Contents

	Preface to the First Edition	vii
	Note to the Expanded Edition	хi
	Introduction to the Expanded Edition	xix
	List of Tables and Figures	xxvii
	Abbreviations	2
	Introduction	3
	PART I	
	TANU BEFORE INDEPENDENCE · A POLITICAL	
	HISTORY	19
I.	ORIGIN AND INHERITANCE OF THE TAN	J _
	GANYIKA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION	
	Pre-TANU Political Organizations	21
	Tribalism	32
	Native Authorities	37
	Swahili Political Culture and National Integration	ı 43
	Conclusion	49
II.	THE DRIVE TO INDEPENDENCE AND	
	DOMINANCE	50
	British Policy, Electoral Competition, and	
	Splinter Parties	50
	TANU'S Organization in the 1950's	60
	Conclusion	70
	PART II	
	ORGANIZATION, RECRUITMENT, AND	
	IDEOLOGY	73
III.	ELECTED TANU OFFICIALS IN THE	
111.	REGIONS AND DISTRICTS	75
	The Constitution of TANU	81
	TANU Organizations at the Regional Levels	84
	TANU Organizations at the District Levels	98
	Conclusion	110

CONTENTS

IV.	APPOINTED TANU OFFICIALS IN THE	
	REGIONS AND DISTRICTS	112
	TANU Secretaries Before Independence	113
	Appointment of Area and Regional	
	Commissioners	119
	Reaction to the Colonial Pattern	120
	Recruitment of Area and Regional	
	Commissioners	128
	Movement of Commissioners	141
	Recruitment from the Civil Service	147
	Continuity and Change in the Relationships	
	Between Elected and Appointed Officials	153
V.	TANU AT THE CENTER	158
	The President of TANU	158
	The NEC and the TANU National Conference	169
	The Central Committee and the National	
	Headquarters	185
	Constitutional Changes in TANU's Central	
	Institutions in 1965	198
VI.	IDEOLOGY AND COMMITMENT	203
	Nyerere's Thought	211
	African Socialism	212
	Economic Policy and Nationalism	217
	Democracy, the Party, and the State	227
	The Presidential Commission	238
	The Impact of Ideology	250
	PART III	
7	TANU AND THE ECONOMY OF TANGANYIKA	•
	CONDITIONS, APPARATUS, AND GOALS	259
VII.	THE ECONOMY OF TANGANYIKA	261
	Economic Conditions	264
	Economic Policy	273

CONTENTS

VIII.		
	FIVE YEAR PLAN	283
	The Ministerial System	281
	The Directorate of Planning	284
	Formulation of the Five Year Plan	29
	The Five Year Plan	295
	Criticisms of the Five Year Plan	30 1
	Conclusion	304
IX.	GOVERNMENT IN THE REGIONS	
	AND DISTRICTS	307
	Commissioners as Heads of Government in	
	the Regions and Districts	310
	Formal Responsibilities of the	
	Commissioners	313
	Commissioners and Their Civil Servants	317
	Economic Responsibilities in the Regions and Districts	320
	District and Regional Development	
	Committees	322
X.	TANU TRIES TO REACH THE VILLAGES	334
	TANU and Rural Development	334
	TANU and Enforced Change	343
	Village Development Committees and	
	Traditional Rulers	349
	TANU Cells	356
	PART IV	
	CRISES AND CONCLUSIONS	361
XI.	THE ARMY MUTINY IN PERSPECTIVE	363
	The Army Mutiny	366
	Reconstruction of the Security Forces	374
	Conclusion	380

CONTENTS

XII.	THE ELECTIONS OF SEPTEMBER 1965	382
	Electoral Framework	382
	Election Results	387
	Conclusion	405
XIII.	THE ARUSHA FORMULATIONS	406
XIV.	CONCLUSIONS	448
	APPENDIXES	465
I.	TANGANYIKA: ECONOMIC ABSTRACT	467
II.	THE FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN	471
III.	THE SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN	474
IV.	VILLAGE PLANS	479
	SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	481
	INDEX	501