TANZANIA

COUNTRY READER
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Samuel S. Rea	1966-1968	Education Program Officer, USAID, Dar es Salaam
Stephen Patterson Belcher	1966-1970	Public Affairs Officer, USIS, Dar es Salaam
James P. Thurber, Jr.	1967-1969	Information Officer, USIS, Dar es Salaam
Charles J. Nelson	1968-1971	Mission Director, USAID, Dar es Salaam
Charles O. Cecil	1969-1971	Political Officer, Zanzibar
Claude G. Ross	1969-1972	Ambassador
Lambert Heyniger	1969-1972	Political Officer, Dar es Salaam
Larry C. Williamson	1970-1973	Economic Officer, Dar es Salaam
David Hamilton Shinn	1972-1974	Political Officer, Dar es Salaam
Gordon R. Beyer	1972-1975	Deputy Chief of Mission, Dar es Salaam
Beverly Carter, Jr.	1972-1975	Ambassador
Vernon C. Johnson	1974-1977	Mission Director, USAID, Dar es Salaam
Richard Podol	1974-1978	Assistant Director, USAID, Dar es Salaam
Herbert Levin	1975-1977	Deputy Chief of Mission, Dar es Salaam
A. Ellen Shippy	1975-1977	Kenya-Tanzania Desk Officer, Washington, DC
James W.S. Spain	1975-1979	Ambassador
Howard K. Walker	1977-1979	Deputy Chief of Mission, Dar es Salaam
A. Ellen Shippy	1977-1979	Principal Officer, Zanzibar
Keith L. Wauchope	1977-1979	Sudan Desk Officer, Washington
Hariadene Johnson	1977-1982	Office Director for East Africa, USAID, Washington, DC
Richard N. Viets	1979-1981	Ambassador

David J. Fischer	1979-1982	Deputy Chief of Mission, Dar es Salaam
Larry C. Williamson	1980-1982	Acting Director, East Africa
David C. Miller, Jr.	1981-1984	Ambassador
Frederick E. Gilbert	1983-1986	Deputy Director, USAID, Dar es Salaam
John W. Shirley	1984-1986	Ambassador
Stevenson McIlvaine	1986-1989	Political Officer, Dar-es-Salaam
Donald Petterson	1986-1989	Ambassador
Joseph F. Stepanek	1987-1991	Mission Director, USAID, Dar es Salaam
Raymond C. Ewing	1992	Chargé d'affaires, Dar es Salaam

WILLIAM B. EDMONDSON
Deputy Principal/Consular Officer
Dar es Salaam (1953-1955)

Ambassador William B. Edmondson was born in 1927 in Missouri. He was educated at the University of Nebraska and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He joined the Foreign Service in 1951 after service in the US Army in WWII. Ambassador Edmondson served in a number of foreign posts, including, Dar es Salaam, Bern, Accra and Lusaka. In 1978 he was appointed US Ambassador to South Africa. His Washington assignments principally concerned African affairs. He was interviewed by Arthur Tienken in 1988.

Q: *Mr. Ambassador, if I may now take you to an earlier period of your career when you were in Tanganyika, today Tanzania, could you contrast a little bit for us your experiences there with those you later had in Zambia?*

EDMONDSON: Well, that was, of course, a different time and almost a different world from the Africa of today and the Africa of even just a few years after the time that I was in Dar es Salaam. I had been working on trusteeship affairs in the Department before I joined the Foreign Service proper, so I was familiar with the trust territories, particularly with Tanganyika and with other parts of Africa. So I was very interested and excited when I received my first assignment to Dar es Salaam.

We arrived there in February 1953 at an airport that consisted of thatched buildings, thatched roof and sides, and one had the feeling that you were really arriving in deepest, darkest Africa. We drove into town and were put up at what was then called the New Africa Hotel. It's now

referred to probably as the old New Africa because it has been replaced by a newer building. It had been the Kaiserhof in German days, an interesting place with wide balconies and rooms that opened almost completely to the outside. You had to duck behind a 3-foot square pillar to dress in the evening if you didn't want to be seen by the people on the second floor of the house across the street.

The consulate was in a building called the Cable and Wireless building on a side street right across from the post office, about a block and a half from the hotel. The staff was small. There was a Consul--the Consul had left just the day before I arrived--a Vice Consul that I was replacing, and an American secretary. That was the American staff. There was a British stenographer. A young Eurasian girl was the file clerk, and three barefoot African messengers did the char work and odd jobs. It was a tiny staff that had to do a little bit of everything, but little in great depth. I remember we did our own ciphering and deciphering of the few telegraphic messages that we sent or received. Most of the telegraphic messages were on urgent administrative matters or sometimes consular questions. As I think of the two and a half years that I was there, I can recall only one political telegram that we sent. Most of our communications were dispatches, as they were still called in those days, and we had one courier pouch a month.

The major political interest the United States had in the country was in its status as a UN trust territory, because it came up in the sessions of the Trusteeship Council, and we were interested in furthering its progress toward self government and eventual independence. So our major political work was to monitor government activity and political events affecting the country's progress toward self government.

Our economic interest was largely in trade, particularly in the US importation of sisal. We were interested also in cashew nuts, but in fact those were exported first to India where they were processed for re-export to the United States. There was some production of diamonds and cotton, a small production of gold in the northwest, coffee on the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro, and tea in the Southern Highlands province of Tanganyika, as it was known then.

During the period that I was there, the Vice Consul that I replaced was called away after about a month to rejoin the former Consul, who had left on transfer to the Consulate in Port Elizabeth, South Africa the day before I arrived in Dar es Salaam. I was left alone in charge of the post for about a month and had to do a lot of late night reading of the Foreign Affairs Manual, the Foreign Service Manual I think it was still called then, to figure out how to handle passport applications, visas and so on, though we certainly had little consular work to do.

Most of the consular work was in renewing passports or issuing passports to American missionaries up country. There were very few Americans in Dar es Salaam. I think besides those who were stationed at the consulate itself there was one person there on an academic grant doing some scholarly work. There was an American manager of the CALTEX Petroleum Company who was there with his wife for a short time, and a woman of Greek origin who had a claim to American citizenship. That was it. We had very few visa applications, some but not many, and a fair amount of our time was spent on consular invoices that were required in those days for sisal and other goods shipped to the United States.

That gave us time to do political reporting, and the nationalist movement was still a nascent one. Julius Nyerere had just returned as a teacher in a Catholic high school near Dar es Salaam. He had received his Ph.D. at Edinburgh University, had begun some political organizing, and was considered to be a rather radical activist by the colonial government. The Governor was Sir Edward Twining, a rather pompous looking man but an effective governor. There was an executive council and a legislative council performing the roles of a cabinet and a parliament, if you will, of a modern society, but as colonial versions.

The Chief Secretary was in effect a kind of Prime Minister of the government and an important figure, as were such officials as the Member for Local Government and other Executive Council Members, Provincial and District Commissioners, and so on. It was a regular colonial set-up.

Q: *These were all British?*

EDMONDSON: They were all British. There was one great sign of progress at the time, one African district officer, but not a district commissioner yet. The British were very proud of his having achieved that status. We Americans were known generally as anti-colonialist. This was a period not long after World War II and, of course, the US was regarded, I think throughout the world, as being fairly anti-colonial. And while our relations were good with the British, I think we clearly differed with them and they with us on our pressures toward more rapid progression toward self-government.

