Part 4:

Oct. 25-29  ‘[From] The British Protectorate’ [to]
The Revolution (1964) and legacies’
The British in Zanzibar

British involvement in Zanzibar outgrowth of role in Oman:

- 1856 succession crisis, ‘split’ Oman-Zanzibar empire created by Sayyid Said between two sons [see previous lecture]

- Sayyid Majid bin said became Sultan of Zanzibar (1856-70) [above, right]

- followed by his brothers Sayyid Bargash in (1870-88), Khalifa (1888-90) and Sayyid Ali (1890-93) [right]
The British in Zanzibar

During Bargash’s reign, Germans successfully conquered mainland:

- British worried about Indian Ocean trade: ‘traded’ rights to territories of what became Kenya, Zanzibar and Pemba

- Sayyid Ali [right] had little choice but to accept British Protection in 1890 – or be destroyed by Germans

Formal British ‘colonization’ began in 1890
Al Busaidi Family Tree

Ahmed bin Said SOZ 1744-83

Hilal (blind)
  -----------------------------
  Said SOZ 1783-89
  -----------------------------
  Hamad SOZ 1789-92

Qais
  -----------------------------
  Seif
    Bedr SOZ 1804-1806 (regent)
    Azze (Said’s first wife)

Sultan SOZ 1792-1804
  -----------------------------
  Salim (1789-1821)
  Hamad
    (Arabah’s first and only wife)

Moza

Azzan
  -----------------------------
  Qais

Azzan (SO 1868-71)

Thuwaimi

SO 1856-66

Haroub

Salim SO 1866-68

Hamoud (1847-1902)

Hussain (1896-02) (7)

Faisal SO 1888-13

Hussain (1896-02) (7)

Hamoud (1847-1902)

Talib SO 1813-32

Ali (1864-1911)

Farsch (1902-11)

Qaboos SO 1970-

Khaled

Khaled (1815-54)

Salih (1837-88)

SZ 1870-88

Khalifa (4)

1854-90

Salim (1844-1924)

SZ 1888-90

All (5)

1852-91

SZ 1890-93

SOZ - Sultan of Oman and Zanzibar
SO - Sultan of Oman
SZ - Sultan of Zanzibar

Only the names of the most prominent family members are given.
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Key Influences on Zanzibar Consequences of Five Policies:

1. Abolitionism (ending slave trade 1873, ending slavery 1897) [Ghazal, Sheriff]

2. ‘Indirect Rule’ [Ghazal]

3. ‘Ethnic Categorizing’ [Ghazal, Sheriff]

4. Immigration Policy [Limbert]

5. Colonial Economy (mainland/islands ‘split’) [Sheriff]
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Ending of Slave Trading:

- Rashid’s story revealing of impact 1873: he probably arrived in Kilwa and was subsequently sold (twice) c. 1880
- trade and market commerce continued but clandestinely
- undoubtedly affected profits accruing to major traders in employ of Sultan

That said:
- did not end slavery (eg Rashid c. 1895/6 still slave, freed because of Bibi Zem-Zem’s death, not ‘end of slavery’ – freed with 500-600 others…)
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Also affected Arab plantation owners on Unguga [see Sheriff, “Race and Class”, additional readings]:
- 1872 hurricane destroyed clove plantations Unguga (Zanzibar island)
- attempts to shift industry to Pemba (better suited) foiled by inability to move slaves legally – ‘costs’ involved to owners

Difficulty access slave labour (both islands):
- many landowners sold off land, some became little more than peasants
- sons left to become teachers, civil servants
- situation encouraged growth peasant class (esp. Pemba) cross-cut race/ethnicity
The British in Zanzibar

Ending of Slavery:

- worrying to all Zanzibar *shamba* owners, British ‘colonizers’ for same reason
- labour: feared food, copral (coconut) and clove economies would collapse if slave labour fled
- mainlander Africans [freed slaves] ‘brought over’ to take up slack
- also came voluntarily [not only freed slaves]: Zanzibar seen as prosperous
- Zanzibar freed slaves often left *shambas* but not Island
- turned to ‘urban’ economy, culture: consciously becoming ‘Swahili’ [eg think of Rashid in Mombasa]
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Indirect Rule:

