we passed through the forests. We went inward for about 30 or 40 kilometres and we never crossed the bridges. During the crossing the river we were naked; we only held our weapons and after crossing the river we put on the uniforms and moved inwards.

We found six camps in terrible situation and we found many soldiers wounded and there was neither medicine nor enough food. So we stayed there and talked to them. In one of the camp we escaped attacks because half an hour later they attacked the camp. Had we been late for half an hour our lives could have ended there. Thanks God we came back to Dar es Salaam safely. After coming from the border I went to Nachingwea. I had to look for blankets and food and other needs by using TPDF budget. We spent two million for those needs and I came to Dar es Salaam to meet Mwalimu to brief him. I proposed to him to improve the morale of the soldiers by improving the services. It was a must that there should be a huge operation of sending things to Mozambique.

Mwalimu convened a meeting between the Minister for Finance, Minister for Industry, Minister for Planning and Minister for Transport so that we could find ways to support FRELIMO. So through that meeting we were able to mobilise funds for the basic needs for the FRELIMO soldiers. We eventually got convoys that were used to send food items, medicine, and blankets to Mtwara and later to the border so that the soldiers could get a morale to fight. Their morale was absolutely low, and Portuguese spread dirty propaganda. They were sending papers with

mocking messages that FRELIMO will neither give them food nor medicines. So they got the messages and in turn they lost morale. Because of the support they regained the morale and started moving ahead.

The major difference between Mondlane and Machel was that Machel was a fighter, while Mondlane was an intellectual and mobiliser. Before his death, Mondlane had went to the war zone only once; while Sanora had been in the war zone many times in a year. Mondlane was busy with communicating with international community for aid. That is how they were different. Since 1970 Machel was crossing with the youth to fight and was always going there to check their conditions; he was a real fighter. It was like Savimbi and freedom fighters in Angola. Savimbi was a fighter while others were out of the war zone.

When Machel assumed leadership the war momentum increased. And that is supposed to be for a leader; you command and people move forward. Of course he was doing a good job. I remember some of terms of liberation that there are two sides of everything. So, the death of Mondlane happened at the right time because during his time the leadership was not stable and the coming of Machel improved things.

During that time of liberation, there was RENAMO. Our soldiers who went to support FRELIMO but many died and I think there are records at the Headquarters about our soldiers. When join military you sign for the death and it is lucky to survive up to retirement age.

On a day when OAU was formed 1963, the Liberation Committee for Africa was also formed and a special budget was allocated for the liberation fund. The contribution was given in quota; the rich countries had to contribute more than the poor countries. Until the end of the life of the Committee some members have never contributed although it was the duty of all members.

Every year the heads of state were meeting and they received the reports on what was going on. During those meetings the leaders of liberation parties were given an opportunity to speak about their activities; leaders of SWAPO, FRELIMO and others were invited to present their progresses. So it was the relationship with all countries but Tanzania bore a huge burden because from the beginning Mwalimu allowed us to buy things and send to Mozambique.

The liberation parties had their camps that started in 1964 in Kongwa and they were later dispersed to other places; for instance SWAPO remained at Kongwa; FRELIMO went to Morogoro; ZANU and ZAPU were sent to Chunya – Mbeya. I remember PAC and ANC had to improve those camps that were there before.

Zambia hugely supported the liberation struggles. It received fighters from Mozambique and Rhodesia and others from Angola and Namibia. Some of them who were trained in Tanzania were escorted up to Tunduma while carrying their military equipment under the escort of our military convoy. Upon arriving in Tunduma the weapons were transferred to Zambian military vehicles and they escorted them up to the entry point. That was done because you cannot give someone weapons in a place which is not an entry point. For instance, if you give them arms here in Dar es Salaam, anything may happen so we had to make sure we transported them up to the final entry point. For FRELIMO, the final entry point was at the border where we presented the weapons to them. That arrangement was meant for our security. That arrangement was also done in Zambia. However, the situation in Zambia was still a challenge because their army had some white people who sometimes turned against the freedom fighters. But we managed to transfer the weapons to the military before they were in turn presented to the freedom fighters. The British people in Rhodesia were there and they closely monitored those movements to notice unusual movements. They were to send message to the other side. But fortunately on our side we had no intelligence followup in handing over of the weapons.

One of our military planes crashed at Salender Bridge. It was with our military officers who were checking out that day. The Government aircraft section requested me to provide pilots who could fly the government leaders. So, I released four pilots and on that day two of them



were completing their pilot training and so it was a final check out. On their way the plane crashed at Salender Bridge and two pilot trainees with their instructor from Canada were killed on the spot. These were the best pilots in the army.

On a similar bridge there were Portuguese agents who came with an intention to bomb the Salender Bridge. Lucky enough only one bomb exploded and other two did not explode and we had to remove them. The day when that bomb exploded I remember I was at Lugalo then in the midnight I heard the explosion. Normally the explosion is heard almost up to one kilometre. We had our system of sharing information between the army and the police; so within fifteen minutes we received the news that it was an explosion. Our special unit went immediately to the scene and discovered that there were other bombs and they removed those remaining bombs. Other small bombs were found in different parts of the city. Some bombs were put in cars and there were several incidents but they were all aborted. And those who behind the attempts were Portuguese agents.

Fortunately South Africa did sabotage Tanzania. I think they were afraid of the pressure of international community because if they decided to sabotage they were able for they had military powers; they owned big military planes. Actually the South Africans had built a big air base in Lilongwe, Malawi to control the neighbouring countries, especially Zambia. Unfortunately they did use their mighty powers. They had many weapons to destroy us and I think they could have come into Southern Tanzania but am not sure for Dar es Salaam because I don't know if they had that range from South Africa. And by that time the size of their army was still small that is why they decided to build a military base in Malawi.

Later countries started getting independence and so it was hard to imagine how they could know the extent of the work we have done to them. In fact we were not sure of the sabotage we faced because of helping the freedom fighters. Those developed countries knew that our countries were poor. But we still don't know what were their strategies to deal with the freedom fighters. May be they are in the archives of those countries. Rhodesia were a bit fearful to deal with us because they they knew if they bombed Dar es Salaam they could bomb the interests of Americans and British or whoever. And the South Africans feared us because we had a mixture of many nationalities. If they sent the bomb it could fall over the British High Commission or the road and five British people killed. I think that situation discouraged them.

On our side people had a political awareness and they considered Portuguese as evil people. They were mobilised to fight against him. And so when they found the land mines, the planes coming and throwing bombs and all other evils, they easily justified that Portuguese were bad people. I remember I had once went with Mr Kawawa to sensitize people. Everywhere we went we left two or three instructors to sensitize them. Those instructors had already received trainings on minor tactics and confidence and the soldiers who were there trained people how to protect and defend themselves. Those things made people have high morale.

If you asked me about Tanzania's contribution in the liberation struggles and our position on the issue of Rhodesia I still believe that Mwalimu was not hesitant to take actions. Tanzania was very firm on the issue of South Africa. We sacrificed many things for them instead of consolidating our independence. Mwalimu was always insisting that our independence could be meaningful if our fellow Africans are also free from colonialism. We couldn't think of development if our neighbours were still under the chains of colonialism. You can't enjoy freedom if your neighbour's house is on fire.

I have not visited those countries to see if they value the contribution of Tanzania for their independence. I visited South Africa a few times, I visited Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Ghana; I still believe that we shall continue being in good relationship with whom we were together

during the liberation struggles. Even if they don't show appreciation but they know that Tanzania contributed to their independences. Because generations change it is obvious that even the history is no longer kept to the new generations. Some of them have become the richest business persons but they forget that they came to our countries with nothing. The leaders of the liberation movements had nothing; we shared with them whatever we had. They have forgotten where they came from. It is good to understand that when we were busy with liberation struggles we were not only helping them but we were also helping ourselves. We did not help them for the sake of appreciation because if you send your child to school as parent you don't do that so that he/she comes back and say thank you. You just become happy to see your children have development.

## Sayore, Lt. General

[Dar es Salaam; 10 May 2007]

*General Sayore joined Tanzania People's Defence Forces in 1964. He joined East Africa Military Training School, in Nakuru, 1965 and Sandhurst 1965-1967 for military training. From 1967 to 1978, in different occasions he worked with liberation armies and freedom fighters in the southern Africa. From 1967 to 1970 he was a military instructor of freedom fighters at Farm 17, in Nachingwea; from 1972-1975 he trained Zambian army. In 1976 he was an important link person in Maninka, Mozambique, where he was training the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe who were crossing to fight against the armies of Ian Smith in Zimbabwe. He led the military attacks at Mutare that shocked the troops of Smith. He went back to Farm 17, in Nachingwea to continue training the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe (ZIPA) from 1977 and 1978.*

Thank you Professor. One day I rubbed shoulders with Mr Mbita at Mgulani during the sports event and many days had passed since we met; he took my phone number and his secretary called the day before yesterday. But General Mwamunyange emailed me to share the similar information that Mr Mbita told me. I said no problem.

Let me start explaining my history in the military very briefly. I joined the army on 7<sup>th</sup> December 1964. I forced to join the Tanzania People's Defence Forces after I completed the Cambridge Ordinary School Certificate on 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1964, and I remember it was Saturday when we finished History exam; we did clearance to leave the school and submitted the forms in the headmaster's office to prove that you owed nothing the school. The headmaster found that there was nothing with me to return to school; he lost temper and told me, "Get out of my office. My name is Mr. Hobbs, get out of my office. Go and read you letter outside." And I told him, "Sir, this is now my letter and I can read it any where I want." I took that letter and read it and found that I was supposed to go back to the same Moshi school. I wrapped the letter and put quickly in the envelope and threw it to his table and said, "I don't want". I run away from his office and went to staff room, I went to see the Second Master the late Peter Palangyo. I lied to him that I was not selected. He then picked the phone and called Brigadier Brigadier Sarakikya who was a Chief of Defence Forces. He once came to that school for recruitment tour and I was interested with his activities.

My dream was to become a soldier since I was in standard four. The day Sarakikya came to Old Moshi to address the whole school, later Peter Palangyo called me to his home and I had dinner with Brigadier Sarakikya and it was that moment he interviewed me to find my interests. I went back to school and on that last day my teacher phoned Sarakikya that I was not selected. Then Sarakikya told him to give me fare up to see him. He asked me if I was going home to Arusha. He ordered me to see him two days later.