The new Consul, who arrived at the end of my month as the only officer in the consulate, was Dave Marvin who had come from a post in London, but left after a few months (in September 1953) to go into academic life. (He is retired now, having spent many years as a professor and department head at San Francisco State University.) I think it was Dave who first met Julius Nyerere and introduced him to me at some public ceremony. And later on I followed up and became quite well acquainted with Nyerere. I would say he was probably one of my prime political contacts at the time.

After Marvin left, there was another hiatus before Bob McKinnon, the next Consul arrived. And I think I had a period of perhaps a month or six weeks then alone again in charge of the post. It was during this period that I met a lot of people among the African, Asian, and European communities, who were quite divided at that time. They each had their own political party. Nyerere had started the Tanganyika African National Union, which was a reorganization of the old Tanganyika African Association. The latter had been an association consisting primarily of educated Africans and chiefs, fairly conservative or moderate even, and interested of course in the advancement of Africans, but not very assertive politically.. Nyerere's ideas were much more radical in the eyes of the colonial administration, as his goal was to develop a real political movement. In fact, one source of mine in the local government's "Special Branch"--where I checked occasionally to see if anybody had a criminal record before we issued a visa--told me that Nyerere had had very suspicious left wing connections in Britain, including people like George Padmore. But in my own conversations with Nyerere, I found him not radical in a philosophical sense at all. At least in the way Americans look at political development, he simply

wanted for his own people what I think we all want for ourselves, and that was considered rather radical at the time by those who believed firmly in the colonial regime.

Reporting on people and events in such times was a very, very interesting occupation. One relied a little bit on the press, but there was only one major newspaper. There was an Asian-owned weekly that was not very strong on political matters, but the main paper was the British-owned Tanganyika Standard, somewhat biased I think toward the colonial point of view and toward the European settler point of view. I remember there was a European settler organization, called the Tanganyika European Council, TEC, headed by a man by the name of Tom Tyrell, who had some connection with the Capricorn Africa Society that was based in what was to become the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury. There was also an Asian association. So there was a three-way division in politics, especially as there was beginning to be some movement toward the eventual establishment of a legislative council that would have elected outside members as well as those that were either officials or nominated by the government. Before I left, in fact, Nyerere did become the first African member of a newly created legislative assembly for Tanganyika.

Q: Mr. Ambassador, I take it from what you've been saying that you were able in those days to have contact with Tanzanians. Was this US government policy or not, and did this cause any problems with the British?

EDMONDSON: Well, it's difficult to say it was or wasn't a policy. I think it was policy in the sense that our job was to report on political developments, and we reported directly to Washington. (We did not report to or through London or any other post.) We didn't have any special instruction as to whom we should see. Much was left to our own judgment in those days. We had to take care or our consular duties, obviously. That was a primary concern along with reporting on trade and economic relationships, but to report on political developments you have to talk to all kinds of elements. It wasn't all that easy at the beginning to meet Africans, and I felt particularly lucky that through Dave Marvin--and I don't recall now how he met Nyerere first--I met Nyerere and that he was really my first and probably best political contact on the African side. But because of our trust territory relationship, the fact that we were a permanent member of the trusteeship council, and because Britain as the administering authority of the trust territory had a responsibility to report to the trusteeship council and submit annual reports and other documentation on the political progress of the territory, there was a firm basis on which to ask questions and see people.

As I mentioned, there were these three main organizations outside the colonial government, and so one reported on their activities as well as on various governmental operations and on such things as the budget. I can remember that one major task was going to see people in the process of following a very complex budget--one that involved both a capital account and a current account--and trying to make sense of that and report it to Washington. But as far as political contacts, there weren't any specific restrictions, although I learned later quite vividly that there was a resentment of the degree to which we Americans were getting out and asking questions.

I can remember particularly the 1954 UN Visiting Mission. Ambassador Mason Sears was the US representative on the UN trusteeship council and a member of the 1954 visiting mission.

When he came to Dar es Salaam, I made a special effort to be in touch with him. I think he came out for a meal or two at the house, and I wanted to make sure that he got some of the viewpoints that we at the consulate had. It was during one of the periods when I was alone that he came. I took him around to see various people and sights in Dar es Salaam and used that opportunity to brief him to the extent possible on the observations that I and others had made of what was going on in the territory.

Later on, when the visiting mission report came out, there were parts of it that were very critical of the British in their administration of the territory. The report came to the territory in about three copies, I understand. One of them came to the consulate through, of course, the Department of State, and the colonial government got at least two, one of which it gave to the Tanganyika Standard which printed what in my opinion was a rather biased version, primarily emphasizing those things in the report that described what the British were doing that was good.

Nyerere had not seen the report, but came to see me one day with some of his colleagues and noticed that I had a copy of it on a side table nearby. In fact, it was open and I had been making some marginal notes on it. He asked if he could borrow it, and since I had read it through and saw no reason not to do so--since it was a public document--I said yes, but that I would like to have it back within the next couple of days. I think that was probably on a Monday, and I asked him if he could get it back to me on Thursday.

In any event, he took it and he returned it a couple of days later than we had agreed, but he'd had some problems, some good reason, I think, for it. But this became an issue, which was exacerbated--as I discovered later on--because it was during the period when I was alone and Bob McKinnon was in the United States on home leave. (He had come on direct transfer and gone on home leave not long afterward, then had a medical problem and was away much longer than he had anticipated.) Anyway, these events also occurred during a time when both Governor Sir Edward Twining and the Chief Secretary (who I had come to know quite well) were away. The Acting Governor was a man by the name of Page-Jones, who was normally the Member for Local Government and was one of the few members of the Executive Council that I knew less well and one who always seemed more critical of American activity than others.

In any event, as I recall it--and much of this I heard more or less second hand rather than having real documents, although some of it is documented--the British, under Acting Governor Page-Jones, cabled the Colonial Office in London and asked that I be declared persona non grata because of my close association with Africans. The Colonial Office, reportedly at least, went to the Foreign Office and passed on this recommendation, but the Foreign Office said that they couldn't do this because the Americans were allies. Apparently the Foreign Office thought it was ridiculous, but agreed to raise the matter in Washington. In Washington the Colonial Attaché--there was such a creature in those days--called the Bureau of European Affairs who didn't know anything about the matter, of course, but said they would look into it. They simply listened to the British bill of particulars, which I will describe in a minute, then went to the Bureau of Near Eastern and African Affairs, where the Office of African Affairs was located then, and AF responded that the whole thing was ridiculous.

One of the accusations was that I was anti-British. Another was that I had loaned Nyerere a copy of the UN visiting mission report. Of course, that was an unclassified document for general distribution in the UN and there was no reason that I shouldn't have loaned it to him. A third charge was that I advised Nyerere (presumably on political tactics). This seems to have stemmed from a number of questions that I asked different people in the process of trying to get information for reporting.

One of the questions I recall asking Nyerere and some other African leaders, as well as Tom Tyrell on the European side, and some of the members of the Asian Association, was whether any of them had made any effort to get in touch with each other and get together on what some of their views were. This was apparently reported to Special Branch in Dar es Salaam by someone--I suspect one of the contacts I had in Nyerere's organization--who may have phrased it in such a way as to make it seem that I was urging them to get together to oppose the government, or that I was advising Nyerere in that way. In any event, that was one of the British allegations.