- form of government honed by Lord Lugard first in India, then West Africa (Nigeria)
- applied in all British (non-settler) colonies in Africa
- ‘chose’ what British considered to be most effective and legitimate tribe/ethnic group -- and their representatives -- to rule
- in Zanzibar, no reason to remove Bu’saidi family: had established commercial credentials, network to the interior, literate and influential among Zanzibar’s scholars, educated elite, collected taxes
- allowed/encouraged local ‘ethnic based associations’, worked with leadership
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As a consequence:

- privileged ‘Arab’ elite, principally Omanis [see below for more on what they understood as ‘Arab’]

- also extended to ‘Arab’ (as distinct from ‘Indian’) landowners

- needed support during WW I (Germans in neighbouring Tanganyika): against some public opposition [see ‘Another Andalus’], received it

- late 1920s, into Depression 1930s: many ‘Arabs’ in financial difficulty: commodities market collapsing, unable to pay debts (often to Indian financiers/creditors [see below]), threatened with bankruptcy

- British ‘rescued’ them in attempt to bolster strength of ‘ruling class’ they depended upon

- formed Clove Growers Association backed with British capital
The British in Zanzibar

Ethnic Classification:

- common everywhere: colonial rulers identified, defined, sketched ‘typical tribes’
- part of determining who could/should legitimately rule
- also tied into Oriental and Darwinian view of ‘the other’ [see previous lectures]
- imposition ‘census’ part of both indirect rule (how much to expect in taxation) and categorization (had to establish categories before census could be undertaken)
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Initial ‘categories’: Arab, Asian, African

Census report of 1924:
- given groups not sufficient
- those cited were Arab (Omani), Swahili, Hadimu, Tumbatu, Shirazi, Pemba, Mainland ex-slave, Mainland migrant, Other African, Hadrami and Comorian.

Census report of 1931:
- the categories were Arab, Swahili, Shirazi, Hadimu, Tumbatu, Pemba, Mainland ex-slave, Mainland migrant, Other African and Comorian.

[see also Sheriff, “Race and Class…” on this question and census results]
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By the time statistics found their way into Annual Report of 1931, they had been distilled into Arab, Asian and African

- these were the categories that determined food rationing policies during WW II: Arabs and Asians were granted same ‘cultural’ rights to certain foods (most notably rice)

- Africans were instructed to (learn to like) maize (corn)

- in terms of formal ‘categories’, Swahili did not exist – they appear to have become ‘Africans’

[see YouTube: ‘Zanzibar – Ports of Call, 1934’, Additional Readings]
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Summary:
- generally speaking, British ‘view’ of Zanzibar largely shaped historiography
- slavery and slaves ‘disappear’
- mainland freed slaves largely replace Zanzibar slave labour
- ‘Arabs’ dominate politics, economics culture as ‘collaborators’ of British
- as British Africa ‘decolonizes’ and moves to parliamentary democracy (political parties, limited forms voting): Zanzibar National Party ['Arab party'] dominates
- independence 1963: social unrest, inequity so great – leads to Revolution 1964, end of ‘Arab’ dominance/presence
The British in Zanzibar

Readings cast doubt on this interpretation:

Limbert challenges (convincingly) image of ‘Arab’ = ‘Omani elite’, so firmly established in colonial literature [*refer also to ‘Marriage that never was…’*]
- looks at subsequent Omani ‘poor’ immigration and impact on society, through to impact of Revolution
- [will see impact of last factor ‘Immigration Policies’]

Ghazal challenges (equally convincingly) that ‘Arabs’ (in her argument presented as ‘Omani elite’) were collaborators
- shifts emphasis from Arab identity as racial/ethnic to Religious – specifically ‘Ibadi Islam’ and cultural ‘Arabic language’
The British in Zanzibar

Readings cast doubt on this interpretation:

Sheriff argues that historians have overlooked important differences between Ungugu (‘main’ island with Zanzibar Town) and Pemba:
- underscores British ‘categories’ not undifferentiated (looks at Asians [Indians] and Africans [especially emergence of ‘Shirazi’])
- sees all categories undergoing ‘fundamental economic and social transformations’ triggered by Colonial Rule
- major importance: colonial economies of Mainland (first German, then British following WWI)
- trade, investment ‘diverted’ to other British colonies, London: Zanzibar ‘bypassed’
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‘Another Andalous’ – reference to Zanzibar as centre of Islamic renaissance:

- Ghazal’s argument is essentially that: Zanzibar’s ‘literati’ including scholars, administrators, landowners, merchants, journalists and ‘rulers’ were central to revival of purist Islam in face of compromising Christianity
- had close relations with Ottomans from nineteenth century during rule of Abdulhamid II
- impacted by fall of empire (post WW I)
- now ‘centre’ as colonized as ‘periphery’
- involved in Pan Islam, Pan Ibadi, Pan Arab movements
The British in Zanzibar

Zanzibar became centre of new ‘renaissance’, tied into Algeria (southern region), Egypt and Oman:

- scholars travelled between regions
- newspapers spread ideas
- Maghrib newspaper editor (*al-Hilal*) regular correspondence Zanzibari sultans, journalists
- saw/portrayed Zanzibar sultans as ‘Arab Heros’
The British in Zanzibar

Article printed on Tippu Tip:

- Egyptian editor provided ‘introduction’
- presented al-Marjibi as ‘Arab Hero’ and ‘Omani adventurer’
- focused on role in expanding Omani rule
- “… who performed miracles in politics, in prudence and in leadership – and whose efforts should be revealed to all”
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Ghazal concludes her discussion of this point:

“The editor [Zaydan] ended his introduction by thanking [the Zanzibar journalist who’d sent him the story] “his earnest concern to make known the achievements of the Sharqiyyīn [Easterners].” During a period of Arab self-glorification and resurrection of a celebrated past, it is very significant that Zaydān chose Zanzibar to represent that history, and to remind the Arab world of that golden moment when history witnessed the expansion of Arab rule in Africa. Al-Marjibī’s achievements in East Africa, in Zaydān’s eyes, were Arab ‘heroic’ achievements worth placing al-Marjibī among the greatest ‘celebrities’ … and among those who helped build the Arab legacy.”
The British in Zanzibar

Key Question: why – if ‘Arabs’ were collaborators with the colonialists?

- Ghazal not denying role of Bu’saidi family in working with British, enjoying privileges but...

- argues that historians have overlooked degree to which ‘Omani Elite’ had felt itself to be part of larger ‘Arab-Muslim’ world

- AND degree to which those in southern Algeria and Egypt, although ‘African’, were part of that network

- AND degree to which those who came to see themselves as Arab Muslims (Ibadi) also saw themselves as victims of colonialism – traces expansive, international ‘anti-colonial’ network

- interesting: cross-cuts usual British-French colonial boundaries
The British in Zanzibar

Asks us to consider that even though ‘Arabs’ privileged:

1. they were privileged as defined by British (back to issue of “what is Arab”)

2. they (‘Arabs’) were still colonized!
“Who was an ‘Arab’ in the British Protectorate?
- British did not see ‘Arabness’ in same way as Omanis or other Zanzibaris:

[Ghazal] “‘Arabness’ … in addition to being associated with ‘race’, was a socio-economic identity. An ‘Arab’ was a land-owner, ‘a perfect gentleman’, and a dweller “in a massive, many storied-mansion.” He was “par excellence a landed proprietor, and usually has his money in clove and coco-nut plantations.” Arabs of Hadrami or Comorian origins who did not fit in those categories were looked upon as inferior to Omanis. … the British distinguished not only between an ‘Arab’ and a ‘negro’ …but also between Omanis and other Arabic-speaking communities…”
The British in Zanzibar

“Who was an ‘Arab’ in the British Protectorate?

“[c. 1920] the British definition of an ‘Arab’ was one with which few Arabs would agree. An ‘Arab’, as the British Resident in Zanzibar Francis Pearce indicated, is “the true Arab of unmixed descent,” while “the Zanzibar negro”, he added, “whose great-great-grandmother may have had some connection with an Arab harem, cannot fairly be classed at the present day as an Arab, as the term is understood in Zanzibar.” This definition of the term ‘Arab’ was surely one that was understood by the British alone and not by the Swahili society with its Arab and non-Arab members.”
“[by a decade later]…Omanis seemed to have been regarded as more Arab than Hadramis and Comorians – indeed Comorians had to petition the British to be classified as ‘Arabs’ in 1930. [an observer] writing in the late 1920s, considered Omanis the ‘principal’ Arabs in Zanzibar, although he admitted Hadramis were the most numerous. His description of ‘Arabs’ lifestyle, social organization and occupation was restricted to Omanis.”
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By these definitions:

- many of Bu’saidi family would themselves not be considered ‘Arabs’ (eg Bargash, son of Sayyid Said…)
- certainly Tippu Tip could not be considered an ‘Arab Hero’…
- Omani elite of Tabora [story of ‘Marriage that never was…’] could not be regarded as either ‘elite’ or ‘Arab’ – bride in story likely daughter of African concubine, family typical of others in region
The British in Zanzibar

But Ghazal says this is where British ‘got it wrong’:

- for Zanzibaris, being Arab was not about race [reflect on ‘visuals’ we have seen]
- argues it was language (Arabic) and culture (Omani) that marked differences (vis-à-vis Swahili) in local terms
- ‘ideal of cultural Arabness’ had long been important – acquired central role with arrival and development Bu’saidi dynasty/empire

Therefore, many felt ‘disenfranchised’ as consequence of British racial categorizing (and laws which followed on assumptions of ‘race’).
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Moreover: “Arabs”, including the Omanis and rest of Zanzibari elite conscious of being ‘colonized’:

- Ghazal points to various moments of ‘resistance’
- 1895 Sultan Hamad financed attack on Muscat to recover Oman from British, re-establish Oman-Zanzibar ‘empire’ (failed)
- against British ‘instructions’, appointed Khalid as successor
- attempts to foment rebellion from Zanzibar let to ‘shortest war in history’: twenty-five minutes of British bombardment ended sultan’s ‘rule’; many who supported fled to Oman

- 1913: another attack (in Oman) with overt involvement from Zanzibaris who’d returned to Oman and Zanzibar’s support
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Support both material and ideological:
- leading Zanzibari poet urged that ‘all Muslims should follow this exemplary revolution and overthrow rulers [everywhere] who bowed to Europeans’
- and ‘[join them] in attempting to revive the past glory of Islam’

Key Development to emerge from this: ‘neo-Ibadism’
- merging pan-Ibadis and pan-Sunnis in response to shared experience of colonialism

[development also relevant for both Sokoto and Algerian case studies]
The British in Zanzibar

“Salafiyya” movement:

- platform Islamic Reform and Unity
- Jamal al-din al-Afghani (central figure in Ottoman pan-islamism, late 19th C.), began to have impact in Zanzibar
- number of Egyptians prominent in movement, resident in Zanzibar
- wealthy Omani landlords and Sultans ‘open to these ideas’
- close connections between Egypt and Zanzibar turn of century
- continued relations Ottomans: 1907, Sultan Ali received in Istanbul, next year, Grand Vizier visited Zanzibar
- general ‘sympathy’ for Ottomans under European attack
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WW I:

- Ottomans joined in war on side of Germans: Sultan issued ‘call to jihad’ – exploiting pan-Islamism, Muslims everywhere had duty to fight against ‘threat’ of British-French alliance
- raised problem of ‘loyalty’ for Zanzibar: under British ‘protection’ but long and close connections with Ottomans
- many argued for open support of Ottomans/Germans
- British attacking Germans on neighboring mainland
- needed Zanzibar support: difficult to obtain
- under pressure, Sultan Khalifa issued formal statement that ‘Muslims in Zanzibar and East Africa’ should cease their support for ‘the Turks’ and show loyalty to the British
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Not universally effective:
- Omani ‘Arabs’ in Tabora gathered support for exiled Sultan Khalid (victim of ‘shortest war’) to aid Germans against British on mainland Africa [think how seamlessly Rashid bin Hassani moved between these two enemy territories…British not exaggerating vulnerability..]
- inland ‘resistance’ movements continued until Khalid’s capture 1917

Situation best expressed in intelligence report July 1917 (quoted by Ghazal):

“[the] Mohammedans of the Swahili speaking area have been given furiously to think by the declaration of the JIHAD from STAMBOUL”
The British in Zanzibar

Interwar years: anti-colonial ‘tone’ sharpened

1. dismemberment of Ottoman empire
   - former ‘centre’ of Islam, dominated intellectual discussion
   - opened up role for ‘peripheries’, including Zanzibar

2. colonial policies re: education and economy:
   - education policies (favouring English) seen as marginalizing language (Arabic) and religion (Islam)
The British in Zanzibar