I was able to pay for my fare to Arusha but when I was supposed to come back to see Mr Palangyo so that he gives me fare to travel to Dar es Salaam. The fare was three shillings and I didn't have that. I had to request contribution from my neighbours so that I could get three shillings up to Moshi. I went to see him and he gave me 30 shillings for fare from Moshi to Dar es Salaam and five shillings as pocket money. At home my mother prepared tost that I wrapped in paper and put in a plastic bag.

I travelled using OTC buses that passed through Pare then Korogwe, Handeni, Morogoro, and finally Dar es Salaam. I didn't eat anything on my way for almost 24 hours.

I reported to Sarakikya, who called one staff officer and directed him to the headquarters of

the army. By that time they were near Water Front. During those days I had to Water Front through Kurasini and the Headquarters later moved to the Prime Minister's Office. We had a Lieutenant who was directed to register me and send me to Mgulani National Service. I was received there and given a room and a tent under the mango tree near Salvation Army. I spent my first three weeks in the tent under that mango tree but I was not happy with queueing for food. I refused to queue for food so I resorted into eating bread as my way of protesting the queues for food. But I had no option other than queueing after the breads were finished. I stayed there the whole December and in January we were taken to TPDF camp at Mgulani. On 23 January 1965 we were selected at Karimjee. I remember the late Adam Sapi was Speaker and chairman of the selection. I remember Mzee Kawawa was a member of the panel of selection and he was a minister. We were more than 100 youth and three were selected to go to Sandhurst and 26 to Mons. I remember Kimbau was among the 26 youth who went to Mons. Colonel Mwakunenge, the late Brig. Palangyo and I were selected to go to Sandhurst and others went to Canada. For those selected to go to Sandhurst were supposed to be there in September 1965, and so the military saw that it was not okay to stay idle waiting until September; so we were sent to Nakuru to join the Military Training School MTS East Africa that was for Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. We were the last Tanzanians to study in that military academy when it was owned by these three countries. We stayed there for six months before we were called back in August 1965 so that in September we had to travel. We came back without any commission because we left two weeks before the day of commission.

I remember we left on 12<sup>th</sup> September 1965, it was Tuesday. We didn't get chance of meeting our relatives before travelling. We were welcomed at Sandhurst and stayed there for two years until 27<sup>th</sup> July 1967 when we ended the training with pass out parade. I remember Field Marshal Mount Gomery represented the Queen during the pass out parade. His sword had a tire at the end so that it dragged because he was so old. After finishing the course we came back on 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1967, it was Wednesday. We came back with East African Airways via Nairobi. The late Laizer was sent to pick us and on our way to Lugalo he was telling in Kimasai that our transfer is ready and I was transferred to KJ 4 in Dar es Salaam and Palangyo to KJ 5 in Nachingwea, Makunyenge went to KJ 3 in Tabora. But he told me that he made some internal arrangement so that we work in one company with him. I didn't like that idea because we have come from one place and then working under him while we studied in one school although he was ahead of me. Anyway, I agreed. On Thursday we were sent to the Headquarters and at that time they headquarters had already moved near State House. We went there to meet Acting IC whose name was Mr Kashmir. We took our transfers and disappeared. On Friday I reported to my commander Mr Kisiga, who assigned me to company C that was under Laizer as IC.

On one Saturday we went to the border at Tunduru to stop Portuguese from entering into our country to harass our people during the liberation struggles. We spent several days on the way to Nachingwea. The first day we slept at Kilwa Kivinje, the next day we stopped in Lindi, and the third day we arrived in Nachingwea. The head of the company was Mr Msuguri who send us to the range ground where we slept without tents. That was the reason Captain Laizer fell sick; he suffered from severe Malaria and he had to be brought back to Dar es Salaam; thus I had to remain as IC. I became a commander within a week. The soldiers were getting drunk after they dodged the camp.

Msuguri decided to leave and he appointed Mr Mwakipesile and he transferred me to the main service in Tunduru where I had to find a place to establish my company and places to put the board detachment for protecting the border. I chose the centre of my company to be 12 kilometres from the town. It was in a village of the later Twalipo where I established my company headquarters. I settled three platoons in at Mukubulue, Chamba and another village

that was rocky. I prepared my document order and ordered a rest to my platoons.

After almost two weeks Laiser came back and submitted a company under his command as an IC and I became his 2IC. He introduced me to FRELIMO because we were helping them by that time. In November 1967 the message from Dar es Salaam came ordering me to return to Dar es Salaam because I was promoted to become a head of a company and I had to be in charge of Company A of Kaseba. Kaseba was in the same intake with Laiser, Mshinani and Mtembe; he was a person from Kibondo. He committed a certain mistake and he was court marshaled, and so his company had no leadership and since I was among the 2IC of the company I had to be raised to another rank to head a company. By that time I already used to life in the wilderness and coming back to Dar es Salaam was not a good news to me; so I refused to. But Laiser understood military issues more than me and so he ordered my things be packed and were put in a landrover and ordered me to get in the land rover, at gun point, I had to enter. That is under army escort from Tunduru to Mtwara to join Mnyanyilo Luhanga company that had finished its detach duties and went back to Tabora. The next morning I boarded a ship under escort again! on my arrival at Lugalo I realised that they had already communicated to them that I refused to obey military orders so the MPs took me to remand cell. The company officer was Mr Msiga. Mr Msiga loved me and he asked, "I have heard that you refused to come" I replied, "that is what they thought but it was nit true because I have already come, I am here". He said, "okay, good boy, then come here". He then ordered the MPs to leave the place. That day I wanted to sleep but I couldn't instead we went to dance at the night club in Mnazi Mmoja. The next day Msiga showed me a company to lead.

There was a rotation of troops; that of Dar es Salaam went to Tabora; that of Tabora moved to Nachingwea and that of Nachingwea came here in Dar es Salaam. I left with my company to Tabora. Just after few days since I settled my company I Tabora I received a message that I had to go back to Dar es Salaam. I came back and I received news that I had to go to UK for a course. I told them, "there are two options, I either go back to Tabora or I leave the army but not going to UK. I have never gone to see my mother since I joined the army; you don't give me even an hour to see my mother and now you tell me to go to UK, I don't go". I utterly refused their order. Kashmir was an officer who received me; so he ordered Mwhiya to send a message to UK that I was involved in an accident and I was a casualty and so I could not immediately join them for a course. I was ordered to go back to Tabora the following day.

I went back to Tabora by bus through Singida and Nzega. While in Tabora I received another message that I was transferred to batalion. The batalion that was in Tabora was moving to Nachingwea and that of Nachingwea moved to Dar es Salaam, and that of Dar es Salaam moved to Tabora. So they discussed that as a punishment for me refusing to attend a course on artillery, I was supposed to go back to Nachingwea where there was a war with Portuguese. I joined KJ 5 that moved to Nachingwea and I was in company B. I was introduced to them as a new company leader. We travelled by train up to Mgulani from there we were transported by military planes.

I stayed there from 1968 to 1969 as a Camp Commander. I stayed at Nachingwea camp for three months and after that I left with my company for detachment in Mtwara or Newala or elsewhere. We were rotating after every three months. So basically from 1967, 1968 up to 1969 I was involved in the movements to support FRELIMO in the fights against Portuguese. It was my first time to see refugees. I received the refugees, interviewed them, sorted them out and those I suspected as agents of Portuguese I separated them for more interrogations. Some of the came virtually almost naked. Although the Liberation Committee was giving us support on clothes, food, medicine and others but the transport was provided by he army.

In 1969 I was appointed Operations and Training Officer (OTO) at 5KJ. I took Mgagao after succeeding the retired General Kiwelu who was appointed to establish OCS. Thus, I was elevated although I was still a lieutenant and I had to command the whole section and in-charge of war operations. Before that appointment I was sent to Mtwara for three months to my company and so I had to send a platoon to Kitaya, Marambo and Mahurunga. Headquarters of the company was the same of Mtwara at Njamani hospital. The refugees were the order of the day because they were in serious condition. They crossed to Tanzania day and night. We received them, sent to the camp and interrogated them.

So in 1970 I left Nachingwea to join military officers training school at Kurasini. I was lucky to find that the first intake platoon was still there. I joined them for third term. Actually, I did not stay longer before we did our last military practice in the south; so I felt at home. I sent them to Tunduru to show them the places we occupied since 1967 against the Portuguese; we went to Mwera, Masasi, Newala and Mtwara, and later back to Lindi airport. In fact we were taken by planes from Newala to Lindi airport for the last round of exercise. From Lindi we entered into the military boats and rowed up to Mnazi Bay while attacked by military planes. After finishing that we turned back to Nachingwea. After finishing the military plane took us and that was the conclusion of the training for that intake. Before the commission of the second intake I was appointed to go to Zambia to introduce a commission officers course because they lacked experience. It was decided that there should be an exchange programme between us and Zambia. So I went there and from Zambia it was General Sindei who came to Tanzania. I found a difficult situation there and so I had to request more documents from Tanzania that helped me to prepare the whole training structure. Fortunately I succeeded and they started receiving commission and I was honoured to lead the first pass out parade as a foreigner. I stayed there from 9<sup>th</sup> December 1972, up to February 1975 when another officer came to replace me. I was sent back to the headquarters to become a director of military training the post that I served until May 1976. In December 1975 I got married to a Zambian woman. I had to ask for the permission to go back to Zambia for marriage arrangements. I came back to Dar after marriage and only four months later I was called by the late General Twalipo, who was a Chief of Defence Forces by then. He gave me a message that he appointed me to go to Mozambique because the officer who was there heading our company to support freedom fighters of Zimbabwe was a bit coward. I replied straight that I was not going because a few months before my name was sent to KMU for a course to staff college in Canada but they refused, and I received that news. Now he is telling me to go to the war frontline, I told him that I won't go and left his office.

Twalipo left his office went to see the Minister for Defence, the late Sokoine whose office was within the Headquarters of TPDF. Sokoine called me to summon me to his office. I told him that I could not go to his office because he had no rights to call me to his office without the permission of CDF because he was a Minister and I was a soldier. Immediately my boss the late Wolden, COC, came to my office. He ordered me to leave the office and go straight to CDF." I found Twalipo furious and after seeing us we turned straight to the Minister. He ordered me to sit down but I told him that I was too junior to sit in the Minister's office while my boss is there. Twalipo pulled the chair and sat down. Sokoine looked at me and asked, "I hear you are a coward!" I asked him. "how am I coward?". He said, "I am told you have refused to go to Mozambique to assist in the liberation struggles?" I explained to him that I refused because of reasonable justifications. He asked me, "you are a major and you know military regulations! How comes you tell your boss that you don't go? Is that not cowardness? I think we agree here that you must go if you are not coward and if you are coward let us know so that we find a replacement". I had to surrender and went to Mozambique.

