

African Journal of History and Geography

ajhg.eanso.org

Volume 3, Issue 1, 2024

Print ISSN: 2790-7589 | Online ISSN: 2790-7597

Title DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37284/2790-7597>



EAST AFRICAN
NATURE &
SCIENCE
ORGANIZATION

Original Article

Contribution of Cattle Riot to the Rise and Development of Nationalism in Zanzibar, 1930s-1960s: (The vanguard that laid the foundation for modern politics in the isles) A Case of Urban West Region

Kassimu Bakari Mnkeni¹*

¹ The Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy, P. O. Box 307 Zanzibar, Tanzania.

* Author's ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0000-9267-7454>; Email: mnkeniafricanus@gmail.com

Article DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37284/ajhg.3.1.2439>

Date Published: **ABSTRACT**

25 November 2024

Keywords:

*Cattle Riot,
Nationalism,
Revolution,
Development.*

The nature of colonial rule in Zanzibar triggered the outbreak of the cattle riot of Kiembesamaki in 1951. The colonial rule was generally perceived as harsh and cruel to the peasants of Kiembesamaki as they introduced a project of vaccinating all the cattle found with diseases. This was not well understood by the peasants as they thought it was a deliberate intention of killing their cattle. The study explored the contributions of cattle riots to the rise and development of nationalism in Zanzibar. A qualitative research approach was applied in which the researcher applied a Case study. The study was conducted in Kiembesamaki, an Urban District in the Western Urban Region. In this study, the researcher used purposive sampling. Through these, the researcher managed to consult forty-one (41) respondents aged fifty years and above. Data were collected qualitatively using Interviews, Questionnaires, and documentary reviews. Results revealed that the Cattle Riot had a remarkable contribution to the rise and development of Nationalism in Zanzibar, and it was the Cattle Riot that entered Zanzibar into a modern nationalistic struggle, the foundation for modern politics in the isles. Hence, it was the cattle riot that brought a sense of nationalistic movement and later on the 1964 revolution in Zanzibar. It is recommended that politicians should learn to be tolerant of the political crisis in Zanzibar.

APA CITATION

Mnkeni, K. B. (2024). Contribution of Cattle Riot to the Rise and Development of Nationalism in Zanzibar, 1930s-1960s: (The vanguard that laid the foundation for modern politics in the isles) A Case of Urban West Region. *African Journal of History and Geography*, 3(1), 122-134. <https://doi.org/10.37284/ajhg.3.1.2439>.

CHICAGO CITATION

Mnkeni, Kassimu Bakari. "Contribution of Cattle Riot to the Rise and Development of Nationalism in Zanzibar, 1930s-1960s: (The vanguard that laid the foundation for modern politics in the isles) A Case of Urban West Region". *African Journal of History and Geography* 3 (1), 122-134. <https://doi.org/10.37284/ajhg.3.1.2439>

HARVARD CITATION

Mnkeni, K. B. (2024) "Contribution of Cattle Riot to the Rise and Development of Nationalism in Zanzibar, 1930s-1960s: (The vanguard that laid the foundation for modern politics in the isles) A Case of Urban West Region", *African Journal of History and Geography*, 3 (1), pp. 122-134. doi: 10.37284/ajhg.3.1.2439.

IEEE CITATION

K. B. Mnkeni "Contribution of Cattle Riot to the Rise and Development of Nationalism in Zanzibar, 1930s-1960s: (The vanguard that laid the foundation for modern politics in the isles) A Case of Urban West Region", *AJHG*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 122-134, Nov. 2024.

MLA CITATION

Mnkeni, Kassimu Bakari "Contribution of Cattle Riot to the Rise and Development of Nationalism in Zanzibar, 1930s-1960s: (The vanguard that laid the foundation for modern politics in the isles) A Case of Urban West Region". *African Journal of History and Geography*, Vol. 3, no. 1, Nov. 2024, pp. 122-134, doi:10.37284/ajhg.3.1.2439.

INTRODUCTION

The cattle riot was a war waged by the people of Kiembesamaki in the Urban West Region, who revolted against the British colonial project of vaccinating all cattle with Anthrax, Rinderpest and Foot and Mouth Disease (FMD) at a time when the price of cattle was in climax. The riot was waged in July 1951 when the British government aimed to fulfil their interest by treating all cattle with the identified diseases. Unfortunately, the peasant of the Urban West Region thought that the government had no intention of treating their cattle but to kill them all.