1. Dismemberment Ottoman Empire

- “Another Andalus”…
- reference (Ghazal’s title) was to effort in medieval Europe (Spain) to ‘recreate’ centre of Islamic learning, culture, wealth beyond the increasingly ‘corrupt’ East (Damascus, Baghdad)

- Zanzibar was seen by one observer as fulfilling same role as Ottoman empire ‘declined’
- in post-war settlement, empire divided up between victors
- colonization emasculated Islamic world

- Zanzibar’s Arab, Muslim elite saw itself as opposing colonialism on behalf of larger Arab, Muslim world – in no way part of narrow ‘Arab’ definition attached to them by British
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2. Colonial policies re: (a) education:

[Ghazal] “‘Arabs” saw in British educational system attempt to de-Arabize and de-Islamize Zanzibaris and Zanzibar and a threat to those most sacred elements of the elite’s identity: language and religion. Al-Falaq [main newspaper] criticized the Department of Education for being:

“headed by a foreign colonizer aided by a number of his fellow citizens, executing a plan of pure colonization and enslavement… It is a department that chases, persecutes and uproots the Arabic language while it is the language of the master of this country, that of the victors who converted this land, the language of thirty one thousand Arabs… By not knowing their language and by lacking national pride, they [Arabs] are behind in terms of the renaissance among their kin in other countries. By not knowing the language of the Qur’an, the Muhammadan sunna [tradition] and the Islamic Sharī‘a, they have moved away from their religion, its merits and its virtues.”
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“By eroding the Arabic language and religious studies from the curriculum, Omanis believed the British were not only trying to damage their identity and that of the island but also trying to sever Zanzibar’s relationship with the broader Arab-Muslim world.”

This is her key argument vis-à-vis ‘traditional’ presentation of ‘Arabs benefitted from and supported British Rule’.
2. Colonial policies re: (b) economy

- Ghazal acknowledges *general* policies favoured ‘Arabs’ (as defined by British)
- points out that impact of anti slavery policies in economic sense cannot be underestimated: elite lost considerably (and increasingly) with respect to benefits of commerce and labour [*Sheriff concurs, “Race and Class…”*]
- shifting policies encouraging different crops led to increased emphasis on colonial ‘cash crops’, less on subsistence crops (food) [*read alongside Limbert and Sheriff*]
- recent thesis argues that shift affected growing of rice, staple foodstuff of *all* Zanzibaris but part of ‘cultural identity’ of so-called Arab elite
- wanted Zanzibar to import rice from other British colonies: had price and supply implications
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- many ‘Arabs’ forced increasingly into debt
- early 1930s, impact of Depression: some ‘Arabs’ forced into foreclosure vis-à-vis Indian creditors
- Indian merchants themselves forced into new role as ‘money lenders’ (many forced to leave island as large-scale commerce to mainland Africa collapsed) [see Sheriff, below]
- British ‘policy’ to protect only extended as far as its definition of ‘Arab’, those represented through new Clove Growers’ Association
- economic policy ‘celebrated’ by those arguing for British collaboration, seen as part of problem of ‘disenfranchisement’ felt by ‘other’ Arabs and ‘Asians’
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What we do not learn from Ghazal’s analysis is how others in Zanzibar society understood the situation during colonial rule:

- need to look at (1) Limbert and (2) Sheriff
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(1) Limbert’s article uses different methodology and has very different focus (from Ghazal):

- notes that early 20th c. immigration from Oman was very different than 19th migrations
- from interior of Oman (not coast), migrate because of poverty (not wealth/power)
- unlike predecessors: farmers, shopkeepers, migrant labourers, plantation overseers
- unlike predecessors: included women (as workers, not concubines)

Story is of one woman who came to Zanzibar as part of those migrations, made life in rural Zanzibar – was forced to leave by Revolution – history recorded orally (1996)
Limbert confirms Ghazal’s characterization of the ‘historiography’ of the Omanis:
- notes in particular over-emphasis on either ‘mercantile’ or ‘scholarly’ role/contributions

BUT: would be critical in one respect – degree to which Ghazal ‘buys into’ received wisdom about socio-economic ‘class’ of Omanis:

- argues that in fact, most Omanis belonged to neither category (neither merchants nor scholars) but were in fact ‘petty’ merchants, itinerant labourers, farmers – who moved with their families
- also these migrants did not live in StoneTown or other urban centers but rather in rural areas, villages, shambas
[views confirmed by Sheriff’s analysis based on historical census, archival documents]
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Were they ‘Arabs’ in British Colonial Zanzibar?