I went back to see Twalipo who gave me a briefing. By evening when I boarded Mozambican

planes called LAM to Beira, Mr Mbita gave me a huge cargo of arms for freedom fighters. On my arrival in Beira it was already night and there was no military officer from the Mozambican army to receive me. I had to call Mwakalindile in Maputo who made communications with officers at Beira Brigade and thereafter some officers came to pick me. The issue was with customs who refused to release the luggage saying that that was for the next day but insisted that it must be released that day. I refused to leave without the luggage and I stayed there the whole night guarding it. The FRELIMO officer who came there could do nothing, because I refused vehemently to submit a parcel to another person other than one I was directed to give. They had to call that person and submitted the luggage to him.

I stayed in Maninka at the border with Zimbabwe from May to 8<sup>th</sup> October 1976 when I came back. The Nyanzonya killings by Ian Smith's army found me there. They happened during the night when I was in my office at Maninka, few kilometres from Machipanda border cross; they went to the police station and found the police on duty was asleep on his table; and the station was on the way to Chimoiyo, meaning to the Regional Commissioner; they went straight and crossed that big bridge went up to the Nyanzonya refugee camp. They arrived there in the morning and whistled; the refugees thought there were camp administrators who called them for meal ration. The bullets fell on them and thousands of them were killed.

Around 10.30 I received the news. I went there but we found the bridge was broken and there was no boat to cross the river. I called our embassy in Mozambique who requested a boat from Mozambican army that ferried us to the other side of the river to help the casualties from Nyanzonya camp. There were many people who were killed. The whole river had full of the dead bodies and for those who were there it took us three days to bury them using the four bulldozers to bury them in the mass graves. We planned to retaliate after that incident.

We went back to Maninka to plan for the attack of their border post called Machipanga, that was guarded by the soldiers of Ian Smith. I sent my soldiers during the night who passed through the railway line without being recognised and the same night we left with our artillery from Maninka to the top of the hills that were the borders between Rhodesia and Mozambique. We pulled them using the ropes up to the point where we could see Rhodesia downwards. One hour later we bombed Mutare and the air force camp that was near. And at the same time the soldiers who were at the border post attacked the soldiers of Ian Smith. We killed more than fifty soldiers and we were sure of that number because we saw them coming to pick the dead bodies. Around 8.00 pm BBC announced that Tanzanian army used guided missile to bombard Mutare. Until today we don't have guided missile.

I came back to Tanzania and I was posted to Bukoba in October 1976 to head the section and I was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel. In March 1977 I received a message that I was transferred to Farm 17. On my arrival there I found that the Zimbabwe freedom fighters had rioted against Sama who was their boss there. He had to be removed and I was asked to take his position. I found a terrible situation; there was a serious confrontation. What I did was to first calm the situation and I talked to him and I agreed with them in no uncertain terms, and I had to report to the headquarters for a help to calm them down. They obeyed the orders and we started organization.

I came to learn that it was basically the problem of poor administration. So we started training them, and indeed it was a tough job among all the works I have done in the army. General Mbita was in the Liberation Committee that had a responsibility to give the freedom fighters all the basic needs (food, clothes, medicines); and the responsibility of the Tanzanian army was to

train them. I was a bit happy because instead of sending my officer to make a follow-up on issues I came myself to the Headquarters and to Mbita's office. Mbita was so clever; the funds that were supposed to be spent for military training at Farm 17 came from TPDF Headquarters.

There was a time I had a minimum of six thousand trainees at a go. So I had to establish six training Regiments; and each Regiment with 1000 trainees. The challenge with that huge number of trainees was feeding them. There was a shortage of food in Nachingwea, so transported food from Dar es salaam. Apart from those six thousand trainees we had 317 instructors and administratives staff. We ate meat once per month and it was only for instructors. I didn't find that okay so I made arrangement of getting cattle from Shinyanga and Nzega that were transported through a train up to Dar es Salaam and thereafter through a ship to Lindi and from Lindi they were driven to Farm 17 Nachingwea, a distance of 100 miles on foot. On the way they slaughtered one cattle and made it their meal. So that was how we addressed the problem of shortage of meat.

I also came to learn that the freedom fighters were smoking marijuana. I knew that we shall not succeed if that tendency would be left unaddressed. I decided to look for tobacco from Songea or Morogoro or sometimes from Tabora and transported through train to Dar es Salaam and later taken up to Nachingwea by palne. They later abandoned marijuana.

In 1978 I got a holiday of nine months. I came back and met Tenile and went with her to Arusha to see my mother. After coming back I was in my and suddenly in the midnight while sleeping someone knocked at my window; it was the late Nauye who was accompanied Deputy Minister for Defence and the later Juma Pongwe. I took the machete and went to open the door. I ordered them to move back six steps then asked them to tell me what brought them there. One of them told me, "Gideon, dress up and report to the Headquarters to the Chief Officer who is waiting for you there. I asked him what was wrong? He said I could get the message after arriving there. I told them that I am going and if they wanted to arrest me let them arrest me while am at my home. I told them that I will only go if my country was attacked. He told me that Tanzania was attacked by Iddi Amini. I said, "okay, I will go. How do I go?" He said that the car was bringing them home and after that it would bring him to the Headquarters.

I went to fight against Idd Amini and from there after the war I went to Zanzibar where I stayed for one year. I did not have good relations with my peers there so I was chased away and brought back to the Headquarters. By the time I came back to the Headquarters the Chief of Defence Forces told me that I had to go to Tabora. But I asked him to send me to Farm 17 instead of Tabora. We had opened an infantry school. He agreed and I went to Farm 17.

So briefly that is my life in the military. I was sent to Nachingwea for the first time in 1967 when Farm 17 was a camp designated for training FRELIMO freedom fighters; even Samora was staying there. It was a very important camp for Mozambique. I don't know if it was the Tanzanian government or Liberation Committee that built a beautiful house for Mr Samora there at Nachingwea.

Nachingwea is a product of Second World War. When the Second World War began the British looked for places to settle its officers who were in the war and Tanzania was one of the selected destinations for such settlements. There were three centres for that purpose; namely, Nachingwea, Kongwa and Urambo. The goal of British government was to have groundnuts schemes in those centres. Unfortunately, those were selected for that project had no skills in groundnuts production. It was during that time they built a railway line from Mtwara to Nachingwea, and another from Dodoma to Kongwa. So that railway reached Farm 17. In



Nachingwea, the project had 18 farms starting from Farm 1 in Masasi up to Farm 18, and that Farm 17 is one of the 18 farms.

When Brig. Hashimu Mbita expressed the need of moving the FRELIMO freedom fighters from Kongwa and Bagamoyo it was reasoned that they should go to places close to their country but that place should not be at the border; that is why it was proposed that the area should come from those farms and finally Farm 17 was pointed out as the most suitable for them to stay. So the FRELIMO camp assumed that name of Farm 17 in connection with liberation war in Mozambique.

General Sayore explained further that there were actually two things at Farm 17: there was a military unit and freedom fighters camp; however there was a distance between the two. Also Farm 17 was the biggest of the 18 farms; it is connected to Farm 6, but this had more infrastructures because the British had built the runways; one runway to the East and another to the North. There were three distinct farms that formed a big camp in which we had three Regiments that were separated from each other that were used to train Zimbabwean officers.

After completing their military training there we crossed them to Beira through Mtwara and later crossed to Zimbabwe. Before the started a journey back we had to search them because we feared that some of them might be infiltrated by Ian Smith, which was a fact because one day we found that one had drawn the whole camp, including my head office, the residential houses and all other details. He had hid the paper in the private parts. He included all the details about my home showing the sitting room, dining room, kitchen and everything. We had to interrogate him and he admitted that he was an Ian Smith, and he was assigned that task. He said penetrated into the country as a refugee. He had drawn the runways. What we did the same day, before they left we cut the logs and put on the runway so that when they came they should fail to land. And that is what happened, one day after, there came a plane but it did not land after finding that state of the runway.

Concerning the liberation parties in Zimbabwe, what we did was to abolish ZANU, or ZIPRA and ZANLA, and formed a joint army called Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA). We don't care which party you belonged but you are a Zimbabwean. So instead of ZIPRA and ZANLA we formed ZIPA.

In 1994 I was invited to South Africa, five months after Mandela became a President. He came here in May and I went there in November. While in South Africa I toured all their borders with Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Botswana, all the country. They had a reason to do that. Among the military trainees in Nachingwea was a South African while we were thinking that they were all Zimbabweans. We had an extra lesson for the South Africans that in their borders they had double wire and barbed wire on top and the reason to electrify the border was to stop the freedom fighters from crossing.

When they told us about that scenario, we said it was very simple. We trained them to use sacks to cross the border. We explained to them that every person must carry an empty sack and when they arrived so many kilometers from the border with South Africa they put on the sacks and they had to carry another empty sack. On their arrival at the border they had to fill the sacks with sand and threw them on the wall and after falling they had to step on those sacks to cross into their country.

Now, those who managed to cross the border by using that tactic told their colleagues that it was a Tanzanian officer called Sayore who trained them. So when I went there in 1994 they wanted to see who is that Sayore? So each section wanted to meet me. That tactic beat their enemy because the border radar did not detect them because they were not seen as human being. They asked me where did I learn that I told them "Just from here." In fact there was no

class that taught me that tactic; I just taught myself.

After independence of Mozambique, immediately we started new escalation of war in Zimbabwe, and Mozambique had not got the grip of that country totally, you see, it was not yet organised. There was need not to reduce that tempo in Zimbabwe and so we had help from inside Mozambique. Our presence in Mozambique could not be questioned internationally. Our purpose was to escalate war in Zimbabwe but also to help Mozambican government to consolidate their country. We were training the guerrilla army to fight against the conventional army hoping that those guerrillas could win under guerrilla techniques, but the conventional army can understand the thinking of another conventional army and not guerrillas.