One of the more ridiculous complaints--I have this all in my records somewhere--was that I had entertained Africans without having British present, which was true of course, but seemed to be something the British considered improper, just not done. In any event, to show that I was not anti-British, one of the desk officers from our Office of African Affairs called the British Embassy colonial attaché back and read to him some passages selected from some of my reports and some of my comments on the visiting mission report. The desk officer read sections in which I noted some errors made by the visiting mission and various instances where the report had not given the British credit for some of the better things they had done for the development of the territory, selections that showed fairly clearly that I had been reporting objectively. I think they probably didn't read to him some of my more critical comments, although I don't think any of them were all that terribly critical.

In any event, the issue blew over soon, maybe because I was about to be transferred anyway. This was sometime in the spring of 1955, and I was really quite worried about it. As it turned out, it probably did me a fair amount of good in the Foreign Service because of the obviously active role I had taken in political reporting. Subsequently, the Director of the Office of African Affairs made a trip around Africa and was asked as one of his duties to call on Governor Twining (who had returned by that time) to explain that the responsibilities of our diplomatic and consular officers required us to get out and make contacts and do political reporting. He stressed that I had been doing just that, and so they should not be concerned at that kind of activity, especially in a UN Trust Territory.

The whole incident illustrates the sensitivity that existed on the part of the colonial administration, at least in certain circles. I can recall among other things that I had become very close friends with a British labor officer who was originally stationed in Dar es Salaam and then moved up country. It was purely a social relationship, although we certainly discussed things like trade unions and economic development in Tanganyika. He was a great student of Swahili, and he and his wife were friendly, interesting people--just a very nice couple. They returned on leave to Dar es Salaam once and we invited them to stay with us. I can recall that he was criticized by his own superiors for having stayed with an American consular officer. I don't know what in fact

transpired, but I had the feeling that he must have been reprimanded at having this kind of relationship.

So, again, as I say, there were sensitivities to American attitudes and American activities, though in fact there was nothing at all that could have been called subversive from our point of view. But it was a period where elsewhere in Africa other American diplomats were under similar pressures for any activities they engaged in to make contacts and get political information, as you probably experienced yourself in Mozambique. I recall that we had a Vice Consul who was actually declared persona non grata in Leopoldville--I believe it was there--at about the same time. I'm not sure of the actual time or place. But this was a period--as I like to remind Africans today--during which the United States was indeed an anti-colonial power supporting African aspirations for self government and independence.

There were other interesting things. As I mentioned, we did a little bit of everything. I had arrived and found that I was to be the Assistant Disbursing Officer, an assistant to the regular Disbursing Officer who was in Nairobi, so that meant that I had to do the monthly accounts. I can recall the first month's accounting that I did. The Vice Consul that I was replacing was about to leave and was to close out his last month of accounts, but when he started to work on them he closed the safe on his middle finger and cut off the tip. I took him to the hospital and found myself having to close out the accounts alone. So I learned the hard way about vouchers and fiscal management. It stood me in very good stead later on.

There were other administrative duties. We were building two residences at the time, one for the Consul, one for the Vice Consul. After spending about six weeks in the New Africa Hotel, my wife and I moved into a British businessman's flat for two or three weeks to "house-warm," as they called it in those days. Then finally, after my predecessor left and our effects had arrived, we moved into an apartment on Windsor Street, a fairly small place on the second floor above a travel agency-- which is still there incidentally, Kearsley's Travel Agency--in an area where there were tin roofs all around us. I can remember cats fighting and howling on the hot nights--literally, cats on a hot tin roof. Lots of noise, lots of activity. Eventually, when the Consul and his wife, the Marvins, left and there was to be a period of two months or so before the next Consul arrived, we had reached the point with the construction of the two new residences where it was fairly certain that the Consul's residence would be ready for them when they came. So I moved into the rented house that the Consul had lived in. Later, they finished the Vice Consul's house as well, and we moved into that.

The original Consul's residence that we built became the residence of the Deputy Chief of Mission when an embassy was established. The Vice Consul's residence became the residence of the embassy's political counselor for some years, and just this year (1988) was converted into an American embassy community club. It's only a few houses away from the DCM residence atop the coral cliffs of Oyster Bay, the northern residential area of Dar es Salaam.

I mentioned earlier that we had to do our own deciphering of incoming messages. I can recall vividly on one occasion, just before Christmas, getting several unclassified telegrams in a row saying that we would soon receive an urgent classified telegram that we were to act upon as soon as possible. Then came a very long message, classified secret, and I spent a great deal of time

deciphering it. And because long messages were segmented in parts that were transmitted in randomly mixed sequence, it was only when I was close to the end that I discovered that it was President Eisenhower's speech on the lighting of the White House Christmas tree. Why it had been classified so highly I don't know, except that it was not for release until delivery. By the time that I had deciphered it, however, I think he had already given the speech and it could just as well have been sent to us unclassified. I trotted off to the weekly newspaper and managed to get them to publish the full text which might have been seen as a great accomplishment for what was later to be USIS. I didn't have such good luck with the daily paper.

We also did such things as get scholarships going. I'd had the interesting experience of having worked, while I was still in the Department's Trusteeship Division, to get approval for an American offer to the Trusteeship Council of scholarships for the trust territories, then later conducting the first competition to select candidates from Tanganyika for that same scholarship program, and seeing a young man go off to the United States for his university education. This was a man who later on, as he came back from the United States and I was in Switzerland, came to visit us in Bern.

In that and many other ways our tour in Dar es Salaam was very exciting. Lots was going on. There was political activity to follow. To the north of us in Kenya, the Mau-Mau conflict was going on, and once--I think it was the occasion of the one political telegram I mentioned earlier--some of the Mau-Mau crossed the border into Tanganyika.

We did some traveling around the country. We had two children born in Dar-es-Salaam. It was about four months after our daughter--our first child--was born, that we went about 2,500 miles in our Jeep stationwagon around the territory. We drove up to the northern border and into Kenya, where we saw Lake Amboseli and Mt. Kilimanjaro from the north, spent some time in the area of Moshi and Arusha, then drove out across the Rift Valley to Ngorongoro and back to the main road down through Dodoma and the central part of Tanganyika as far south as Iringa and some of the tea estates south of there. We came back to Dar es Salaam across a new road that was being built with AID assistance--a road that years later became a part of the Tanzam highway to Zambia.

I traveled to Tanga and visited a number of sisal estates. I was one of the first two paying passengers out of the then new port of Mtwara in the southern province of Tanganyika, along with the Director of Grain Storage, a man by the name of George Rulf, whom I had come to know well because of his marriage to Kate Greenway, who had been secretary to the first American Consul in Dar es Salaam. He was going on an official trip, so I accompanied him and made a number of official calls of my own, reporting about the new port and other developments in the south. We traveled by coastal steamer from Mtwara north to Lindi, where we disembarked and remained a day or so before flying back to Dar es Salaam.

Lots of memories flow back from that time, but I'm not sure that they would interest everyone.

Q: *Dar es Salaam itself has an interesting name. It stands for...?*

EDMONDSON: Haven of peace. Yes, it was a fascinating harbor, a very beautiful one with a very, very narrow entrance. The tide rushes in and out through that harbor entrance and makes it a difficult one to navigate for some of the ships that come in and out. They used to have many ships standing outside waiting to come in because of the long turnaround time required for cargo handling by "lighters"--smaller vessels and barges used to move goods between ships anchored in the middle of the harbor and the docks on shore. They started building two deep water births, which were nearly complete when I finished my tour there, and so ships were eventually able to come right alongside the docks, and commerce increased. But even those facilities are now much overtaxed I'm told.