- some ‘fit’ definition ‘patrilineal descendants of free Arab men’
- others clearly ‘servants’, patrilineal descendants East African slave women:

[Limbert] “[while] others were akhdâm, literally “servants,” who were themselves patrilineal descendants of slaves from East Africa. Although in Zanzibar these early twentieth century immigrants were (officially at least) considered “Arabs,” they were generally also considered of lower status than the Omanis who had settled in Zanzibar in the previous centuries and who had established themselves as an elite, creole community. Many of the newcomers were termed “manga Arabs,” a pejorative term with debatable Zanzibari origins that was appropriated by British officials and that continues to have significance in contemporary Zanzibar.”
“Manga Arabs” vs “Arabs”:

- Rashid bin Hassani noted difference when he spoke of being purchased by ‘Manga Arab’ in Kilwa, sold in Zanzibar through ‘master of slave market’ an ‘Arab’: terms and distinctions not limited to colonial era

Limbert recounts that relations were often conflictual: violence recorded between ‘Omani’ and ‘Manga’ Arabs 1925, 1936, 1941

Numerous attempts by British to limit immigration: still % ‘Arabs’ nearly doubled (8.2 % to 14.2 1931) during that time, many ‘Manga’
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Economic Changes:

- 1939 Clove Growers Association [formed by British to ‘oust’ middlemen, mostly Indian financiers] purchased directly from producers
- but also eliminated role of agents, many of whom were immigrants (Manga)

- increase in number destitute Arabs: forced repatriation, limited immigration
- WW II: controlling ships in Indian Ocean
- led to ‘price gouging’ on part of private companies

Meanwhile, Oman suffering from drought, poverty, sporadic civil war:
- Zanzibar remained distant ‘Andalus’
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- Local “Arab Association” [see Sheriff, below] brought in to ameliorate situation
- in part, shifting responsibility

- 1945 Acting British Secretary of State wrote:

“\textit{I think the food situation [shortages affecting Zanzibar, East Africa because of the war] and the employment position are the best remaining arguments for continuing [Arab immigration] restrictions, and more might be made of them}”

Clear that the ‘Arab Problem’ was no longer one of the Omani Elite.
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(2) Sheriff’s article helps us situate ‘Arab-Omani’ transformation under Colonial Rule in larger ethnic and economic context:

- changing colonial economy left Zanzibar with small, internal market
- many Indian financiers, import-export merchants left for Mainland
- those who remained turned to smaller-scale enterprises
- and money lending: especially to Arabs
- many large ‘Arab’ landowners Ungugu did not recover late 19th c losses
- others moved to Pemba, became little different from neighbouring indigenous ‘peasants’: all growing cloves with variety of labour
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Depression:
- revealed depth of economic, social problems
- British created Clove Growers Association to ‘rescue’ clove industry, replacing Indian with British capital
- Indians boycotted: regained some influence but minor
- (and as we have seen): policy eliminated ‘middle-man’ agents, many of whom were Manga Arabs
- contributed to creation ‘destitute Arab’ class

Consequences seen:
- ‘ethnic categories’
- formation political ‘Associations’
The British in Zanzibar

1924-48:
- Sheriff confirms *as we saw above* Swahili ‘virtually disappeared’
- 1924 census numbered 34,000
- 1931 not present
- seen as pejorative: ‘slave’ – consequence of British categorizing lumping freed Zanzibari slaves, freed Mainland slaves, Mainland migrant workers, Swahili as ‘African’
- emergence of ‘Shirazi’: indigenous people’s name for themselves
- 1924 numbered 26,000
- 1931 numbered 41,000
- 1948 Colonial authorities rejected use of both ‘Swahili’ and ‘Shirazi’ so both disappeared from official documents
- *but not from society*: ‘Shirazi’ continued as new Zanzibari identity
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1953-63:

- numbers of so-called ‘tribes’ grew: Hadimu, Tumbatu, Pemba and Arabs [more on ‘Arabs’, below]
- Sheriff notes ‘ethnic boundaries porous, allowing for assimilation and ‘re’- identification as social, economic, political situation changed
- Marriage: increasingly cross-cut ethnic boundaries
- eg. Hadimu on Ungugu: 39% had parent from another group
- Shirazi, 22%; Tambutu 10%
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Political Associations:
- British preferred to deal with ‘representatives’ of groups
- first was Arab Association
- followed by Indian National Association, emerged to deal with crisis in clove industry
- followed in mid 1930s: African Association, dealing with hardships of urban workers
- had close ties to Mainland association
- initial leadership from Mainland: Christian educated elite
- exacerbated tensions Mainland-Islands
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Mainlanders:
- former descendants freed slaves, recent free migrants
- some worked as ‘squatters’ on plantations
- most urban workers

Islands:
- indigenous ‘Shirazi’
- mostly peasants but some becoming prosperous
- 1920s sizable middle-class, even rich peasants
- 1940 formed Shirazi Association on Pemba
- shared interests, concerns many Arabs; little in common with Shirazi urban workers
- poorer Shirazi forced to become wage labourers; more in common urban Mainland Africans than richer Shirazi
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Post WWII:

- rejection ‘ethnic mold’: first to challenge was Arab Association
- previously enjoying most influence [as we have seen]
- but ‘by 1950s they realized in a colonial society, power rested decidedly with the colonial state’ – their influence was ‘an illusion’
- younger generation joined Zanzibar Nationalist Party (Shirazi), choosing national over ethnic politics: 1957 election - failed
“Zama za Siasa” (1957-64) – ‘Period of Politics’:
- ZNP came to represent shopkeepers, civil servants, some Shirazi working class
- eve of 1963 elections, radical Arab youths broke away: Umma Party
- encouraged by Tanganyka’s president Julius Nyerere: African Association merged with Shirazi Association to become Afro-Shirazi Party
- strong on Unguga, Pemba not totally in agreement
- set up independent candidates for 1957 election; merged following poor showing
- collapsed less than two years later: Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples Party – representing peasant islanders
“Zama za Siasa” (1957-64) – ‘Period of Politics’:
- 1961: ZPPP and ZNP allied – lasted through two elections and a British run interim government
- won parliamentary majority in 1961
- politics so intense, elections followed by widespread rioting
- 69 killed, mostly poor Manga Arab shopkeepers and families, many isolated in countryside [story of Ghania]
- set stage for 1964

Final pre-independence election 1963:
- universal adult franchise doubled electorate
- ZNP/ZPPP: 46% vote, 18 seats
- ASP: 54% vote, 13 seats [poor showing on Pemba]
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“Zama za Siasa” (1957-64) – ‘Period of Politics’:

- Sheriff: ‘on eve of independence, ethnic considerations part of more complex set of concerns, including nationalism in cosmopolitan society’

The Revolution:

- clearly NOT an overthrow of an Arab oligarchy but rather, “a civil war in a society that could not find enough common national ground”
The British in Zanzibar

The Revolution:

Sheriff draws attention to evolved differences between Islands:

Ungugu:
- freed slaves working on plantations, Mainland migrant labour, peasants working as seasonal clove-pickers
- ALL dependent on cloves, unstable cash-crop
- 1950s Korean war affected main market: prices/demand plummeted
- on island: many squatters evicted, pickers wages dropped, urban proletariat dependent on commerce suffered
- conflict ‘appeared’ more racial but was actually shaped by economic difficulties
Pemba:
- different socio-economic structure
- violence ‘exported’ from Unguga
- Regional Commissaries said to have ‘unleashed a reign of terror’ still remembered

Various accounts of numbers killed, wounded, exiled:
- Okello (leader from Mainland Uganda): 8,000 mostly rural; 1500 Africans; 16,000 ‘detained’
- ZNP says: 13,000 killed, 26,000 imprisoned, 100,000 exciled
- American Councilial Official: 5,000 killed mostly Arab
Sheriff:

- Those killed were not the large Arab landowners (most of whom were ‘absentee’ and living in Zanzibar Town)
- most were whole families of poor Manga Arabs shopkeepers in the rural areas where they were wiped out

[see Limbert, Interview with ‘Ghania’; ‘Zanzibar Massacre’, YouTube video; both in Additional Readings]
The British in Zanzibar

Story of Ghania:

- situation provided context for story Limbert recounted
- like Ghazal, found much of Zanzibar’s history in Oman
- Ghania’s story reveals much about post-war and revolutionary Zanzibar from ‘Manga Arab’ perspective

[can be usefully read alongside Sheriff “Race and Class..”]