Kimambo (1969:18) informed that the nineteenth century was the period of Tanzania's history which had been much oversimplified. It was easy to work in the nineteenth century as a period of change. The pre-1800 period was one during which many Tanzanian societies were static or to recognise changes and, perhaps, improvement in both social and political organisation, but consider that changes have been initiated by some superior groups of people with a special kind of 'know-how'. In contrast, the stimulus to many of the changes in that period could be traced to the arrival of new groups of people into regions already inhabited.¹

So, European colonial masters must be condemned for their action of subjugating the peasants for their land and cattle to fulfil their colonial industrial objective as Kimambo (1969:18) further informs that;

"There was no single group responsible for transmitting the ideas of changes and improvement to all parts of Tanzania, even when the ideas diffused from one area to another, local initiatives (of peasants)

transformed these ideas and adapted them to the needs of that particular society..."²

According to Babu (1968), Words got around that the Colonialists' real objective was not to save the cattle but to kill them off at a time when the price of cattle in the world market was at the highest peak due to the Korean boom (Babu, 1968:29)³

Among the reasons for the outbreak of cattle riot in Kiembesamaki include, among others, the expansion of the airdrome at Kiembesamaki, which went hand in hand with expropriation of African land in today's area of Kiembesamaki where Abed Amani Karume International Airport is situated, introduction of cattle development scheme, dissatisfaction of Africans by the Court decision at Vuga and the World capitalist situation in which the price of one hundred pounds of cloves was more than ninety hundred shillings in 1952. This brought a lot of profits as the cattle price went up, and the British government was looking for the peasants' cattle. Ultimately, this threatened the peasant's survival as they feared their cattle would be appropriated⁴.

Statement of the Problem

Many scholars have researched nationalism in Zanzibar, and many journals have been published with information about nationalism in Zanzibar (Lofchie, 1965, Babu, 1968 Sheriff, 1968). This relates to the coming of foreigners agitated by some economic factors; for example, most Arabs wanted to control trade in the Indian Ocean, while Europeans were searching for the requirement to quench their industrial needs and look for raw materials needed in their homelands. (Afigbo et al 1968: 342)⁵

¹ Kimambo I.N, (1969) A History of Tanzania, C. 1500 – 1900. Nairobi: EAPH

² Ibid

³ Babu A (1968), Revolution, A Vanguard or Lumpen (a chapter from sheriff, A)

⁴ Sheriff, (1968), Zanzibar Under Colonial Rule, James Currey, London

⁵ Afigbo et al (1968), The making of modern Africa, Hong Kong, Longman.

However, no study has been conducted on the significance of cattle riots in the Urban West Region as the pushing factor towards Nationalistic struggle in Zanzibar. Therefore, the current study aimed at assessing the contributions of cattle riots to the development of nationalism in Zanzibar.

Objectives of the Study

The study's main objective was to assess the Contribution of the Cattle Riot to the Development of Nationalism in Zanzibar from the 1930s to the 1960s. Specifically, the paper examined how cattle Riots entered Zanzibar into the modern political era.

Research Questions

The study was guided by the three main questions;

- What were the main reasons for the outbreak of cattle riots?
- What are the perceptions of peasants of the Urban West Region on nationalism?
- What role did cattle Riot play in the development of nationalism in Zanzibar?

Significance of the Study

Findings from this study are useful in disclosing, among Africans, particularly Tanzanians, especially in Zanzibar, the significance of cattle riots to developing nationalism in Zanzibar. Findings will add knowledge to the understanding of the history of Zanzibar, specifically the development of nationalism in Zanzibar.

Also, findings from this study will promote Zanzibar's Understanding of the old trends of political movements that shaped the current scenario with the existing political crisis.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical review

The researcher identified two theories to guide literature to create a good academic context. These are class struggle advocated by Karl Marx

(1818-1883) and social capital theories. According to Karl Marx, "The society has been in struggle since then to date, between rich and poor, educated and non-educated, have and have not because of stratifications brought by the production process."

He went far ahead insisting that "in European Society, capitalist class oppressed the working class where the former owned all major means of production which allowed to exploit the latter who owned nothing but their labour..." (Hughes, T: 1961, p. 10) ⁶

This was very relevant to Africa during colonialism, in which colonial masters oppressed the colonised (Africans). On the other hand, the social capital theory paraphrased by Luca Andrian (2013) is also very relevant in this study. To him,

"The associational activities within the community are able to foster a sense of civic engagement where cooperation, reciprocity and mutual trust are developed and used to solve problems..." (Andrian, 2013, p. 3).

He again insists, "It is a public good act as a public good it depends on the willingness of members of the community to avoid free-riding..." (Andrian: p. 5)

Therefore, in this context, the researcher in this study has been inspired by social capital theory because it has a direct connotation to the study as it advocates for the involvement of the local community in problem-solving and because the society is the main producer and custodian of historical knowledge, it is of great importance for it to be considered in problem-solving.

Empirical review

Until now, very little literature contains adequate knowledge about cattle riots and the development of nationalism in Zanzibar. Some of these literal works include, among others;

⁶ Hughes, T. (1961). A profile of Zanzibar. Africa South, 5(3), 85-89.

The study of Professor Sherrif, "*Zanzibar under Colonial Rule*", is one of the prominent books that largely depicts the reality of cattle riot.