There's an interesting dhow harbor further into the bay, beyond the main harbor, where one could see the ancient Arab dhows that came in from Zanzibar and all the way from Muscat and Oman, along with the monsoons. The dhows have been coming literally for centuries to trade with the east coast of Africa. Dhows are very well known, of course, in Zanzibar. Zanzibar at that time was a separate protectorate. It was later incorporated with Tanganyika into the new independent nation of Tanzania, but Zanzibar was always an interesting part of the scene. We later established a separate consulate on Zanzibar. Historically, in fact, the first American consulate on the east African coast had been on the island of Zanzibar from about 1837, I believe, to about 1912. I'm not sure of the exact dates now, but it was not until the 1960's that a consulate was reestablished there. But the island was noted for its export of cloves and it was a fascinating place to visit even in the mid 1950's.

I mentioned the dhows. North of Dar es Salaam one could find an old cemetery, a centuries-old Persian cemetery, with some of the gravestones still mostly intact. These had been coated with an egg tempura mixture to give them a slick patina and make them last longer. Many had been decorated with inset Persian plates, some of which remained and could still be seen in 1955.

One could drive into the Pugu Hills, inland from Dar es Salaam--I can remember going to see Nyerere out at St. Francis College there, about ten or twelve miles west of Dar-es-Salaam. It was enough higher than the coast to give one a hint of cool breeze and a little relief from the humidity of the hot season. It made a pleasant outing. It was always pleasant to go "up country." Another spot of special interest was Morogoro, a town about a hundred miles inland. There was a little boarding house, or tourist home you might say, called Morning Side, up in the mountains just outside of Morogoro. It was especially pleasant. I suspect that Morogoro has become a popular place for people to visit now, as it is on the way to one of the game parks.

Q: *Did you have the feeling that Washington was listening to what you were reporting in those days?*

EDMONDSON: Yes, very much so, although undoubtedly it was a very limited number of people. Africa hadn't become quite as important as it did later, but it was beginning to interest people more. The Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Near East and Africa who was especially concerned with African affairs was Joe Palmer, who in later years became Assistant Secretary for African Affairs.

Washington's primary interest in Tanzania, or Tanganyika as it was then, probably arose from the US role in the UN Trusteeship Council, as I mentioned earlier. That probably gave more interest to our reporting than might otherwise have been the case, but I think there was a growing interest that spread from that. The Office of African Affairs was fairly active then, and there was a growing interest in things African, so much so that the Department of State (possibly with some stimulation from Fred Hadsel, I suspect) decided to establish a special program of academic training for Foreign Service Officers in order to develop a corps of Africanists, or people with some African specialization, for future work in Africa.

BARRINGTON KING
Consular Officer
Dar es Salaam (1959-1961)

Desk Officer, Tanganyika & Zanzibar
Washington DC (1961-1964)

Ambassador Barrington King was born in Tennessee in 1930. His career in the Foreign Service included positions in Egypt, Tanzania, Cyprus, Greece, Tunisia, Pakistan, and an ambassadorship to Brunei. He was interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy in 1990.

Q: *Okay, you arrived in Dar es Salaam and this was prior to independence wasn't it? Or just prior to it?*

KING: This was two years before independence. The situation there was completely different from Cairo -- sort of a shock, really. Having never been overseas until I went to Cairo, I looked at things from the point of view of my experience in Paris learning French; and in Cairo in a large Embassy. Then I find myself in a really run-down seaport on the Indian Ocean, in which the U.S. Consulate...

Q: *It was a Consulate General, or...*

KING: It became a Consulate General for reasons I don't understand, but it was a Consulate in the beginning, and it was reporting to our Consulate General in Nairobi. The Consulate consisted of the top floor of the Cable and Wireless building. There was no air conditioning, the lighting consisted of fly-catcher lights hanging down on cords. There was the Consul, myself who did the administrative and consular work, and another officer who was supposed to do the political and economic work. There was an American who was married to an English shipping agent there, who worked in the Consulate. And then we had one Foreign Service woman who was secretary and administrative assistant. And that was the entire staff. There were certain advantages, given the primitive state of our equipment, in that we could carry our telegrams down to the floor below and just give them to the Cable and Wireless company.

Q: *As you saw it, what was the political situation like at that time?*

KING: I think we saw it better than the local officials did who were so used to the way things had been run in Tanganyika, that they really couldn't believe that the government in London had any intention of giving independence anytime soon. In fact I remember talking to the chief secretary of the...

Q: *These were British?*

KING: Oh, these were all British.

Q: *I mean, white British?*

KING: Oh, all, all. I asked him, "What about independence?" And he said, "Well, they'll be ready in about 300 years, but they'll probably get it in about 25." Eighteen months later they were independent. It caught the Colonial Service people there completely by surprise as far as I could see. The Colonial Secretary came down there and cut a deal over a period of about three days, and independence was set. The government in London had decided that this was what they were going to do. The British had never invested very much in Tanganyika. They had in Kenya, for example. There was a strong attachment there, whereas the British knew that they weren't going to be in Tanganyika forever.

Q: *It had been a German colony.*

KING: It was a German colony up to the first World War, and very little was done between the two wars, and even afterwards. And when we arrived there we stayed at what was called The New Africa Hotel. Well, The New Africa Hotel in fact was a building that had been put up for the Kaiser to stay in when he came on hunting expeditions in Africa. Actually, the Kaiser never came but that was the reason the building was put up, and nothing more modern than that existed.

Q: *You say our Consulate had a clearer picture of the way thing were. Why was this?*

KING: I don't mean that we had a clearer picture than the British government, who knew precisely what was going to happen, because they were planning what they were going to do. But I don't think the average colonial servant in Tanganyika realized what London was up to. I think that we saw it coming because we were not emotionally involved in the situation.

Q: *What was your impression when you first arrived of British rule there, colonial rule? How effective was it?*

KING: You can say several things about it. If you're not going to invest any money, which the British did not, I mean there was not really even at that time a public school system. There were grants given to some of the missionary schools that were established there by the various churches, and there were quite a few. There was virtually nothing put into infrastructure. There was one paved road in the country, it ran 125 miles, and Tanganyika is a very large country. If you look at it, however, from the point of view of effective administration given small resources,

they did an amazing job. The district officer would be responsible for an area the size of a state in the United States, and he might have one British assistant, and then he would have a small staff of other people, and he ran that district by himself. They all spoke Swahili. They were extremely well trained and disciplined, and I suppose no more than a few hundred people ran the country. And they did it very well, provided you're just running it and are not planning on developing it very much. Tanganyika was one of the poorest countries in the world at that time, and it still is.

Q: *How about directions when you came out of Washington? Were you given a pep talk, or anything like this -- things are going to be happening there, and we want to be at the beginning.*

KING: Yes. That was, in fact, the era in which that was true. G. Mennen Williams was the first appointment of Jack Kennedy. Before any Cabinet officer, he appointed the Assistant Secretary for Africa. There was a decision taken at that time that we would have embassies in every African country, no matter how small, and we're still living with that. Once you make that decision, it's very difficult to reverse it. We gave a lot of emphasis in the first year or two of Kennedy's administration to Africa.

Q: *You came in at sort of the end of the Eisenhower...*

KING: In that period there was no particular interest in Africa as far as I could see.

Q: *You were just going out to a job.*

KING: That's right, and you didn't really give that much thought. With Kennedy everything changed.