We did not train Zimbabwe in Maninka but we sent the troops to support the liberation fighters while being based in Maninka, Mozambique. We only trained Zimbabwe fighters in Tanzania. After we bombarded Mutare we created chaos to the citizens because after we had killed Ian Smith's soldiers, Ian Smith reacted badly and thus there was a huge influx of refugees from Zimbabwe into Mozambique because they were highly tortured.

After we abolished ZIBRA and ZABRA to form ZIPA, to the best of my knowledge, I never heard again people talking about ZIBRA and ZABRA. In 1986 I went to Botswana, to attend military ceremonies; I went there from Monduli to represent the CDF. On my way back I slept in a hotel in Harare whose manager was my former student. He called me, Sayore! He immediately called the officers of ZIPA in Harare. He shouted after seeing me there to the extent that there was no peace. The guests complained to the manager that there were much noises in that hotel and the manager politely requested me to move to another wing that was still under construction. I told him there was no problem. In the process I got flu; they rushed me to the military hospital. Soon after entering into the reception one nurse recognised me, "Yes it is him. It is affande Sayore, it is him." She ran to inform the officers from Mozambique who came there for Malaria treatment. She told them, "Gentlemen, Affande Sayore is here!"

That statement, "Gentlemen affande Sayore is here" was a message to remind them when they were at Farm 17 I told them falling sick was not permitted. I gave them mosquito nets and on every Monday they received medicines for malaria prevention, now how did you get Malaria? When the officers saw me they all jumped from their nets saying, "It is him, it is him." I visited them there asking them about their diseases and went back to the door and asked them, "Gentlemen, who allowed you to fall sick? The order you used to have at Farm 17 is still on. You are all discharged". They said, "Yes sir!" They put on their clothes and I went to the counter having no flu. I didn't sleep that night. They called each other from the whole of Harare and its suburbs. We talked till morning when I left. I believe ZIPA helped them to get rid of tribalism and they focused on the liberation of their country.

I must admit that I was not concerned with other armies during the liberation struggles. I worked closely with FRELIMO fighters; I trained ZIPA and ANC, but I was physically involved with Namibia and Angola. After they got independence I was a Commander of Monduli Military Academy at one time; I received the soldiers from Namibia, Angola, Seychelles, Comoro, Sierra Leone, Djibouti, and from Uganda. But during liberation I did not deal with them but I have trained their officer after their independences. I even taught the son of Samora during those days when the plane crashed; he had to be taken to the embassy to get details of his father's death.

When I was tasked for the first time to train the freedom fighters; I asked them, "do we fight for the independence by the lips or by guns? They responded that it is by gun; so I had teach them war tactics. We had a very fine syllabus because I also teaching them conventional as

well as guerrilla war. Luckily we finally succeeded. When we were training the Zimbabwean army we were aware of the ribal divisions along Mugabe and Nkhomo. We focused more on national unity and we even went further by mixing them from all over the country. The trainings were difficult so they had to support each other without looking at the tribes of the person.

Unfortunately, I was not involved in training the FRELIMO fighters but I assisted them when crossing to the battle field. There was a time the Portuguese were pursuing us up to our country. I had to eliminate Lazaro Kabagame because some refugees told us that Lazaro Kabagame was infiltrated and we were told that he was planning to bring the Portuguese agents at a certain time. After an ambush we realised that Kabagame was a Portuguese agent; he was one betraying FRELIMO leader in Tanzania. He was considered as one of the key figures of FRELIMO, while in reality he was a double agent. We discovered very late that Kabagame was a very bad person. He could pretend to be a naive person who crossed with the refugees while he was collecting information for the Portuguese. But I did have more details about FRELIMO as I had about Zimbabwe because I trained them. I knew their differences and we struggled very hard to eliminate those differences so that they could be fight as a united army.

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## Stima, Roki

[Itumbi; 29 July 2007]

*Mr Roki Stima, who represented other villages, is a resident of Itumbi, Chunya. He witnessed the liberation movements and military trainings of the freedom fighters from various liberation groups from South Africa, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia. Mr Roki who was 77 during the interviews, narrates his experience of they lived with the freedom fighters at Itumbi village and explains that the freedom fighters hated to be called refugees whose camp was nearby their village. He narrates how those freedom fighters were fighting amongst themselves, the thing that worried the villagers although most of the time they settled the disputes. Mr Roki explains how the Tanzanian defence forces intervened into their conflict when some of the freedom fighters were killed during the fight. He admits that there was a cordial social relationship with them and the freedom fighters have left their marks in the village; meaning that there had children with the local women and some of the children were taken by their fathers and others remained because their mothers had hid them.*

My name is Roki Stima, I was born in Tabora but I have lived in this village since when I was young. We are used to keep our memories in our brains but others do write their important events. Those who write things they keep for the interest of future generation. If I recall the names like Nkomo, I immediately recall the first Zimbabweans who came here. Somewhere the Zulu wrote their names; these are afro from South Africa. You can meet the names such as Leballo and other difficult names.

They were fighting themselves but there were no harms to the villagers because they never fought with local people. They fought very hard to the point of killing each other; that is why there was a time Tanzanian defence forces had to come to resolve the conflict but still I heard that they continued fighting each other until the government was forced to take some of them and moved to Dar es Salaam

The camp was closed in 1986; they came here in 1974 and when I arrived here from Mpanda in 1980 I found them here and we stayed with them for a long time. They had no problems with people and we were even taken by the car when we travelled to Mbeya. Sometimes they asked if we travelled. They had no any other activity other than agriculture. They received military training and after the training they relaxed. The common recreation they had was playing football.

The South Africans had no any weapons except club and machete because they were brought to be trained as police officers. I discovered that they had no weapons when they were attacked by a leopard. They called me to help them. The leopard entered into the building and had no exit point because the hut was small for it to go out. It killed seven ducks. They were divided into two groups, some went to Chunya and others came to us to report that the leopard had entered into their hut and they needed support. So I realised that they had no weapons.

But the Zimbabweans had weapons because we used to hear the bombs that were used in the their military training. They planted many mines and that is why they were telling the gold miners that they should be careful when mining. Up to today they don't go to that areas because they fear the landmines that might have been left there. We have two children here who were injured by the landmines in that area; one was cut the toes and Mwang'amba was mutilated the whole hand and he

is at Itumbi. He was lucky that the army was there when he got that problem so they rushed him to the hospital. We never heard that they entered weapons illegally. But some people from their countries were looking for those camps so that they could destroy them. The Boers were mapping the camps and we hear that they later discovered it and that is why they were moved to Iringa.

There were many groups here, some of them were Zulu and others I don't remember. I think there were some spies who were reporting their issues to the Boers in and instructed them how to reach here. There was a time they managed to bring weapons and they hid them in the chicken hut. They mistakenly went to one of the game reserves and threw the bomb assuming that it was the camp they were targeting. They even threw a bomb at Mabaga thinking that it was Itumbi. Their aim was to destroy the camp because they were told that the freedom fighters were in Tanzania receiving military training. Their goal was to destroy the camp and sometimes they pleaded to me to show where was the camp but they failed to convince me!

In fact the building that was used by the freedom fighters was a storey building that was built by one of the gold miners who abandoned it after independence when the gold miners left the country. Tanzania after independence started welcoming the freedom fighters from southern Africa. We had refugees from South Africa, specifically from two liberation parties; namely, ANC and PAC. Mandela was once there and later others joined. Even the late Samora came before his country got independence. Later the Zimbabweans came, although they were not many.

Those who stayed there for a long time were politicians such as Nelson Mandela and Sobukwe. Later emerged a fight between followers of Mandela and those of Sobukwe, because some of them were like agents or spies. When the fightings intensified I had to report it to our police officers but they later assured me that the situation settled and they asked for forgiveness. They asked me to tell villagers that things were fine they could not be harmed. Sometimes the residents were running away when they heard the gunshots. Some of the villagers were coming during the night expressing their fears but I assured them that there was no problem.

There were Namibians also. They stayed here for a long time and later the government closed the camp. But before closing the refugees stayed here for a long time. They hated being called refugees but they were happy to be called freedom fighters. We also stayed with Chinese here. They came to offer military training but they stayed occasionally.

Those freedom fighters were not staying alone; military officers from Tanzania defence forces stayed with them. During the weekend they mixed with local people here. Some of them had engaged in sexual relations with local women here. Some of them took their children but other children were left here. For example, Joshi and Richard Mkolisi. His mother is a wife of our choir master. There are many others here.

The unfortunate thing with them is that they were too much alcoholic but some were disciplined. If we had some quarrels in the village we called their leaders and we settled the matters. And sometimes I was forced to tell their leaders about the crimes committed by their youth. Sometimes they took wives of others; that was one of the serious problems. Even Ms Magege has born children with refugees and another cohabited with a refugee but did bear children with him but she now has a child.

There is another child here called Temsile whose father is a doctor whose siblings are Kulwa and Rama; another child of the same doctor in in Makongorosi for he had two wives Temsile and Rama are from one wife and Kulwa is from another wife in Makongorosi . Kulwa has a sibling whose father was a refugee; his mother has moved to Mkwajuni. That child was taken by

his father. Ms Kikula also had a child with a refugee and that child was taken. Also Ms Mwajuma Kipanda had a child with Mandevu, and Mandevu took his child with him. He was called Mandevu because he kept long beards. Many of them remembered their children but some women did not allow their children to go; they hid them.

Starting from 1988 until today these buildings were there. The occupants of these buildings were leaving in phases; some left in 1964, in 1969, and in 1970. Each group went back to support their fellow fighters in their countries. I think in 1970s they were here because in 1980 I met one military officer who came from Uganda after fighting the Kagera war in 1978 and 1979, he told me that there were still there.

Some people told me that in these camps there were different groups from South Africa including PAC and later came FRELIMO fighters and later freedom fighters from Zimbabwe. It is not easy to remember their names but I remember the name of camp commander called Edga Mutao; he came from Zimbabwe and he even gave me his address because I happened to be close to him. I don't know where I put that address. It was between 1984 – 1986. He once narrated to me that there were conflicts between the two groups and they reached a point of fighting using guns. There came a special unit from Mbeya to resolve the conflict. They moved to Dar es Salaam but still they fought there. I remember they had a camp at Azikiwe, but still they continued with their conflicts. The nation had to separate them; FRELIMO were separate from PAC, likewise Zimbabweans were alone. Because Zimbabwe got independence then they had to go back to their country. That is why that commander had to leave in that year. This friend of mine I did not know if he had some female friends in Mbeya because he belonged to the Special Branch of his country. It was difficult to expose some of his issues that is why I sometimes ask myself what made him trust me. By that time I was in my thirties. In Mbeya they live in a street called Ghana; they rented a house there but I can't locate the actual house now because the place has changed.