Also, to a large extent, Abraham Babu under "*The 1964 Revolution*" Lumpen or Vanguard" has greatly pinpointed the trends of cattle riots, their causes and their significance to the party politics. He explains how the cattle riot entered Zanzibar in the modern nationalist movement. Uzoigwe (1990), "*European Partition and Conquest of Africa*": an overview in Boahen (eds) General history of Africa, vol vii, UNESCO, California justified the same scenario by peasants in Namibia, the Nama and Herero who revolted against the colonial government action of confiscating their cattle and alienating their land.

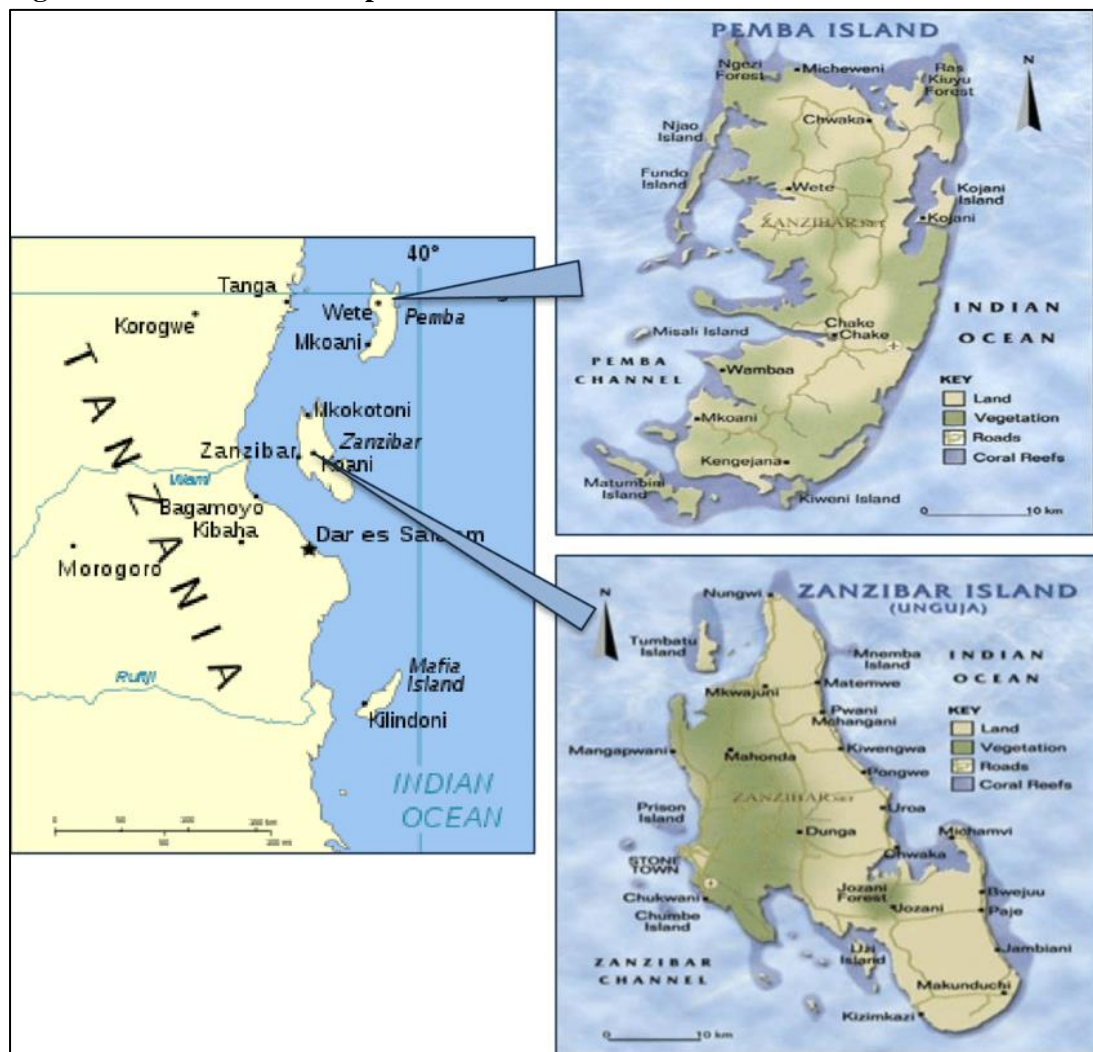
From the above reviewed literature, it is evident that there are few books and no articles describing the issue of cattle riots in Kiembesamaki in detail employing both primary and secondary data collection methods. Thus, few existing data on this topic lack the justification from the primary sources of data. On top of that, most of the reviewed literature was conducted around the 1960s and 1970s. These gaps were filled by this study as it employed both primary and secondary sources of data collection methods and the study brings current and updated information on cattle riots in Kiembesamaki.

METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted in Kiembesamaki, an Urban District in the Western Urban Region, of

Zanzibar. Geographically, Kiembesamaki is located eight (8) kilometres from Zanzibar Town Urban West Region. Also, the region is located entirely on the island of Zanzibar and bordered to the west by the Indian Ocean, north by the Unguja North Region and to the east by the Unguja South Region. The area is populated by multi-race societies, including Afro-Arabs, Afro-Indians, and many African ethnic groups. The researcher selected these areas, Urban District and Urban West Region, because they were the core areas in which the event took place, especially in the following: Shehias, Kiembesamaki, Bweleo, Uwanja wa ndege and Mazizini. The researcher visited all these Shehias.

This study employed a qualitative research approach and quantitative techniques to assess the contribution of cattle riots to the development of nationalism in Zanzibar. The study population included residents of Zanzibar possessing key information on the cattle riot of Kiembesamaki. From the study population, a sample of 40 respondents was purposively selected to provide information on the cattle riot of Kiembesamaki. The inclusive criteria were based on age and possession of relevant information on the cattle riot of Kiembesamaki. The study collected data from both primary and secondary sources. Specifically, data was collected through interviews, documentary reviews and questionnaires. Data were qualitatively analyzed through content analysis and they were presented descriptively through narration, quotations as well as tables.

Figure 1: Administrative map of Zanzibar

Source: NBS.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The findings and discussion of the study were presented and analysed in accordance with research objectives, i.e., the Contribution of Cattle Riot to the Development of Nationalism in Zanzibar from the 1930s to 1960s, reasons for the outbreak of cattle riot and the perceptions of peasants of Urban West Region on nationalism.

Factors Contributed to the Outbreak of Cattle Riot

The riot was waged in July 1951. The British government at the time had an objective of fulfilling their capitalist demands of gaining profits by treating all the cattle with the identified diseases. Still, unfortunately, the peasant of Kiembesamaki thought that the government had

no intention of treating their cattle but rather their objective was to kill off all their cattle.

From the findings, the study reveals two main/basic factors for the outbreak of cattle riots in 1951. There are local factors due to the World situation after the Second World War.

The local factors comprised land expropriation from the peasants for the aim of expanding the airdrome, the present Abeid Amani Karume International airport at Kiembesamaki, which was formerly situated at Fumba and the question of cattle, that cattle development scheme where a number of various animal baths were constructed.

On the other hand, the world situation (capitalist crisis) soon after the Second World War in almost all British colonies, Zanzibar included, is yet

another factor for the outbreak of cattle riots in Zanzibar in which the British government enacted various laws, especially on land to recover her badly affected economy. These two basic factors evoked Peasants' minds in Kiembesamaki and Fumba peninsula.

How did the villagers of Kiembesamaki react against the Cattle Development scheme?

The British Government in the 1950s initiated and constructed various dips (animal. Bathes) at Kiembesamaki and Fumba Peninsula. The government forced peasants to bring their cattle to those dips, but most peasants feared the government order, as Abraham Babu (1968:45) informs;

"Peasants developed the fear that they will be asked to pay fees for bathing animals at the dips. Although at the beginning they were convinced in the free methods but they were less confident with the government measures..."⁷

Some peasants around the Fumba peninsula suspected they would be asked to pay some cash later on; some even asked themselves; how will they get the cash for the payments while cattle are not producing milk?" Therefore, findings show that in July 1951, the peasants of Kiembesamaki (urban region) on the Fumba peninsula spearheaded a riot in town based on the cattle dipping controversy that is cattle riot.

Others believed that the dipping process would interfere with milk production as it would result in the loss of the animals. So, under decree No 22/48 of the Zanzibar protectorate, peasants, especially convicts, were fined each 100 shillings. This decision was offered in court while more than 200 people gathered outside the court. Again, this act made peasants demonstrate against the British government. Another reason that brought cattle riots is the question of land annexation, where the government squeezed people in Kiembesamaki by force to expand the airdrome (Nowadays Abeid

Amani Karume International Airport) mainly for commercial and military purposes.

In this context, the peasant of Kiembesamaki reacted vigorously against the expropriation of their land. Sheriff (1968: 38) holds that;

*"The British government, by force, annexed the Peoples' land for the objective of expanding the airdrome in which the peasants were not benefited from it at all ..."*⁸ (Face-to-Face Interview; A key Informant at Kiembesamaki, 28/07/2022).

So, while peasants were crying bitterly for their cattle, land added salt to their fresh injury and, therefore, touched their long-time wounds. Hence, findings further show that on **30 July 1951**, a large crowd of people had gathered in the morning from different parts. Still, many of them were from Kiembesamaki in Fumba peninsular, and that was the beginning of joint forces of peasants as a unified group claiming their long-time right of owning their land and animals.