Q: *What was the effect on your operation? Kennedy came in, Mennen Williams was the first appointment to the State Department in the Kennedy administration. He had a lot of political clout, I mean, delivered Michigan to the Kennedy side. Were you all of a sudden electrified, or what happened?*

KING: Yes, I think it made a big difference, and I think we were sort of not prepared for it. Williams came -- I think the first trip to Africa, and Dar was the second place he stopped; and certainly everybody got the message that Africa was important, and that it was domestically important politically in the United States.

Q: *How about contacts with the people of Tanganyika, like Julius Nyerere and others? I mean, was there much, or when you arrived pretty much wedded to the colonial administrators.*

KING: Oh, no. I think there was some resentment among the British colonial administrators, but we saw everybody in the African political movement. Julius Nyerere had just stopped being a school teacher, and he was chairman of the Tanganyika African National Union. The reason, I think, that he had stopped being a school teacher was simply because they told him he had to choose. It was a Jesuit school, and in fact the person who told me that was a Jesuit priest from New Jersey who told him he had to make up his mind where he wanted to be. So he did. We

entertained him in our homes. I was a Vice Consul, obviously young and very low ranking, but I had Julius Nyerere to dinner and all of his chief lieutenants. What is forgotten, I think, and it was forgotten almost immediately after independence, like it had never happened was, that while there was not segregation as such, if you attended a social function there was almost never an African there -- I mean an official of the Tanganyika government. At receptions, what you might have was a traditional chief, but certainly you didn't see anything of African politicians at any of these.

Q: *You had a Consul General at the time. Was it hard...you were looking at it from the point of view of the young officer there, turning our tradition way of running...here's this post as far as dealing with this new movement. Were we, at least the Consul General, co-opted into the British colonial system?*

KING: No, not at all. I think our interest was mainly in the Africans. And I think, as I said, we realized the British would be leaving. There was a certain amount of antagonism, not between the British and American governments as such, but between people who had lived in Tanganyika for 25 years, knew the language, knew the people, knew their jobs and were very good; that suddenly Americans come in and seem to want to tell everybody what to do, and get involved in everything, and stirring up trouble by talking to all these African leaders while they're delicately trying to manage things. But that's a local problem. That's not a governmental problem.

Q: *Was there much that you could report, or was there much interest in what we were reporting?*

KING: There was a lot of interest in Julius Nyerere, I think, because he was seen as someone with ideas, better educated than most of the emerging African leaders. In fact, if I'm not mistaken, I believe Julius Nyerere was the first African from Tanganyika to have ever received a university degree.

Q: *Was there any feeling that we were trying to...this is probably the wrong word, but to co-opt the area as opposed to the colonial officials? I mean were we trying to...did we have any policy considerations about dealing with Nyerere?*

KING: I think there was in the Bureau of African Affairs in the State Department under G. Mennen Williams, yes. I think there was a very positive attitude towards Nyerere; and yes, we were trying to get close to him; and yes, it created some resentment.

Q: *Do we have any real interest in Tanganyika?*

KING: Today?

Q: *Then.*

KING: Our interests, I think, were in the political direction that the African continent took. We certainly didn't have any economic interest of consequence.

Q: *Was there concern about the "Soviet menace?"*

KING: I think that was probably the most important factor in our policy toward Africa. The Soviet Union at that time was seen as a great threat, was very active in Africa, and we wanted to counter that. As the years passed I think it became clear that the Soviet Union was not prepared to put any really major resources into Africa, and the threat was limited to places like South Africa in which there were conflicts of interest that were important. But in the rest of Black Africa, I think we took a more relaxed view of it than after a few years.

Q: *How about Zanzibar? Did that play any role? I mean eventually it was amalgamated into Tanganyika, but, at that time, was it a separate entity when you were there?*

KING: Yes, it was. It was a protectorate under the British. It had a completely separate administration with its own governor, really no connection at all with Tanganyika, and traditionally there hasn't been much connection. The connections that Zanzibar had were with the Persian Gulf.

Q: *What used to be the Sultanate of Muscat.*

KING: That's right. And the Arab element in Zanzibar was still in charge in theory, although the British, of course, actually ran things, and they were a fairly small group. I had a lot to do with Zanzibar actually because we decided in 1960, about halfway through my tour, we decided that we would open a Consulate in Zanzibar because it seemed that both the Soviet Union, and particularly the Chinese, were interested in Zanzibar. So I was chosen to do some of the leg work, and I guess I made 15 or 20 trips to Zanzibar in that year, and in the process acquired a house for our Consul, and also an old building which I had, by talking to a local British historian, determined was the spot on which our Consulate had stood -- which was closed in 1833, I believe. I don't know if it's the same building, but in any case it was being used as a barn for donkeys. So we bought that, and redid it and made it into a little Consulate, and we bought a house.

While all this was going on, there was a really interesting development in that we were in the early days of space exploration. In fact, we were just orbiting the earth under Project Mercury, and we needed a series of tracking stations around the world. Tanganyika was seen as probably not a good choice for political reasons, but we needed one in the immediate area. I guess we felt the British would be in Zanzibar longer. In any case, I was asked, as a very junior officer, to go over to Zanzibar and talk to the Governor, which I did, and to the Chief Secretary who, of course, was also British, about the possibility of having a tracking station in Zanzibar.

After a period of some months, we did reach an agreement. There were also talks, of course, going on between Washington and London on this; given a piece of land, and while I was there we did set up a tracking station. Well, despite our having picked what we thought was a safe place, it turned out to be the biggest political issue the islands had ever had. Of course, it hadn't had very many important ones in its history. And it was said by both political parties, one of which was predominantly Arab, and the other predominantly African, that this was a missile launching site, and that Zanzibar was in danger of nuclear retaliation. Well, as part of our campaign to counter this, we took the heads of both political parties to Cape Canaveral, and I

accompanied them to see exactly what it was we were doing. We had dinner with the astronauts, and they got back and, of course, they said exactly the same thing they'd said before they left. They knew perfectly well it wasn't true.

The supporters of one of the leaders of the political party in Zanzibar, not too long afterwards, assassinated his rival; and his supporters in turn assassinated him. So both of the men I took to Cape Canaveral disappeared from the scene. We did keep the tracking station there. After independence it became untenable, but by that time we had alternatives.

Q: *You left there in 1961. You came back to Washington?*

KING: I came back to Washington just before independence, and I was the desk officer for Tanganyika and Zanzibar which, of course, became one country, for the next two years. In fact, the first thing I had to do in my job was to help arrange a state visit for Julius Nyerere, as the first leader of the independent country. During that period I guess I'll have to say that I don't think a great deal of interest really took place. We became involved in an AID program there, and there was a fair amount of political activity. But it was a quieter period than I have enjoyed in most of my assignments.

Q: *There were a couple of things that happened with Nyerere. For one thing he had not yet turned the country into a socialist morass.*

KING: I think he was headed in that direction all along, and I always thought that. I mean I never had much doubt about that. Given the low base that they started from, I mean you didn't see some precipitous drop in the living standard because it is the second or third poorest country in the world.

Q: *What was the feeling about Zanzibar? I mean Zanzibar had not had its riots then, or did that happen when you were there?*

KING: It happened while I was back in Washington, and although that was a traumatic experience for our people, and, of course, all this ended up with the two countries becoming combined. And, of course, that was the end of Arab rule. I don't think it was a political event, even though Everett Dirksen, was the keynote speaker at the Republican convention, and had things to say about our Consul being marched off at gunpoint. I think the political significance was extremely limited.

JOHN HOGAN
Public Affairs Officer, USIS
Dar es Salaam (1960-1962).