There was a serious quarrel in the camp and the Mbeya regional security officer called Timbuka came to reconcile them. It was a serious issue even the RPC was involved but I don't know the names of the people who came to Chunya. I don't know anybody here who can explain it, may be somebody Mwanjisi, who is a resident of that place where they lived. He is a businessperson in the transport sector.

## Ulimwengu, Twaha

*Jenerali Ulimwengu has been an active supporter of liberation struggle first, for Tanganyika as a school boy, and later on, in college and when he started work, formally, for the rest of Africa in various positions in the media and in international organizations. He worked closely with FRELIMO, and in 1972 had the occasion to visit the liberated areas of Mozambique.*

*From 1974 to 1986 he worked with the Pan African Movement in Algiers, where he worked closely with liberation movements that were given support by the organization. He had the opportunity to work with MPLA, ZAPU, ANC, PAC, SWAPO, and also to visit the countries in Southern Africa, which were hosting the liberation movements. He was an official guest during the Independence Celebrations of Angola which was quite an experience. As a member of the Pan African Movement, he could attend many OAU Meetings dealing with the liberation struggle including Ministerial and Summit Meetings, some of which made the interview quite interesting.*

*Back in Tanzania he continued his contacts with the liberation movements through FRELIMO, as chairman and member of TAMOFA.*

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I will try to make most of my statements in English. First of all I would like to thank you very much for giving me the opportunity. There are not many occasions given to some of us to enter into our history, and this is certainly one of the moments, especially on the subject, which goes to my heart, my experience.

My association with liberation struggle is very very long. It started when I was still a child. I went to school, in the liberation struggle of Tanganyika itself since 1954 when I was a small boy. TANU was going around preaching philosophy of liberation of Tanganyika but linking this liberation process with what was going on across the continent. So as a small child and living in a household of a father who was the official of TANU in Kamachumu I was introduced to the idea of liberation at that early age. And I remember I even skipped school to go to the TANU office just to sing a song which was not easy to comprehend but which was somehow nice. There was a song that said, "Let Englishman now go home; we know now how to write." It was a very interesting song. It captivated me as a primary school kid. And at that time when liberation struggle in Africa was introduced one of the songs which we used to sing, I remember this, one song at the end of it, I forget the other words but part of it goes like, "Viongozi wa Afrika, Nkrumah na wenzake." That you went from Julius Nyerere, TANU and up to Africa and Doctor Nkrumah and so forth. I grew up to that kind of silly, not intellectual, but just kind of emotional feeling about Tanganyika's independence, Africa's liberation.

When I started to grow up, people like Nkrumah, people like Kenyatta, people like Sékou Touré and even people who never made it to become leaders of their countries, people like Felix Munie, he is from Cameroun; these were names which were provocative for this liberation, and desire for independence. So I grew up in that kind of atmosphere.

Very early on in secondary school, it was a bit more intense. We used to read people like Ndabaningi Sithole on African Nationalism. We started writing articles on people like Robert Makange, Kanyama Chiume at that time, and this was instrumental in making us, generally a good number of us at secondary school level, to pay attention to what was happening in Africa. We had already experienced this case of Congo and its troubles that followed after independence. There was the tragic event that surrounded Patrice Lumumba in that nation, and again we had located distinction between people like Patrice Lumumba and Maurice Tshombe; this was again the divide between what was right and what was wrong.

By the time I was going to high school which was now in Tabora, that kind of thinking developed, because we could now read and pursue the stories of those who were involved in the liberation struggle. Tabora School was an important centre because the leaders of post independence in Tanganyika went to Tabora School, Mwalimu Nyerere especially of course. Also Tabora School was the centre for the independence struggle in Tanganyika. In 1958 Tabora hosted the TANU conference and that was also a very important role that people in Tabora played for the struggle for independence.

Now the university was the culmination of this process at least in this first phase. This is when we were now in contact with lecturers and professors from all over the world who guided us for recognizing, more intellectually, the link between our own independence, our liberation, and the freedom of other people around the world. And the TANU creed over “Binadamu wote ni ndugu zangu na Afrika ni moja,” became a reality because now you could find people from Asia, America, South America and from the whole of Africa who have been busy for the emancipation of humankind. I think that governed our intellectual energies at the university. We all became attuned to the struggle that was going on outside Tanzania and outside Africa. I remember Vietnam was a very big issue in our student days. Vietnam had very big rallying for the anti-imperialist energies; and of course we couldn't talk about Vietnam only, we were also talking about Mozambique, Angola, and Zimbabwe.

So when I finished my degree courses in 1972 and joined the media as a reporter, I got another opportunity. In the media I was already, I suppose, with a certain philosophical grounding of an understanding of the liberation struggle; of what it was all about, and the emotional attachment to certain fundamental principles of human dignity and freedom, and the link between the two, as part of the continuing struggle of human kind to better itself, meant a lot.

These philosophies were not invented in Tanganyika or in Africa. These have been there on this planet. And we can always go through history and see the milestones that marked great events that concerned people trying to break out of the fates of oppression and backwardness and denial of human dignity. We had the American Revolution of 1776, French Revolution of 1789, and so forth, and later on a Russian Revolution of 1917, Chinese Revolution of 1949. All these were part of our, philosophical make up. It was easy to identify these principles.

In the media, when I was a reporter of the Standard and later on Daily News, this was something that was always with me. In my first year when I was a reporter in the Daily News I got a number of occasions to do a number of things. One of them was to cover certain meetings that involved liberation struggles, to meet the leaders of liberation in Southern Africa especially, to talk to them and to get informed and educated about what was happening in Southern Africa generally. That way, we used to have here people from all over the globe including Tupper Maroo and Black Panthers and so forth. So Dar es Salaam was the harbour of the people who came here to inspire themselves with the work of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. So I, from covering



this as a reporter and participating in some of the discussions, I got myself immersed in the level of thought and intellectual abstraction in what was actually happening in Southern Africa.

In the second half of 1972 I got an occasion to go to the liberated areas of Mozambique with FRELIMO. This was an official OAU Liberation Committee delegation that was going to the liberated areas in Cabo Delgado. The delegation was under the leadership of the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee. At that time it was Major Hashim Mbita, and comprised three other members of the Liberation Committee, that was the late Doctor Kasiga, Doctor Hamed Siki and Captain Simon Makaranga. Our host in the liberated areas and who accompanied us, and went with us all the way as we marched from one FRELIMO base to another was known as the President of FRELIMO, Samora Machel. This was a special occasion, for me especially, because others in the delegation, especially those who came from the Liberation Committee, had had an occasion to visit these other areas of Mozambique, and other countries, I think Angola as well. But for me this was the first time that I got the real thing of what it entailed to be involved in the liberation struggle, the hardships endured by the fighters, understanding the zeal that they show, the toughness, and commitment they had for the task at hand. During the time I spent in Cabo Delgado, I really confirmed myself as a believer of what was happening in the liberation struggle.

I got a few lessons that I carried back with me. I wrote about those experiences, not about the fighting, because we didn't see any fighting, as were protected. Apart from an area bombarded by the Portuguese air force, there wasn't any much fighting. We were looking at national reformation because they were organizing these areas into social entities that worked and apart from the margins of military fight the society was real society. Samora Machel himself used to tell me that was the nucleus of what no doubt, FRELIMO wanted to establish, once the country was independent.

So when, upon my coming back from Mozambique, I was surprised by the speed of what happened. I became a member of FRELIMO, because every time Samora Machel was in Dar es Salaam, for any segment he had for the media, for the press, invariably he would call me and Ferdinand Luhinda to give us; to fill in what has happened for that time, the progress in the war, the new victories and sometimes set backs. For instance, I remember when as we were coming back, it was the day when a FRELIMO war was cancelled. It was decided that we had to leave from Cabo Delgado,

so we had to leave early in the morning and at nine o'clock in the evening we were approaching Newala. I came to learn later from Samora that it was because he had discovered that the Portuguese knew that we were in the area. That there was a high powered delegation in Cabo Delgado and they either wanted to kill or capture the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee. It would have been real calamity, but they really wanted the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee

I learnt even more about liberation, because I would ask questions on even things that I had seen in the liberated areas and I wanted to be more enlightened about, every time we went to see Mr. Chissano in his house in Chang'ombe. Usually this was a happy occasion because we would have our beer and wine and sing FRELIMO songs up to three in the morning, but at the end we came out with something. This was also the occasion usually used by Samora Machel to tell us something new. Like when he came in 1973 and after we had been singing, drinking, making jokes he said, "Now take your pens and let us do some work. Last week we opened a meeting in Manica and Sofala, the war is in its end because now we had held the whisky of Mozambique."

So these were real heydays in my own education and this propelled me to have a constant attachment connected to education.

In July 1974 I was sent by TANU Youth League and Afro-Shiraz Youth League to represent them in Algiers, the Headquarters of Pan African Movement. I had a number of objectives, but probably the most important of these objectives was to provide political support to liberation struggle in Africa. You remember during that time not all these countries were in Southern Africa. There was also Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe in western Africa. So I went to this new organization with the kind of new knowledge that I had acquired basically because of FRELIMO. Before I left we had done a few activities here including organizing dinner dances and collecting money. A few years later I saw a picture of myself giving the collection in one of the diner dances to Chissano. I gave him five thousand shillings; it was a lot of money those days, collected from diner dances. So in Algiers, I continued with the work of supporting liberation struggle, only in a new context, because now, with the Liberal Youth Organization, I had the occasion to go around in Africa, and the world, to talk and get support, like in Western Europe. Of course we had the unquestioned support of the Soviet Union and her allies but working in Western Europe was a bit more difficult, although we did work with them.

I got another occasion to learn what liberation means when I learnt about MPLA, ZAPU, ANC, PAC and so forth, and had an occasion to go around the Southern African countries hosting these liberation movements and to learn more. When I joined Pan African Movement I had the occasion to an invitation of Comrade Neto to go to Luanda with the first official delegation of MPLA. This was after the signing of the Agora's Agreement, which was done, I think in April 1974, after the spread of the revolution in Lisbon. Now the various liberation movements were coming to Angola. We went there in a terribly tense atmosphere when the UNITA, MPLA, were

now congregating in Luanda and the Portuguese police were there, Portuguese police force was still in charge and MPLA was a target from time to time, of course for the attacks organized by the Portuguese and made by UNITA and sometimes FNLA, because MPLA was viewed as a communist organization and should not be allowed to take over the country.