- also degree to which Zanzibar and Oman remained ‘connected’
The British in Zanzibar

Ghania:

- was from very poor family, married paternal cousin
- early 1950s: migrated to Zanzibar where ‘life was better’
- initially ‘looked after’ by Arab Association
- went to live in village outside of Zanzibar Town
- clove economy in trouble, her husband worked in copral
- his brother managed store: ‘We sold what people needed…’ (groceries, fried bread
- Ghania proud of her independence: worked in store, helped dry coconuts to make copral (used to make bags)
- of interest is ‘labour question’: all Omanis, ‘they were servants or you rented them’
- Ghania elides question of “how people of the servant class, although engaged in wage labour, continued to be servants” [Limbert]
The British in Zanzibar

Ghanaia:

"Then, there was the war in Zanzibar. At first we began to hear of people getting killed when they would go to the plantations and other villages, they would be kidnapped and killed. We heard of injuries. Then, one day, they attacked the store. I was not in the store that day, but Ahmad’s niece was there. They came in and started cutting everything and they cut her and she jumped under the table and they were going to kill her, but they thought she was already dead. They said “she’s already dead, let’s go.” She still has a scar, but they sewed her up. …"

Then she could not find her children or husband for three days.
The British in Zanzibar

Ghania:

“There were places, where there were schools (madâris), schools (skûlât), that’s what they called them. I don’t know. They’d put them there. And the women, also, they would take them. I spent the next three days with our neighbors and we tried to escape (shardîn), first to a place called “Bunda” near the water. A group of men saw us and asked what we were doing. We explained to the men that we needed to save our children. Then, we went to a place called “Bikunguna” and I went to speak to the head of the neighborhood who was “from there” (bû hunakh) [that is, from Zanzibar] and who was a friend of Ahmad’s. The head of the neighborhood told me that they had looked for the children, but I protested to them. I said: the children are young and if they see your men; they’ll be scared, they won’t come out. The next day, the head of the neighborhood sent one or two men, “Gumma‘, whatever they were called in those days” and we went out into the plantations to look for coconuts and bananas to eat. ...”
The British in Zanzibar

Ghanaia:

“The men said that they found my children, in Mtuni, Maqumbira. So I went there, where the plantations were like prisons, and found my children and took them. Then Ahmad returned. His hand had been cut and he had been beaten up, he hadn’t gone to one of the prisons because he was in the hospital. We still, however, hadn’t found Ahmad’s brother Abdullah. Finally we tracked him down, hiding in a neighborhood mosque.

They and neighbours decided that Town would be safer (hospital, the Association…).
The British in Zanzibar

Ghania:

“When Ahmad started to cover us up, I asked what he was doing and he said: “do you want to be killed?” I said that I wasn’t going to go without our neighbors (gîrân). I said I would not leave my neighbors! Ahmad said that he wouldn’t come back the next day to get them, but would send a driver. So, the next day, a car came and took me, my children, and a neighbor and then another car took the other neighbors and we went to the town, to the association house. We stayed there for a bit, but then decided to “take” [rent] our own house in town. They came and said that it was safe now, whoever wanted to return to his houses (baytû) could go, but we were afraid that we would be killed, so we stayed in town and rented a house. We would get some money from someone who would come from our farms, but he wouldn’t give us everything, just a little bit, just enough to eat and drink. For three months, we took from our farms in the village.”
'Ahmad then heard that a travel ban might be imposed from Zanzibar so it would be better if they signed up to get their papers to leave. Ghania, though, wasn’t sure about going back to Oman. “What would I have there? I didn’t have a father, or mother, or brother. I didn’t have anything. So, I said to Ahmad, give me the farms, and I will stay here with my children.” …

But, Ghania explained, she realized that in fact she would not receive enough money from the farms to provide for her children. “What could I do? I delayed. But, in the end I signed our names and we boarded the ship, the “mail”, and went to Oman.”
Sheriff: Post Revolution Zanzibar

- main justification ‘dealing with inequities created by Colonialism’
- killed and drove out Arabs and Indians: about ¼ all Arabs affected, equivalent of genocide
- other ‘issues’ not addressed
- new government did not deal with urban-rural tensions, inequities
- did not recognize differences, socio-economic and political, between Ungugu and Pemba
- process of revolution left ‘deep seated wound in the body politic of Zanzibar’