Mr. Hogan was born in Maine, graduated from Mercer University, after which he served in the U.S. Merchant Marines. After World War II he went into the radio business in Portland, Maine before joining the U.S. Information Agency in 1949.

He has served in a number of posts abroad including Cairo, Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Tripoli and Saigon. He was interviewed by Michael Brown in 1988.

HOGAN: That was later on, but I went first to Washington and then did not stay there very long. I got another assignment; that was PAO in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. It became later Tanzania as you know.

After a two-an-a-half year tour there, I was transferred to Kenya as the PAO in that country. That country was a year away from independence, so I had the unique experience of serving in Tanzania or Tanganyika, as it was called then, a year before independence, and a year after; and the same in Kenya, a year before independence and a year after.

So, all told, I spent almost five years in East Africa.

Q: What were your impressions of Africa at that time?

HOGAN: Well, those were exciting days, you know. We watched this country become independent and the people who ran it, who were supposedly non-corruptible, little by little go down the slippery slope. Tanganyika never has fulfilled all of the hopes that we, in the Western World, thought it would achieve after independence because of, I believe, President Nyerere's African socialism, as he called it.

He was very fond of the idea of socialism and he would -- you could talk to him and, incidentally, that was one of the more interesting thoughts of serving in East Africa, you could talk very frequently face-to-face with the leader of the country.

It was not at all like Egypt, where, of course, if you saw Gamal Abdel Nasser in some military parade, that was as close as you got to him. The only people who ever saw him at the Embassy were the ambassador and maybe the deputy chief of mission or something like that.

But we had access to the cabinet ministers in Tanzania--well, Tanganyika--as it was called. Incidentally, it did not become Tanzania until it merged with Zanzibar and that is where the name came from, Tanzania.

Q: Yes, you followed, of course, you were there at the time when the British were moving out because they were certainly influential in both of those countries. Was there still a lot of British influence in Kenya and Tanzania during your time?

HOGAN: Oh, there was, indeed, a lot of British influence. However, there was more in Kenya than there was in Tanzania. In Tanzania, the British had had that as a colony only since the end of World War I, whereas in Kenya they had settled that as early as 1902, and so on. I think that is when they started building a railway from Mombasa up to Kenya and then further on to Uganda.

However, they encouraged settlers to come to Kenya, which they never did in Tanzania or Tanganyika. Tanganyika was not a colony by any means. It was a trust territory of the United Nations. So, they really did not have quite the free hand there that they had in Kenya.

STUART P. LILLICO
Public Affairs Officer
Zanzibar (1960-1964)

Stuart P. Lillico was born in Seattle, Washington in 1909. After graduating from the University of Washington, he joined the United States Information Agency in 1953. His career included positions in India, Ethiopia, Zanzibar, Rhodesia, and Japan. Mr. Lillico was interviewed by John Hogan in 1988.

Q: Now, Stuart, you served as public affairs officer in Zanzibar right after Ethiopia, didn't you?

LILLICO: That is right. There had been no American representation in Zanzibar until the summer of 1960. A Project Mercury tracking station had opened in Zanzibar that year.

Shortly afterwards, it was decided to open a consulate there. When the consulate decision was made, it was agreed that USIS should come, too, to help with the public relations work.

I was told we had the smallest budget for a USIS post anywhere in the world. Really my only claim to fame was that I had one of the best looking secretaries in USIS. The consulate itself had two American officers, the consul and vice-consul, and the USIS had me.

We were all in one building. Off and on, we had two American secretaries. There was a temptation to rotate them, but we were distinctly a single family there. There was no serious effort to exclude USIS from the running of the consulate, and the consulate people took a very direct personal interest in the running of USIS. Unlike some other places where I have served, we were all talking the same language.

We did not have a great big program, as you can imagine with the smallest budget, but we did send students both to the States and, more often, to American-oriented secondary schools around the world. We sent several to Beirut, including one to the American University of Beirut.

Q: Now, what do you remember about serving in Zanzibar. After all, it was a pretty unique place.

LILLICO: Yes, it was strictly unique. I remember it as being a very pleasant place to work and to serve. The climate, of course, was excellent, very much like here in Hawaii. The people are extremely friendly and our relations with, first, the British [colonial-style] government and later with the Arab-dominated Zanzibar government were good.

We had, I am happy to say, quite a bit of leisure time which we managed to fill with pleasant occupations, but mostly, it was a matter of maintaining personal relationships with the Zanzibar people. I think we were very successful in that.

Unfortunately, the people we were most successful in establishing relations with were Arab types. After the uprising in 1964, those people all were swept out of office. Many of them left the country so that we wound up with relatively less important contacts with the new government.

Q: Well, some of these uprisings in African countries can be pretty scary experiences. Did you have anything happen to you that we might be put in that classification?

LILLICO: The uprising in Zanzibar was completely unexpected. I had a phone call about 3 o'clock one morning from my secretary, who lived in Zanzibar town proper -- I lived out on the edge of town -- saying that shooting had started around the -- I think she said police -- station.

Since she had quite a few Arab contacts, my secretary thought it was serious. I then called the consul, Fritz Picard, and the vice consul, Don Petterson. After a few reports from other people, we began calling the American residents in Zanzibar, of which there were about fifty, to be prepared to rendezvous at a couple of safe havens that we had established previously.

One was my house which was in a compound near the airport. The other was a compound where two Americans lived on the other side of town. About 6 o'clock, people began arriving at our place and, apparently, they were doing the same thing on the other side of town.

We sat around until 8 o'clock or so, when we could hear shooting in the distance. About then we realized that we were in for a serious uprising. So, we began making preparations to all get together in one place.

Most people came just as they were -- some, really, actually in their pajamas, but with the bare necessities. We thought it better not to let them try to go home. About noon, things quieted down and all of our people filled up our cars and drove in convoy down to what at that time was called the English Club, in the center of Zanzibar.

We stayed there until the following afternoon when the U.S. Destroyer Manley came. It laid off the port for a while and then began ferrying us out to the ship. The decision to evacuate the Americans from Zanzibar was made primarily by the consul, Fritz Picard, on the basis of his judgment which, I guess, was sound.

In any event, we took all the Americans -- mostly Project Mercury people, of course, -- plus quite a few Americans and some English who were at the hotel, and ferried them across overnight to Dar es Salaam. The consul and vice consul both stayed behind. As the history shows, the consul was declared persona non grata by the new Zanzibar government a couple of weeks later. Petterson held the fort then until Frank Carlucci was sent out to replace Fritz Picard as consul. Carlucci stayed a couple of months, I believe.

The uprising was scary to the extent that a lot of people were running around with guns and at least half a dozen people that we knew were shot down in the streets, not too very far from where we were. But after that first blow-up, it quieted down.

Since most of our friends in the government were Arabs; we, of course, were concerned about their fate. Many of them simply disappeared. I never did hear what happened to them.

By and large, it was the end of our USIS operation in Zanzibar, although the library remained. I do not believe we ever had another USIS officer, but I am not positive about that.

DALE M. POVENMIRE
General Officer
Zanzibar (1961-1963)

Dale M. Povenmire was born in Ohio on June 6, 1930. He received a bachelor's degree in political science from Baldwin-Wallace College in 1952 and a master's degree from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in 1953. Mr. Povenmire served in the U.S. Navy from 1953-1957 and joined the Foreign Service in 1957. He served in Santiago, Zanzibar, Asuncion, Oporto, Caracas, Lisbon, Sao Paulo, Rome, and Washington, DC. He retired in 1986 and was interviewed by Morris Weisz on January, 29, 1994.