Subsequently I went to Angola some time before independence, and then I went to Angola during Independence Day when Luanda was virtually surrounded. It had been broadcasted in BBC from one hour to the next that MPLA is in the capital, but UNITA is moving from the south, obviously with the help of South African military. And the FNLA was moving from the north with the support from Mobutu's forces and with the support from CIA, and so forth. We were like sitting ducks in Luanda waiting to be picked up when these people go to Luanda and actually one of the things that FNLA was saying at that time was that, there was nothing like Peoples Republic of Angola. There was People's Republic of Luanda. Its capital was in Mutamba. Mutamba is the central part of Luanda.

But the following day I came to learn that there were Cubans, they had landed in Angola and during the Victory Parade, they marched with their equipment and so forth and that is what turned the tide in favour of MPLA. That was in 1975. We arrived there in 1975; I think independence was on 11th of November. I arrived, aboard a special plane that took the Prime Minister of People's Republic of Congo. We arrived in Luanda just to be told by the people who received information from MPLA Headquarters that there was no government in that country. The Portuguese Governor called a meeting and made a farewell speech and took the Portuguese national flag put it in his brief case, went in a small boat and got into the ship that took him back to Portugal. Between midday and midnight when, President Augustino Neto was supposed to proclaim independence we were living in a country without a government and that was scaring! Throughout, the sounds of big bombardment could be heard because we were surrounded. But the entry of the Cubans changed the configuration of the war.

One thing that I remember very well on that occasion, in fact was that Tanzania which had all along supported the liberation struggle for once wavered in the question of Angola. And I did not know exactly the details of the circumstances that made Tanzania waiver, especially knowing the commitment that Mwalimu Nyerere had in the independence struggle. But at Independence Day there was no Tanzanian delegation in Angola. and the declaration that I had from Dar es Salaam, which was broadcasted by the the BBC on 11th of November, was that Mwalimu had received a demonstration of Dar es Salaam University Students at Jangwani who went to make contribution of funds to the support of MPLA, and Mwalimu had surprisingly said that Angola should work for the government of national unity. That was not easy for me to understand because for us who were on the ground it was clear that the FNLA was working with the CIA and Mobutu, and UNITA was working with South African forces. So, talking about a government of national unity was completely out of place.

After the celebrations of Angola's independence, it was impossible to leave Luanda because no commercial airline would come to Luanda. I say failure to move was a good occasion for me to see the process of building a new nation, because I saw ministries being built. One minister appointing directors, because the whole home machinery had crumbled. So I saw, at least two ministers just being taught a lesson on how to form a government. One will be told that you are an expert of such and such a thing, "Where did you study?" He will answer, "I studied in Cuba." He would be told, "You can handle it. Sit there. You are a director." This is how things were operated for a few days, after independence, in the People's Republic of Angola.

When I eventually left Luanda it was because, a plane belonging to Mozambique Airlines LAM, came to Luanda, out of solidarity with Angola. At that time, the Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento sent somebody to my hotel to tell me that I could go to Mozambique on that day, and then I could find out how you get to Algiers from there. But at least I could go to Mozambique and so I went on that plane. In Mozambique I went to the Tanzanian Embassy and I found the Ambassador of Tanzania, Obed Katikaza and I immediately told him that I was complaining to him. I knew him well and he was the expert in Southern Africa that he knew the history of liberation struggle, he was close to the fighters and diplomatically he was one of the people who led Tanzanians in the diplomatic struggle to get the fight in Southern Africa known to the rest of the world and convince other Africans that we had to support the liberation struggle. So Obed Katikaza to me was the expert and he was in Mozambique. I asked him what he had done, because certainly people in Dar es Salaam had made decisions based on what Obed Katikaza had advised from Maputo. But Katikaza showed me a number of correspondences that he had sent to the ministry, including conversation that he had had with Samora Machel, who was now the President, about the need to give all the support that Angola needed at that moment, and to recognize the People's Republic of Angola. I don't know what had happened in Dar es Salaam, and I can't understand why there was hesitation on the part of Mwalimu.

It took sometime before Mwalimu came out and made a statement on the People's Republic of Angola and actually after that, he went around campaigning for the recognition of the People's Republic of Angola, in Europe and Asia, if I remember correctly.. We have been doing researches to find out what happened during the period between 11th of November 1975 and the end of December because when I came to Dar es Salaam from Maputo, I was looking for Anthony Nyaki who was the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Mwalimu was harassing him asking them, "You people, what are you doing about Angola? You know that the apartheid regime is taking part in this country and you are talking about a government of national unity!" Nyaki being such a refined diplomat

said, “You know we are working on it, you will soon get news on its development.” A few days later Mwalimu was in Europe, and made a statement there, calling for the support and recognition of the People’s Republic of Angola.

Now in 1976, after the independence of Angola, there was the OAU special summit in Addis Ababa to discuss the issue of Angola, because the OAU was now divided, half supporting the People’s Republic of Angola and the other half opposing it. Mwalimu played a big role. It was a very difficult meeting, not because of the subject matter that was discussed which was the division of the OAU, but also the fact that the incumbent chairman of OAU was Idd Amin Dada., that kind of chairman who complicates the situation. Until we left Addis Ababa there had been no compromise. What happened is that more states recognized the People’s Republic of Angola. The rest is history as we continued to support other liberation movements where the struggle was still on going.

The Pan African Movement in Algiers now concentrated on new fronts that had been opened in Zimbabwe, Namibia and in South Africa itself. I worked very closely with people like the late Johnstone Makatini who was the ANC representative in Algiers. His office was one of the centers where we organized political meetings to discuss the situation in Southern Africa and how we could organize and enhance our support to the struggle there. In 1977 I was sent by the Pan African Movement to the General Assembly in New York; to the special organization committee to address the UN on the issue of apartheid and to represent the African Youth on the Pretoria regime which I did in November 1977. I remember now, that the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe was heating up, and there was confusion, as to who was really the leader of liberation struggle there. I was following some of the events that were taking place there, with the Ndabaningi, Nkomo, Muzorewa coming, trying to agree and the Front Line States trying to mediate and trying to help these people to form a common front to fight against Ian Smith. I met with a number of young people from ZANU and ZAPU; while ZAPU was a very active member of the Pan African Movement, ZANU was not. Coming from Tanzania I knew that there was much more military action being taken by ZANU, especially with opening up the frontier with Mozambique, after Mozambican independence. In 1979, I convinced my colleagues in the Pan African Movement in Algiers to let me travel to Mozambique to meet Robert Mugabe who was now the recognized leader of ZANU.

There was a lot of confusion, in-fighting, and bickering among the leaders, after the murder of Chitepo. Mugabe had being recognized as the leader of ZANU and I went to Maputo to meet him and to invite him to come to our General Conference, which was taking place in Brazzaville in 1979. It was the first time the Pan African Movement was making any contact with ZANU, because ZAPU was originally the movement, which was active in the Pan African Movement. When I met Robert Mugabe in Maputo, he was very receptive; we had a very constructive conversation. I delivered a letter to invite him and he accepted and said that he would write to us, and a month or so later he sent me a letter which I still have Actually I framed it as a historical communication. So he came to Brazzaville and for the first time people knew that there was a leader in Zimbabwe who knew what he was talking about. He was talking about people fighting on the ground, and the employment of a massive number of fighters in Zimbabwe. At the same time, of course, we continued with the campaign, and against colonialism in Namibia until the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980; and a few years later of Namibia.

That is basically my story in the involvement with the liberation movement in Africa. If there are lessons that I draw from this experience, I would say number one is that Africans have not always been docile, they have not accepted subjugation and in different times in our history, in various societies however primitive technologically we were, our people stood up

and fought for their right to be free. In the modern liberation struggle, as we saw it, with modern weaponry, and even our forefathers who didn't have much weaponry but could stand up and fight for what they believed to be their right. At least they recorded their rejection of colonial, foreign domination in various forms and the liberation struggles as we saw them; as we witnessed them; as we rubbed shoulders with the fighters; with the leaders of movements; was again the restatement of that basic principle that Africans have always wanted to make clear the point that they do not accept foreign domination. The struggle continued even when it looked like all odds were against the African liberation fighters like in Mozambique. I was walking, marching in Cabo Delgado and saw what Portuguese colonialists were doing, including opening up the north, which was really the virgin territory. It had never been cultivated, it was sparsely populated, but this provided a heaven for the FRELIMO fighters. The Governor, called Kouzo de Leaga, who was sent from Portugal, had decided to finish off with the terrorists that were homing in that wide countryside. So he came in with what he called "Operation Golden Note"; and this was to finish off FRELIMO. Talking to Samora Machel you get the story that with the intensity and velocity of Portuguese onslaught, came a response that was equal to that, from African leaders especially Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. Samora was saying that when he went to see Mwalimu, Mwalimu would call Sarakikya, the commander of armed forces and tell him to go with him (Samora), open the army stores let him take whatever he wanted. This is how FRELIMO dealt with the Portuguese's Operation Golden Note. If we didn't have people like Mwalimu Nyerere may be FRELIMO would have been flushed out of Mozambique and may be that would have been the end of for the that time; and it would have waited fifteen years to stand on their feet again. So there was that determination support to the freedom fighters, but also the unwavering support that people like Nyerere, and Kaunda gave to the liberation struggle. That is basically what I have to say.

Murtala was very interesting at this meeting in 1976. Murtala Mohamed had just

taken power in Lagos. He walked in to the OAU meeting in very dramatic fashion. He marched and was followed by Major Joel Galba. He made a statement in that meeting to say that whoever was going to attack the People's Republic of Angola should know that he was attacking Nigeria, and that Nigeria was going to take her responsibility. He played a very big role in at least declaring openly that Nigeria was on the side of People's Republic of Angola. At that time Nyerere was a supporter of People's Republic of Angola. He had already taken his stand he had already campaigned in Europe and Asia and also before going to Addis Ababa, I remember, he looked like he had spent three days without sleeping or changing his clothes. Definitely his Ambassador to the UN, Salim Ahmed Salim, had not changed his, because he arrived in jeans as he had lost his bag, and he did not have time to go shopping. So he was wearing these huge American jeans. He did not have time because he had been traveling and working for three days. So these people were not sleeping at all.