The Significances of the Cattle Riot of Kiembesamaki

- The cattle riot brought a sense of awareness among the people of Kiembesamaki and Zanzibar in general.
- It brought unity among the people of Fumba peninsula and Zanzibar in general. For example, in court at Vuga, the convicts were fined sh. 100 each, the convicts refused, but some people who gathered outside the courthouse to hear the case agreed to pay the fine. These people were about 200 from remote villages (Mohamed, 2006).
- The cattle riot left a lesson to the government when their leaders were arrested and imprisoned/ accused of sparking the fire of the 1951 riot (Cattle Riot). Prominent among these leaders were Maalim Zaid, Miraj Shaalab and Haji Hussein (Hughes, 1967).

⁷ Babu, A (1968). Revolution, A Vanguard or Lumpen (a chapter from sheriff, A)

⁸ Ibid (pg. 38-45)

- Of the most remarkable achievements and contributions of the cattle, the riot marked the beginning of Mass Organization and ushered in the era of Party Politics.
- It initiated the revolutionary mass alliance of workers and peasants, which made Zanzibar's political experiences unique in East Africa (Ayam, 1970).

Commenting on the significance of the cattle riot, a key informant at Uwanja wa Ndege area had this to say:

“Cattle riot brought consciousness among the mere peasants ever happened in the history of Africa” (Face-to-Face Interview; A key Informant at Uwanja wa Ndege Area, 11/02/2022).

Therefore, the real projection of the point started at Kiembesamaki; a small group of peasants formed a political party which they named *"Hizbul-watan Raiatul sultan"*, which means the national party of Sultan's subjects later on was changed to be Zanzibar Nationalist Party, ZNP). This party stood for a multi-racial concept, a demand for immediate independence.

These organised farmers' movements were not only political, as explained by Babu (1968) it was also against colonial occupation, and they were therefore supported by the urban petty bourgeoisie who showed it was their only liberation.

Hizbul-Watan was also embraced in Pemba Island as well as by the people of Kenya coast, who were then officially categorised as the sultan subject. They changed its name from NPSS to ZNP.

With regard to the significance of the cattle riot at Kiembesamaki, a key informant at the Uwanja wa ndege area reported that:

“In compliance with the party's origin, the party president and vice presidents' top position was always kept by African name to justify its multi-racial character. Therefore, the cattle riot pushed Zanzibar into the stream of modern nationalist struggles and politics

under the ZNP, in which people formed from different racial groups, and most of the members were peasants. Other leaders of ZNP include; Ramadhan Khamis, Bwana Haji Hussein, Bwana Othman Sudi, Maalim Makusdi, Maalim Waziri, Sheikh Mahmoud Kombo, Bwana Miraji Shaalab, Sheikh Rashid Hamad, Bwana Vuai Kitoweo and Bwana Amani Thani”. (Face-to-Face Interview; A key Informant at Uwanja wa Ndege Area, 11/02/2022).

Findings reveal that within that time, the party had majority support even in the island's northern part". These people appointed Vuai Kitoweo, who was typically black, as the president of this party. It is said he was appointed to attract the majority of blacks; hence, it was the nationalist party in a way it was under the chairmanship of Vuai Kitoweo. Other political parties that were formed include, among others, the Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples Party (ZPPP) and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) (Babu, 1968).

Therefore, it is clearly shown that Cattle Riot had a remarkable contribution to the development of Nationalism in Zanzibar, where several elections were held from 1957- 1963. The result of these elections is shown below as follows. Still, the most significant election was in 1963, which determined the distribution of seats in the legislative council where the difference was only one seat.

Multi-Party Elections under Colonial Rule

The study revealed that four general elections were held in Zanzibar under the British colonial administration. All these elections were very competitive, with close results that were hotly contested. All were characterised by tensions that, at times, escalated to disorder and conflicts. The report of the Provincial Administration for the year 1958 recorded, among others, that rival political parties boycotted funerals and religious ceremonies (Lofchie, 1965).

Most contentious and disputed by one party or the other according to its interest were voter registration, boundary delimitation and

perceptions of discrimination. These reflected themselves in politicians' speeches, which were dominated by threats and abusive language (*ibid*). Accusations of voters being ferried for registration from safe constituencies (in the eye of a political party) to marginal ones were not uncommon.

Findings also show that Hatred between supporters of opposing parties sometimes deepened into boycotting each other's social functions. Discrepancies, whereby election results showed the winner of the more seats had the lesser number of total votes, were construed by the aggrieved to be evidence of unfair constituency boundary delimitation. All these elections were conducted by a supervisor or Commissioner of Elections appointed by the colonial administration.

The 1957 Elections

These were the first-ever elections in Zanzibar. The main contestants were the ZNP and the Afro-Shirazi Union (later to become the ASP). There were also a few residual racial/religious

associations and independent candidates. Six of the twelve seats in the Legislative Council (LegCo) were at stake, as the other six were to be filled through appointment by the Sultan. Delimitation was based on the 1948 census and grouping of Shehias within the framework of administrative boundaries of Mudirias and Districts.