POVENMIRE: We were in Zanzibar from June 1961 until October 1963. I was the second man in a two man consulate; we opened the post there.

Q: *That was before Tanzania?*

POVENMIRE: That was before Tanzania. At that point Zanzibar was still a British Protectorate. It was becoming independent so the Department thought we should have a post there. That post went from a consulate to a consulate general to an embassy and back to a consulate within a span of two years.

Q: *Did you know Tom Byrne there?*

POVENMIRE: No. Tom had been in Dar es Salaam before that period, I believe. During my time it was Red Duggan who was Consul General in Dar. But Zanzibar was an independent post and we reported directly to the Department. It was real Foreign Service; it was the most foreign post we ever had. There is a whole history right there.

This was at the time when we opened eight new embassies in what had been French West Africa and the Department asked for volunteers to go to these new African embassies. There were 400 officers who applied. It was very difficult to live in Washington on a Foreign Service salary. We were one of the volunteers. We were not chosen for West Africa but they soon opened a post in Zanzibar and we were assigned there. Zanzibar was on the brink of independence and the U.S. Government wanted a post there.

When we were en route to Zanzibar in 1961 we learned during a stopover in Cairo that racial riots in Zanzibar had killed some 20 people. As a consequence we stayed over in Dar es Salaam

for a couple of days until the situation cooled off. I then flew over to the island. Marilyn followed a few days later with our three small children. We flew in on a 1929 fabric-covered biplane. They weighed not only the luggage but each individual passenger. If the first five passengers did not weigh too much, they would take a sixth person.

Q: *Did you have anything to do with Nyerere?*

POVENMIRE: No, because Zanzibar was a British Protectorate. Tanganyika was a separate political entity. There were no direct ties at that time. It was only after the revolution in Zanzibar in 1964 that the new state of Tanzania was formed.

Q: *I got some very interesting insights into Nyerere as an individual from Tom Byrne, who was head of the political section and DCM in Dar. Nyerere has always fascinated me because he is one of these old revolutionary leaders who thought of himself as a Socialist, who when the going got tough left some of his ideals aside. So again, in Zanzibar you did not do much labor work?*

POVENMIRE: Well, I did have some labor work in Zanzibar as a matter of fact. While it was a British Protectorate, the labor movement was one of the few organizations controlled and run by Africans. As in so many new African states, the labor movement was the spawning ground for the new political leadership. Abeid Karume, the first president of the Zanzibar's Revolutionary Government in 1964, was the former head of the Port Workers Union. Zanzibari labor leaders were involved in the revolution. Some of the people I had worked with had a role.

We left Zanzibar in October 1963. It became independent two months later, in December 1963. Only one month after independence, on January 11, 1964, there was a revolution.

There were two driving motives behind the revolution. First, there was the anti-Western, pro-communist core of radicals who wanted political power. Secondly, they were able to mobilize the African majority against the Sultan and the dominate Arab minority who controlled the government and the economy. They did this by playing upon the pervasive racial hatred of the Africans toward the Arabs. After all, slavery was abolished only in 1897, so it would still be within the memory of some of the older Africans. It was not a paternalistic kind of slavery; it was brutal. One of the most infamous Arab slave raiders in East African history, Tippu Tib, was the grandfather of a part of the Sultan's family.

Q: *Did we have an AID mission there at that time?*

POVENMIRE: We did not. We had just the two officer consulate and a one officer USIA operation. We had a local staff of about nine people altogether.

Q: *The language was English?*

POVENMIRE: At one official ceremony we attended there were four consecutive translations. Swahili was the lingua franca for almost all of Zanzibar's 300,000 people. English was the language of business, the government, and most people with any degree of education. English was widely understood in Zanzibar Town but Swahili was much more common. Omani Arabic

was also widespread, as that is where most of the 50,000 Arabs originally were from. You also had a large Urdu and an even larger Gujarati speaking communities because of the 20,000 Asians there who basically ran the commercial sector. There were also a number of Goans, Parsees, and Comorians. It was a polyglot mixture of cultures, races, and religions.

Q: *Were the Asians resented?*

POVENMIRE: To a degree. Many fled after the revolution in January, 1964, but not too many Asians were killed. Several thousand Arabs, I've heard up to forty thousand, but certainly many Arabs were killed and thousands of others fled the island. There weren't too many guns around so much of the slaughter was up close and personal, with machetes. I heard later from several people that some of the revolutionaries drove around town the day after the revolution with the testicles of the murdered Arab police chief tied to the radiator of their car.

Let me give you a little background. During our first week after arriving in Zanzibar we encountered Abdulrahman "Babu" Mohammed. Babu was the Secretary General of the predominately Arab Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP). He was a far-left radical who had worked as a journalist in London. He was not seen with favor by the British. On this occasion Marilyn and I accepted a dinner invitation from an Asian businessman. We were picked up in his car but instead of being driven to his home we were taken on narrow dirt tracks far into the interior of the island. There in a clearing in the middle of a coconut plantation, with only a kerosene lantern nailed to a palm tree for light, was Babu, a couple of his lieutenants, and three or four prostitutes. We weren't exactly kidnaped but neither were we voluntary guests at this particular party. Their purpose was to discover why the U.S. was opening a Consulate. We talked for a couple of hours on a reasonably cordial basis, ate chicken cooked over a fire on sticks, and tossed the bones over our shoulders into the darkness. It made for a memorable evening.

Several months later, the night before our new Consulate was to open, some of the young ZNP radicals allied with Babu threw a Molotov cocktail against the front door of our offices. It was a serious attempt to burn the building but the fire was extinguished before major damage was done. We held our opening reception the next day as planned.

In a real switch, Babu later left the ZNP and became Secretary General of the Afro-Shirazi Party. Following the revolution, he became the first Foreign Minister of the Revolutionary Government and rapidly established ties to the communist bloc.

The point I should make is that during our time in Zanzibar anti-Western, Third World, Pan African attitudes were so common and widespread in Africa that, even though there was opposition to the U.S. from the radical faction in the ZNP, many in the Afro-Shirazi Party did not trust us either. Looking back, it is interesting that we seldom felt personally endangered or threatened. The racial hatred that existed was almost entirely by the Africans against the Arabs and rarely if ever directed against the 300 or so "Europeans" in the Colonial Service and the tiny foreign communities.

Most of the labor leaders who were involved in the revolution were certainly pro-communist and anti-Western. There were only about ten people in the labor movement who had leadership

ability. If they wanted help or assistance they had to look to the Eastern Bloc. It was not unusual for them to be invited to Moscow. When one became ill with hepatitis he was taken to Sochi on the Black Sea to recuperate.

We just did not have the resources to compete. I did make an effort to strengthen some of those whom I considered to be the less antagonistic labor leaders. I befriended the deputy leader of the labor confederation. Here I made a tactical mistake. I went to a lot of effort to get him a grant to the Harvard Trade Union training course. It wasn't really appropriate but it was the only thing I was aware of we had to offer. After we finally obtained Washington's approval for the grant, the leader of the confederation, Moyo, objected and claimed he should have been selected -- even though he had earlier rejected any overtures. I can see from his viewpoint now that he was not about to have his deputy go off for training and come back in a stronger position. So Moyo did not allow his deputy to go to the course and I learned the painful lesson that if you are going to accomplish anything, you have to work within the power structure that is there.

Q: *You said that Karume, who became the first president of the Revolutionary Government, was a former head of the Port Workers Union. What were his relations later on with his own union? Was he still running the union?*

POVENMIRE: No, he was very much a political figure after that.