The fact that Idd Amin was the chairman made that Summit a very tough meeting. So on one side there was Mwalimu, Murtala and a few others, and on the other side you had people like Sékou Touré, Senghor and others; there were also those who were wavering like the Kenyan delegation. Idd Amin of Uganda was the chair it was a very tough meeting for Mwalimu, definitely and that is why he had a very famous encounter with Senghor involving the interpretation of history. It began with the Angolan case and Joseph Butiku had told me that Mwalimu was going to give a bomb shell of a speech. He was to be number four or number five. But all of a sudden, the chairman Idd Amin announced that he had a request from President Kenneth Kaunda, who had something very urgent in Lusaka and he had to leave, so he was giving him the chance to speak ahead of those who had been listed. Kaunda was a very big supporter of UNITA. He made a statement that was very negative about the MPLA and the People's Republic of Angola, he wept, then he rose and left. I remember

when he rose, Mwalimu rose also. Samora Machel turned to Mwalimu after Kaunda has left and said, "Mwalimu what is this? What is this? You see he has poured water on our strategies." But because of the statements that were made by Kaunda, Nyerere could no longer speak. He could no longer read his official statement because if he had read that statement he would have seemed to be answering Kaunda, He was thinking it was just one meeting but Kaunda was still important in the Front Line States so one should not antagonize him. May be without knowing or knowingly, he spoke before Mwalimu, and he made a statement that Mwalimu could not speak against. Mwalimu had only one choice, I think to contribute to the ongoing debate. Senghor took the floor and said something to the effect that there was a need to understand that there was nobody who possesses the whole truth. Each part of us has a part of truth. It is by bringing this half of the truth from each one that one can have the whole truth. All were philosophical word.

Earlier, after listening to one of the speeches, the chairman Idd Amin had said that by the end of that meeting he would be a Professor or a Doctor of Politics. So Mwalimu after listening to what Senghor said, he took the floor and said, "Mr Chairman, I heard you saying that after this meeting you will be a political philosopher. I am afraid you are going to be a confused political philosopher if these are the lectures you are going to base you doctorate on, speeches like that of my friend Leopold Senghor has just made." So he rose to Senghor, it was an intellectual heyday. You could see the big minds were shadow boxing. At that time Mwalimu was the supporter of People's Republic of Angola and Senghor was saying I am not opposing, let us see how we can combine the truth from one side and the truth from the other and build up nations.

What I remember is that no body won, it was a draw. There was a problem; Ethiopia said they were not going to declare their stand because they were hosting the meeting. Immediately after the meeting Mengistu said that they were going to recognize the People's Republic of Angola but during the meeting they were not going to do it. So that vote was not there. Then I think Sierra Leone was supposed to come to the meeting, but they did not turn up. When we made a follow up on Sierra Leone, we were told that the Prime Minister had left Free Town, when we asked where he was, we were told that he was in London for business but that he would be coming, but he never turned up. The single vote that would have come from Ethiopian or Sierra Leone never came. But immediately after the meeting Ethiopia announced that they recognized the People's Republic of Angola.

I continued interacting with the liberation movements and as I had stated earlier in 1977 I went to the UN. I was working now with ANC. In fact in 1978 I became Secretary for Liberation Support of Pan African Movement. So I was still working with ZANU, I still worked with SWAPO. I still interacted with people like Oliver Tambo and Sam Nujoma.

I was one of the people who represented the Pan African Movement when there was a meeting with the European Youth Organization in 1978. I was the rapporteur of the Youth Conference for Southern Africa, on racism apartheid, in 1978, which brought an interesting story because of the man we had chosen to be the chairman of the conference. The man, who was chosen to be the vice president of the conference was from South Africa, he was a white South African, Clag Williamson, who was working with IUF (International University Exchange Fund) in Geneva and he was a South African police officer. But I was introduced to him by these people from ANC, SWAPO, and ZAPU as comrade Clag because he was making very firing statements against the apartheid regime. And twice he came to my room near the UNESCO Headquarters to read my draft and he will tell me, "Jeneral, this is not strong enough. We need a really strong document that will mobilize the youth of the world against the apartheid regime." So he took a very militant stand. A few months later when I was in Europe, I learnt that he had shown up in Pretoria and had been declared a spy, because some

other South Africa spies were detected in London and were naming all the spies that were all around the world. This man went back to Pretoria and announced that he had some information about all of us communists and about the organization. Now, this was how I worked very closely with him. He personally appeared in the TRC because he was connected to a number of political assassinations. But I am told that he is a free man now.

I returned to Tanzania in 1986 and I was given new responsibilities; I became

a Director of Youth and Sports, I became a civil servant, I became a District Commissioner. But towards the end of the 80s the apartheid regime was pushed to the wall. Now we had the business contact. Chamber of Commerce would need to go to see Mbeki, I had a few things to do during the civil war in Mozambique I got involved again with FRELIMO, because I was the chairman of Tanzania-Mozambique Friendship. It was basically for providing support to those refugees who had crossed the border to Songea and Mtwara. So I did that sometimes as chairman of TAMOFA, and also as a member of TAMOFA. But that time was the last part of 1980s. In 1997 I attended the ANC conference in Arusha, a big conference in Arusha and I was the one who did the translation for O. R. Tambo, when he addressed the public. I still had my contacts with the liberation movements and the ANC. But by the time SWAPO was in power, the ANC was now no longer being hunted by the Boers, and so forth.

I think in 1985 there was a problem in Tanzania; there was a problem because of the pressure on Mozambique by the regime in Pretoria and I think Rhodesians, who took up to support the RENAMO. I think it was so bad that Samora Machel decided to sign the so called "The Nkomati Accord" with the apartheid regime. And the information I had was that Mwalimu was not in agreement. But Samora thought it was the thing to do. I was informed that Nyerere refused to attend, although Samora wanted him to. Nyerere thought it was a very serious climb down. Again, even after signing the Nkomati Accord, the Pretoria regime did not give Mozambique time to rest, but they continued to harass them, destroying and killing, not only in Mozambique but also in places like Botswana, where there were suspected members of the ANC. And finally in 1986 Samora's plane crashed. Nobody believed that it was an accident, and that it was deliberate. That was the time when the Tanzanian forces were in Mozambique, and they had tried to show this because from the point of view of Tanzania, of Mwalimu Nyerere, especially, all that had been achieved in terms of liberation forces in Southern Africa had been rolled back by this stubborn refusal by Pretoria to accept that changes were inevitable in this part of the world and that eventually these changes were bound to come in a free South Africa. They wanted to hold back and Mwalimu was responsible for trying to send troops to help the government of Mozambique. I am not sure whether it really helped. I realized that quite a few of them died. But eventually the solution came through negotiations after Samora Machel had been killed and Chissano accepted the principle of peace talk.

# Warioba, Joseph Sinde

[14 February 2007]

*Honourable Joseph Sinde Warioba began his political activism in 1958 when he was studying at Bwiru secondary school. From there he continued with liberation movements of African continent; he first supported as a student and later when he was in the government. When he was employed in the Ministry of Legal Affairs in 1966 he attended a UNESCO meeting for South African credentials and in 1967 he was part of the delegation for the meeting that was held in Addis Ababa on the issue of liberation fighters to be considered as refugees. When he was moved to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a Director of Legal Affairs in 1971, he continued attending various meetings of the Frontline States, OAU and UN, especially when they discussing the independence of Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia, and South Africa. In 1975 he went back to the Ministry of Legal Affairs to be a Deputy Attorney General and he continued being a member of meetings for liberation struggles. In 1982 when he was appointed Minister for Legal Affairs and Attorney General and later the Prime Minister and the first Vice President, his participation in the liberation struggles dropped drastically but he continued providing advice and even visited the conflict areas in Mozambique during the war between the Government and RENAMO insurgents.*

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I started involving myself with the politics when I was at Bwiru Secondary School in 1958 when we were still very young between 16 and 17 years. We took TANU membership cards from the late Wambura and went to the streets to mobilise more members. We formed the first Tanganyika students' association called Pan African Student Association of Tanganyika. The association involved students from the Lake Zone secondary schools of Bwiru and Ihungu from Kagera. I was 18 years when I was General Secretary of the association.

When I the University of Dar es Salaam I became a leader of Students' organisation. When Ian Smith announced fake independence in Rhodesia we organised students' demonstration without permission up to Makunganya street where there was English library and we attacked it and later went to British embassy and we tore apart the British flag and burnt it near askari monument. This shows that we embraced the liberation spirit.

I was employed by the government in 1966 in the Ministry of Legal Affairs but the political spirit was still there. The youth in the government formed TANU Study Group so that we could continue brainstorming on current and political affairs and to unify them. In that forum we discussed issues of liberation.

My involvement in liberation struggles started in 1967 when I was appointed to be among Tanzanian delegates to attend the meeting on refugees in Addis Ababa. By then Wambura was an Assistant Minister and head of the delegation. By that time the definition of refugees did not include the liberation fighters who fled their home countries. The meeting dwelt on the recognition of freedom fighters as refugees when they are out of their countries. Therefore new treaty was passed that considered this group as refugees. I was a member of the committee that prepared the treaty that was passed and approved by OAU in 1968. In 1966 I also represented Tanzania to the UNESCO general meeting. The meeting was about the South African credentials in UNESCO. We refused South African membership in UNESCO. Furthermore, in 1968 I attended a meeting on Human Rights in Teheran Iran. During that meeting the issues of liberation prevailed.

In 1971 I was transferred to the Ministry of Foreign affairs to be a Director of Legal Affairs. I started being involved in the liberation movements especially in southern Africa. I got an



opportunity of meeting many liberation leaders. And it was during this time I started attending frontline states meeting that were chaired by the late Julius Nyerere. When we were going to the meeting we had already written the minutes on the deliberations that the chairperson had already discussed with his fellow leaders before the meeting. So we were given briefs of the expected decisions so that we could prepare a communiqué in advance. The team from the Foreign Affairs was very sharp and it was well prepared and ready to work any time. When we travelled to Lusaka for example we were writing a communiqué because we knew in advance what the chairperson is going to speak as deliberation.