Apart from nationality and a residence of at least a year in Zanzibar, age (minimum 25 years), Sex (Males only), literacy (for those under the age of 40) and ownership of property were the main qualifications for a voter. Most targeted in objections against registration as voters were people of mainland origin and those perceived as poor who had difficulty proving their wealth. The Afro-Shirazi Union and its affiliates won the elections in a landslide, securing 5 of the 6 contested seats. The other seat went to Sheikh Mohammed Choudhary, who stood as an independent sent in by the Muslim Association (Representing Indian Muslims) with just a few votes. The ZNP could not win a seat despite an adequate number of votes (Lofchie, 1965).

Table 1: The results of the 1957 Election were as follows:

Party	No. of Voters	%	No. of Seats
ASP	21,632	60.1	5
ZNP	7,761	21.6	0
Sher Mohammed (Independent)	519	1.4	1
Other Associations	5,449	15.2	0
Rejected Votes	619	1.7	-
TOTAL	35,980	100.00	6

Source: Zanzibar Archive.

The January 1961 Elections

The January 1961 Elections were in accordance with the Elections Decree 1957, which provided for a fresh general election within three years after the 1957 election. One of the terms of reference under this election demanded the Commissioner to pay regard to the need to have the Legislature predominantly elective (Babu, 1968). Regarding this term of reference, Sir Hilary Blood proposed

that there should be 21 seats for elected members of LegCo. The colonial administration decided on 22 seats, adding one to Stone Town. Delimitation was based on the 1958 census and grouping of Shehias within the administrative boundaries of Mudirias and Districts (Sheriff, 1968). On voter eligibility, the franchise was extended to women, whereby the ones married to eligible husbands were also relieved of the burden of proving their wealth.

Table 2: The January 1961 election results were as follows: -

Party	No. of votes	%	No. of seats
ASP	36,698	40.2	10
ZNP	32,724	35.8	9
ZPPP	15,541	17.0	3
Rejected votes	6,409	7.0	-
TOTAL	91,372	100.00	22

Source: Zanzibar Archive.

The June 1961 Elections

The January 1961 stalemate prompted the colonial administration to decide on an odd number of seats. A suggestion to revert to the 21 seats proposed by the Blood Commission by merging the two Stone Town seats was rejected on the grounds that it would be a retrospective move. It was thus decided to add a 23rd seat at Mtambile in Pemba (Babu, 1968). The ZNP and ZPPP went

into a formal alliance whereby if one party contested for the constituency, the other would not. These elections were marred by bloody riots on Election Day that started as skirmishes and disturbances based on suspicions over multiple voting (Sheriff, 1968).

In this election, the ZNP/ZPPP alliance won the elections by a total of 13 seats with 48.7% of the cast votes to 10 seats of the ASP with 49.9%.

Table 3: The results of the June 1961 elections were as follows

Party	No. Of votes	%	No. Of seats
ASP	45,172	49.9	10
ZNP	31,681	35.0	10
ZPPP	12,411	13.7	03
Rejected votes	1,331	1.4	-
Total	90,595	100.00	23

Source: Zanzibar Archive.

The 1963 Elections

According to (Lofchie, 1965) the elections in June 1961 created an atmosphere of intense rivalry and antagonism between the political parties and their supporters as a result of the disturbances that caused considerable loss of life. This situation prompted the introduction of several special measures aimed at making the 1963 elections peaceful and fairer. Such measures included the following: -

- Establishment of a strong Elections Advisory Committee with equal representation from the Governing and Opposition parties, which was involved in every step of the electoral process.
- Registration was designed to produce a comprehensive check on the identity of every voter. To this end, each voter's card for the first time contained the voter's photograph

and thumbprint in addition to personal particulars. Duplicate cards containing the same information were made and kept to assist in detecting forgery and as a permanent register of voters.

- Eight expatriate officers from outside Zanzibar personally supervised every process in the field at all registration points.
- Twenty-four expatriate officers from overseas personally supervised every polling station, and a further seven were engaged in the counting of votes.
- *Shehas* (*Shehia* leaders) were involved in identifying ineligible voters who attempted to present themselves for registration.
- As an additional check on multiple voting, every voter was required, for the first time, to

dip his/her thumb in indelible ink after casting his/her vote.

Intensive security precautions were taken by the Zanzibar Police and the 2nd Battalion, the Scots Guard (Army), to prevent intimidation of voters or other breaches of the peace.

- On account of the need to permit maximum concentration of security forces, Zanzibar was divided into four groups of constituencies, each group being assigned its own polling day.

The measures depicted above were supported by a key informant in the Vuga area who argued that:

“Agents from each political party attended every registration point to check and, if necessary, object to registering any person as a voter”. (Face-to-Face Interview; A key Informant at Vuga area, 15/03/2022).

Thus, mainstream polling took place in four days, namely the 8th and 9th of July 1963 in Pemba and the 12th and 13th of July in Unguja. There was also early polling at special polling stations on 6 July 1963.

Apart from those special measures, several reforms were introduced to make the 1963

elections more democratic. These include the following: -

- Designation of the Supervisor of Elections as Elections Commissioner,
- Removal of the property and literacy requirements for voters to qualify,
- Introduction of the requirement for what was referred to as "normal residence" in a constituency and introduction of a provision for special voting whereby all members of the election staff, the Police and the Sultan's two ships staff were transferred to a special list and were required to vote at special polling stations on a special day on ballot papers relating to their Constituencies.

The 1963 Election was conducted on 31 constituencies as proposed by Arundel and accepted by the government. Delimitation was based on the 1958 census and grouping of Shehias within the administrative boundaries of Mudirias and Districts. The contest was in June 1961 between the ZNP/ZPPP alliance and the ASP. The ZNP/ZPPP alliance won more seats (18 of the 31), but the ASP won more votes (53.4%). Since it was the number of seats that counted, the ZNP/ZPPP alliance was declared the winner of the elections.

Table 4: The results of the 1963 Elections were as follows

Party	No. Of votes	%	No. Of seats
ASP	87,402	53.4	13
ZNP	47,943	29.3	12
ZPPP	25,610	15.6	06
Rejected votes	2,868	1.7	-
Total	163,823	100.00	31

Source: Zanzibar Archive.

Independence

After the 1963 elections, Zanzibar was granted Independence from British rule on 10 December 1963, with the Sultan as a constitutional monarch and Head of State based on the Lancaster House Constitution. The ZNP/ZPPP alliance formed the government with Mohammed Shamte Hamad, the

ZPPP Leader, as Prime Minister. The ASP went into opposition. However, the government was not to last long as on 12 January 1964, it was overthrown through a popular uprising that was organised by supporters of the ASP in conjunction with those of the Umma Party, a splinter of the ZNP (Lofchie, 1965).

Figure 6: Election results and individual contestant

Constituency	Candidate	Affiliate	Support	Vote
Zanzibar south	Aimer Tajo	ASU	ASU	5,380
	Amour Zahor	ZNP	ZNP	1,679
Zanzibar north	Daud mahmoud	ASU	ASU	3,689
	Haji Mohamed	INDEP	ZNP	3,221
Pemba south	Mohamed shamte	INDEP	SHIRAZI	5,851
	Rashid Ali El-Khaify		ZNP	1,488
	Abdullah Suleiman	IDEP	INDEP	1,075
	Al – Busaidy			
Pemba north	Ali sharrif Mussa	INDEP	SHIRAZ	3,386
	Rashid Hamadi		ZNP	3,182
	Othman	ASU	AFRICAN	657
	Shaban sudi mponda		ASSOC	
Stone town	Sher Mohamed	INDEP	MUSLIM	519
	Chewdhary		ASSOCIATION	
	Rulti Abulsara	ZNP	ZNP	494
	Amerali Hassan virji	INDEP	ASP	392
	Badul Qadir mukri	INDEP	ASU	49
N'gambo	Abeid A. Karume	ASU	ASP	3229
	Ali Muhsin Barwan	ZNP	ZNP	918
	Iboni Sahehe	INDEP	Commorian Association	55

NB: The table is a direct quotation from Zanzibar's Background to Revolution by Michael Lofchie.⁹

Table 5: Distribution of seats in the Legislative Council January and June elections 1961

	January 1961			June 1961		
	ZNZ	PBA	TOTAL	ZNZ	PBA	Total
ASP	8	2	10	8	2	10
ZNP	5	4	9	5	5	10
ZPPP	-	3	3	-	3	3
Total	13	9	22	13	10	23

Table 6: 1963 ELECTION RESULTS

Constituency		ASP	ZNP	ZPPP	Total
ZANZIBAR	Forodhani	175	2403		2578
	Shangani	396	2391		2787
	Mlandenge	2736	3135		5871
	Kikwajuni	4062	1202		5265
	Mwembeladu	5066	809		5,875
	Kwahani	5701	-	216	5917
	Nugwi	2615	3198	-	5977
	Donge	4564	545	-	5,109
	Chaani	3908	1147	-	5,053
	Mangapwani	1898	3290	-	5,188
	Kiboje	2958	618	-	3,576
	Dole	2965	1518	-	4,483
	Chwaka	3785	720	-	4,505
	Fuoni	3534	1928	-	5,462
	Jozani	3818		1631	5,449

⁹ LOFCHIE, M. F. (1965). Zanzibar: Background to Revolution. Princeton University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt183q0j7>

Constituency		ASP	ZNP	ZPPP	Total
	Makunduchi	2741		2,725	5,466
PEMBA	Konde	1585	3565		5150
	Tumbe	1810		2971	4781
	Nungwi	4390		1705	6095
	Wete	2719	3140	-	5,859
	Piki	2563	-	2756	5,623
	Shengejuu	2042	-	3581	5,623
	Ziwani	1793	-	3038	4,831
	Ole	1634	3897	-	5,531
	Chakechake	2347	2627	-	4,974
	Pujini	2746	-	2983	5729
	Chambani	1569	-	3469	5038
	Kengeja	2573	3506	-	6079
	Mtambile	1913	-	3572	5485
	Mkoani	4169	1605	-	5485
Total		87,085	47,950	25,609	160,644

Source; Zanzibar Archive

Therefore, on 12 December 1963, Zanzibar became independent, where ZNP was the ruling party.