There was a time we went to attend a meeting in Lusaka. As the leaders continued with a meeting we were outside preparing a communiqué. By that time I was an Acting Foreign Minister and so I was a Chairman of the Committee of the Ministers; so when they finished the meeting around 6 pm I send that draft of communiqué to Mwlaimu. He corrected two parts and directed us to give it to the journalists. It was serious decision that was made and principally it was not supposed to be communicated through Aliisahihisha sehemu mbili tu akasema tuwape waandishi wa habari. Lakini ilikuwa communiqué because that was a period of liberation struggles. Therefore, the commitment of Tanzania was so high and Nyerere was an influential and powerful leader.

By that time I started being involved with liberation struggles we were with Hashim Mbita. I was with him in the commission that investigated the assassination of ZANU chairperson, comrade Chitepo in Lusaka. The investigation was an eye opener to us because we learnt about the intra party conflicts in liberation parties. Chitepo was killed by his fellow ZANU members. His death was due to tribal differences within ZANU. Zimbabwe has two big tribes; Shona and Ndebele. The two parties, ZANU and ZAPU were tribalistic; ZANU was for Shona and ZAPU for Ndebele. But further inside the Shona tribe there were three sub-tribes; namely, Karanga who are the majority, Manyika and Zulu. While many ZANU leaders were mainly Karanga its chairperson Chitepo was from Zulu sub-tribe. So Karanga plotted to kill their chairperson Chitepo so that they could put another person from Karanga. We interrogated the key players and discovered that the bomb that killed Chitepo was made in one of the camps whose commander later became Chief of Zimbabwe defence forces. So we learnt that we were supporting them to get independence while in reality they had a lot of problems within themselves. There was a time during the meeting of the Frontline States in Lusaka, the ZANU delegates were led by Robert Mugabe while at the same time Ndabaningi Sithole was their Chairperson and he was recognised by Frontline states. The leaders asked them how comes we were not informed of the leadership changes? As a result they were refused to enter.

So we had a huge political task to educate those political parties to get rid of their differences so that they should not weaken the liberation struggles. Even within FRELIMO before Samora Machel took power there were a lot of leadership related problems. The major task of the Frontline States was to educate them on the disadvantages of disunity in the liberation struggles. In 1975 I was appointed Deputy Attorney General. However, I continued being a member in the Foreign affairs that was responsible for liberation struggles because of the experience that I had already got through the previous team.

After Mozambique got its independence we focussed our attention to Zimbabwe. The negotiations for the independence of Zimbabwe continued and the misunderstandings between British Prime Minister Margreth Thatcher and african leaders on Zimbabwe became an order of the day. Finally in 1979 it was agreed that the negotiations on constitution had to continue. Before that we had a meeting in Geneva. Henry Kissinger passed in our countries to collect our opinions on Zimbabwe. He got different opinions from different countries he visite. Upon our arrival in Geneva we realised that things had changed. I witnessed racism in Geneva. Smith came with his two senior ministers; namely John Smith Minister for Finance and Minister for Internal Affairs whose name was van der Byl. Frontline States sent a team to advise on liberation issues. Salim Ahmed Salim and I represented

Tanzania. The chairperson of that meeting was British national Ivor Richard.

When Ian Smith and John Smith entered into the room they greeted us by holding our hands, but Van der Byl never shook our hands. He said you cannot greet an African by giving him your hand. Even during the meeting the explanations that Ian Smith and his fellow gave were racist because he insisted that Africans were not ready for independence.

There is one evidence that was a lesson to those white people that Africans can be stubborn. The meeting started at 4 pm. The Frontline States together with the delegation of Ian Smith, Muzorewa, Sithole and others had come to the conference earlier than 4 pm but the delegation of ZANU and ZAPU were late to come. Joshua Nkomo of ZAPU and his delegation were late for five minutes. At the same time went back to Rhodesia and Van der Byl took the charge of leading the delegation of Zimbabwe. When Nkomo entered Van der Byl told the Chairperson, "Chairman, I have told you that these people are not ready to be given responsibility. See how late they are." Nkomo responded politely and explained the reasons for the delay and apologised.

Mugabe and his delegation were late for ten minutes. Van der Byl repeated the similar statement. Mugabe turned to him and said, "You Boer, we have waited for our independence for 80 years. Why can't you wait for 10 minutes?" He pulled the chair and sat; and that white man became so furious.

During that meeting Muzorewa and Sithole attacked their fellow Mugabe and Nkomo more than he attacked Smith and company. They were seen clearly to be on the side of Smith. Nkomo and Mugabe had their minor differences. So the Frontline States had that duty of uniting them.

That is what we did in that Geneva Conference. We stayed there for the whole month without getting any solution for Zimbabwe stalemate. Then in 1979 another meeting was convened in Lancaster, London from September to December. That meeting put together three sides who distinct interests; Ian Smith had his own interests to be protected; the British government had its own interests and the liberation groups had their interests. Unfortunately, the liberation groups were so divided. Muzorewa and his group were seen clearly to support Smith. The PF side of Mugabe and Nkomo had one voice but inside they were split. The meeting was so contentious.

I led Tanzanian delegation with Charles Kileo and Mbita. We had some representatives from Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana. We created a group of Frontline States. I was giving Mwalimu the updates of the meeting on daily basis.

In that meeting Smith said that the independence of Zimbabwe could be obtained but there should be a security of tenure. This means that the white settlers had to stay on the land they occupied without and disturbances and those with titles (Permanent secretaries, directors etc.) in the government should remain with their titles undisturbed.

The freedom fighters asked what was the meaning of independence they were demanding for? Finally it was agreed that there should be a transitional period of security of tenure. Meaning that those who were in government would maintain their employments and they had to leave offices in phases and voluntarily; so whenever a white man left the office the replacement was a black Zimbabwean. However, on the issue of land, Smith insisted that the ownership should remain in the hands of the white settlers. The freedom fighters insisted that their struggles were meant to liberate their land. That dispute was presented to the UK Minister for Foreign Affairs Lord Carrington. The condition that remained there was that the liberation war must continue until when the land issue was resolved.

The UK communicated with USA and agreed that they will compensate the white people the land that will be left for Africans. But they requested for more time to mobilise funds. So the matter was brought to the meeting and it was proposed that there should be put in agreement that after ten years the money for compensation would be ready and the whitesettlers will have to leave the farms to Africans. That was in 1979 and independence was obtained in 1980 and the deadline for the implementation of the agreement was 1990. Unfortunately, up to the deadline year the UK had never released even five cents for the compensation.

In 1990 Mandela was set free from the prison. The leaders of Zimbabwe knew that if they ignored the issue of land they could have put their friends in South Africa to have majority rule because the issues of land between the countries were similar. In 1997 South Africa got majority rule and Mugabe asked the British government about their pledge of compensation of the land. Tony Blair who was the Prime Minister by then denied to have known that agreement. It was due to that response Mugabe decided to take the land from the white settlers. Mugabe does not deserve blame on this.

Another issue that emerged during Lancaster negotiation meeting was the issue Smith's armies and the freedom fighters to be put in the assembly points. It was proposed that the armies under Smith had to be assembled in the assembly points inside Zimbabwe while the freedom fighters had to be assembled in the border areas. So ZANU fighters had to be assembled at the border with Mozambique and those of Nkomo had to be assembled at the border with Zambia.

The freedom fighters disagreed with this proposal fearing that the army that was assembled inside the country could be used in vote rigging and could threaten people during election and favour Smith. So it was finally agreed that fighters adherent to Nkomo and Mugabe had to be given one assembly point each within Zimbabwe and in other points at the border; however, Mugabe and his group refused to second that proposal.

Finally the leaders of Frontline States met in Nampula Mozambique to discuss that matter. They agreed that freedom fighters in Zimbabwe should agree to have assembly points otherwise they stop supporting them. After their meeting in Nampula Mwalimu called me to explain their decision and directed me to tell Mugabe and Nkomo that they can decide not to accept the agreements of the meeting but they should know that the frontline states will not support them.

So for us as representatives of Frontline States had to look for Nkomo and Mugabe to tell about that proposal and we said it was for their benefit to have assembly points at the border than within Zimbabwe because if anything happened that could force them to go back to Mozambique or Zambia it will be easier for them than being inside of Zimbabwe. Therefore those leaders finally agreed and the preparations of elections started officially and finally ZANU PF won elections by securing more votes and thus in April 1980 Zimbabwe got independence. On the matter of combining the forces, the armies for Smith, Nkomo and Mugabe had to be united and formed one military. This was not simple but it was possible to have a joint military after putting them in one command.

When Zimbabwe was getting its independence in April 1980 President Reagan invited to the meeting the representatives of South Africa and SWAPO to discuss how to implement the Resolution 435 of the United Nations on Namibian independence. I represented Tanzania in the dialogue with Ambassador Paul Rupia, who was our representative to the UN. The dialogue was not simple because these two sides did not want to be reconciled; so USA had to prepare proximity tables. The SWAPO representatives were in New York and from South Africa were in Washington. The American delegation went to talk to SWAPO delegation in New York and they moved to Washington to hold talks with Africa. The Frontline States were given a special consideration of directing the dialogues. And finally we agreed on the implementation for the Resolution 435 on the independence of Namibia; and that was the conclusion.

The American ambassador to UN in New York called me and Ambassador Paul Rupia for a tea in his residence. We went while very happy. When we were on the table having tea we congratulated each other. The American Ambassador alluded that it was not over but that was one step ahead. He said that the independence of Namibia will not be obtained until when the Cuban armies will be removed from Angola. And that was the condition of Reagan. It took ten years later for Namibia to get independence; up to 1990.

After that I joined the government as the Minister of Legal Affairs and Attorney General and then later I became a Prime Minister and the first Vice President. The new political positions

reduced my capacity to participate in the liberation struggles on full time basis. During that time the movements continued because after independence in Mozambique RENAMO emerged to fight with the government. When I was a Prime Minister I went up to Mozambique to meet our soldiers who supporting the Mozambican army to fight against RENAMO.

On part of Souther Africa, we were fighting against the Portuguese, Smith and South Africa that occupied Namibia. South Africa was in the frontline to defend and prorect colonialism in the southern Africa. The meetings I attended include those of United Nations or OAU. South Africa was an obstacle to liberation struggles because it helped Portuguese in Mozambique and Angola, Smith in Rhodesia and held Namibia as its colony.

We supported liberation parties of ANC and PAC; and we resolved their internal oppblems. Oliver Tambo came to me so often and I highly respected him. When I became a Prime Minister I invited him to come to my home to hold casual talks.

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