What Happened After the 1963 Independence?

ZNP, which had the majority lower class members, most of whom were peasants, quickly changed its Party structure, where Arabs from the former Arab Association occupied significant positions, leaving the majority of blacks to the lower seats/positions. So, some ZNP members joined ASP, as shown in the previous explanations that Babu (1968) and Ayam (1970) had different political philosophies, whereas Babu believed in Marxist political philosophy. Therefore, in this philosophy, the majority of blacks had not yet been liberated.

It should be clearly noted that the party (ZNP) had a very clear Party Manifesto to the lower-class people, but after elections and Independence, Arabs struggled for significant positions. So, under the Marxist Philosophy of Class Struggle, the majorities were not yet liberated, so a revolution in a society like this is necessary (Lofchie, 1965). So, the findings justify that the 1963 independence was legitimate, but after the independence, things went differently.

Results from the findings reveal that on 12 January 1964, after the 1963 independence, a

revolution was pressurised again by some members who had previously participated in the Cattle Riot. One should be able to explain the event of independence to justify the 1964 Revolution.

It was similarly imperative to grasp key informant views on what exactly happened after the 1963 independence. The following views were provided:

“Any Historian will first recognise the 1963 Independence in order to justify the 1964 Revolution. So, both two events (Independence and Revolution) are historically significant in the history of Zanzibar, and that's why the Cattle Riot is very significant in explaining the development of Nationalism in Zanzibar because probably without the 1963 independence, the event of 1964 could never happen, as Cattle Riot of Kiembesamaki partly pressurised both events”. (Face-to-Face Interview; A key Informant at Kiembesamaki, 22/07/2022).

CONCLUSION

The study has revealed that the cattle riot in Kiembesamaki was part and parcel of the formation of political parties and the development of nationalism in Zanzibar. The cattle riot was a motive force towards the formation of the

Nationalist Party by the name Zanzibar Nationalist Party, and it also laid the foundation for modern politics in the Isles. Based on the class struggle theory propagated by Karl Marx, such a society needed to revolt against the existing Arab government; the 1964 revolution was necessary, committed by the same people re-awaken by the cattle riot.¹⁰¹⁰

Recommendations

The study recommends the following;

- The contributions of the cattle riot should be recognised, and students, youth and politicians must be informed of this glorified history in their knowledge.
- Although efforts have been made to recognise the early nationalistic movements in Zanzibar, the role of cattle riots has never been given emphasise and therefore, the government and other stakeholders must make use of the significance of cattle riots in Zanzibar due to its significance in re-shaping the history and politics of the isles.
- Also, peasants, among other social groups, should value, recognise, and accept their role in re-awakening people's minds, especially in the recent ongoing political crisis in Zanzibar. It was peasants who re-awaked people's minds during colonialism.

REFERENCES

- Afigbo, A.E, Ayandele, E.A, Cooper, J.D, Palmer, R (1968). The growth of African Civilization to the late 19th, Longman Dsm. Africa vol.1, UNESCO.
- Ayam, S.G (1970), A History of Zanzibar, a study of constitutional development-1934-1964, E.A.L.B
- Andriani, L. (2013). Social capital: A road map of theoretical frameworks and empirical limitations.
- Babu, A. (1968). *Revolution, A Vanguard or Lumpen* (a chapter from Sheriff)
- Boahen, A. A (1985). General History of Africa vol vii, UNESCO
- Boahen, A. A, (1981). General *History of Africa* vol. vii, UNESCO.
- Hughes, T (1967). A Profile of Zanzibar, Africa South, vol. 5, No 3 April – June.
- Lars-Henrik Schmidt. (1977). *A Marxist Theory of Class Struggle* [Review of Cinq etudes de materialisme Historique; Sur la dictature du prolétariat, by E. Balibar]. Acta Sociologica, 20(4), 385– 392. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4194206>
- Lofchie, M.L (1965). Zanzibar Background of Revolution, Princeton Univ Press, U.S.A
- Mohammed. A (2006). A study to a history of Zanzibar, Expressing printing press, Zanzibar.
- Uzoigwe, E (1990). European Partition and Conquest of Africa: An Overview in A. Boahen (eds) General history of Africa, vol vii, UNESCO, California.
- Balibar]. Acta Sociologica, 20(4), 385–392. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4194206>

¹⁰ Lars-Henrik Schmidt. (1977). *A Marxist Theory of Class Struggle* [Review of Cinq etudes de materialisme Historique; Sur la dictature du prolétariat, by E.