Q: *Did the union embarrass him in government by making demands that he couldn't meet? That is the common problem of a trade union leader who leaves the labor movement for government.*

POVENMIRE: No, because when Karume assumed power after the revolution he did not have the character to be anything other than a despot. He was soon assassinated after imposing an oppressive, completely arbitrary government. The only thing he was interested in was the use, and abuse, of power.

Q: *Was the AFL-CIO active there?*

POVENMIRE: Tom Mboya was then the major friend of the AFL-CIO in East Africa. I don't recall exactly when it was that Mboya was assassinated in Kenya but it was about this time. I know I dealt with Irving Brown in setting up the grant for the Zanzibari labor leader. Zanzibar was pretty small potatoes on the African labor scene but important in the East-West confrontation because of its strategic location.

Q: *You had no direct relations with Irving Brown? Because at that point he was very important with many of the Europeans.*

POVENMIRE: He was then running the AFL-CIO program for Africa as well so we had correspondence with him. I did not meet him until later.

Q: *Any visitations from trade union people in America?*

POVENMIRE: No, we had no such visitations. We had very few resources to do anything with labor in Zanzibar at that time. We were able to work through AID programs out of Dar es Salaam and we did eventually obtain a grant to build a small teacher training school, not labor related, in Zanzibar with the idea that this was sort of our token grant to Zanzibari independence. But the major responsibility was still held by the British.

Q: *Did the British have a labor attaché there?*

POVENMIRE: No. It was a colonial administration. The Colonial Office was there.

Q: *They did have labor officers in many of their colonial administrations.*

POVENMIRE: Nothing that amounted to anything in Zanzibar.

Q: *British Council?*

POVENMIRE: They did have British Council but it did not do anything in labor.

Q: *Any other observations about your service in Zanzibar?*

POVENMIRE: Just to the effect that in this developing country the labor movement was once again the cradle for the political leadership. Personal relationships are so important on the ground. I taught the deputy leader of the confederation to drive a car. Just a few days before we left Zanzibar he very untypically asked that if I had an extra bottle of whisky he would really like to have one. That was so strange because basically it was a Muslim society and most people did not drink. It was so unusual for him I wondered at the time why. I suspect now that it may have been for one of the first meetings that this revolutionary junta had to plan the revolution. Perhaps, if my tour had been longer, we possibly may have learned a whole lot more about what was going to happen than we did.

Q: *What about the regulations on liquor?*

POVENMIRE: Well, we couldn't take it with us, Morrie. He became Minister of Labor in the new government. I suspect that I did not teach him to drive very well because I heard later that he ran over somebody in a Jeep.

Q: *I'm rather surprised that with the political and security aspects, the Cold War, that there were not more resources.*

POVENMIRE: I think we were just stretched too thin.

ROBERT T. HENNEMEYER
Deputy Principal Officer
Dar es Salaam (1961-1964)

Ambassador Robert T. Hennemeyer was born in Germany and spent part of his childhood in the United States. After serving in the U.S. Army during World War II and receiving his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1947, he joined the Foreign Service in 1942. He served in Tanganyika and was ambassador to the Gambia. Ambassador Hennemeyer was interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy in 1989.

Q: *When you came out, you were really put into a very critical position, weren't you? You went to Tanganyika. How did you get the appointment?*

HENNEMEYER: I don't know how it happened. I received orders while I was at Oxford that I would be going to Dar es Salaam, which then was still a U.N. trust territory under British trusteeship. Therefore, our post was a consul general. Red Duggan was our consul general, and I was to go there as his number two.

There was one very fortunate thing that happened and one very sad thing that happened. The fortunate thing was that while at Oxford, I met four Tanganyikans who were studying there. All four, within a couple of years, became Cabinet members when they returned, and this gave me a set of contacts that was almost unique, because while at Oxford, we were very close. That was a very positive thing and gave me a leg up in starting at Dar es Salaam.

The sad thing was that Red's eyesight was failing very rapidly, and just after independence in December of 1961, within days, Red's eyesight failed completely. He had glaucoma. He had to be Medevaced. Then I was chargé for an extended period. It would have been better had Red been able to stay on, because he had a wealth of knowledge of the post. He had been there for several years, a very able man. But it didn't work out that way.

Q: *Could you describe the situation when you first arrived? This was still colonial in 1961.*

HENNEMEYER: I got there in July of 1961, and independence came that December. So it was an atypical colonial situation in that it was a honeymoon period. The agreement on the date for independence had been reached. The British were doing their best in a short period of time and in an orderly fashion to phase out. The Tanganyikans were very, very upbeat and happy about the coming independence state. It was a real honeymoon. Nobody was complaining about anything. The only complaints I heard were from the British, who were grousing a bit about how many positions they would have to continue to staff at the Tanganyikans' request, because they didn't have enough people to take over. So it was not an atmosphere where they would be pushed out at all.

Q: *Also, Tanganyika was somewhat different in that it had been a German colony. The British roots, I assume, weren't as deep there as they would have been in Kenya and other places.*

HENNEMEYER: That's true. The British settler community was minuscule, unlike Kenya. So they were not really a political factor at all. Well, that's an overstatement. They were a minor political factor.

There were times during the inter-war period when British governments in London sought to merge Tanganyika with Kenya and Uganda into a greater East Africa entity on the Kenya model. Some governments wanted to encourage large-scale British settlement in Tanganyika. But interestingly enough, there were British governors general during that period in Tanganyika who reminded London that this was initially a League of Nations mandate, and subsequently a U.N. trustee territory, and that didn't accord with the conditions of the mandate, and resisted the idea of British settlement. So there's some unsung heroes there, because rather than a Mau Mau epoch as Kenya experienced, Tanganyika had none of that. The very few British settlers who were there, Derek Brycesen was one who became Minister of Agriculture in the first government, and Lady Mariam Chesham, another settler, an American by birth, married to a British subject, who remained after independence and became a member of Parliament. So it was a very amicable transition.

Q: *How did the story develop as you saw it and may have experienced it?*

HENNEMEYER: The first couple of years of independence, I stayed until July of 1964, exactly three years. The first two years went fairly smoothly, the transition where more and more Tanganyikans took over senior positions. One noticed that it didn't always work as well as it had in the past, but on the other hand, they were trying to do more difficult things and they were trying to do it with relatively inexperienced people. But it went along fairly well, and relations with the remaining British were quite good, and our relations with the government were excellent.

Q: *They didn't have the feeling that the United States was being a bit starry-eyed about this new independence, whereas the British were saying, "Well, you know, this isn't going to work," sort of dog in the manger?*

HENNEMEYER: No. I'm sure that was an attitude in some other places, but I think because of the fact that the colonial civil service who went to Tanganyika always knew that it was a different set of ground rules, a mandate or a trust territory, and that this did not have a colonial future, I think that was understood. They were a different breed of cat from colonial civil servants that I had met elsewhere. I admire them. For the most part, they were very good people with a clear understanding that their role was a temporary one, and that their task was really to work themselves out of a job. So I found very little of that. I'm sure some of them thought that the Americans were starry-eyed, but I didn't find the dog-in-the-manger attitude.

Q: *Going back to the situation in Tanganyika, it is now Tanzania.*

HENNEMEYER: It became Tanzania after the federation with Zanzibar. It never was a merger.

Q: *Could you talk about your relations and your observations of Julius Nyerere, who is, of course, a seminal figure in the African scene?*

HENNEMEYER: First of all, on a very personal level, an extremely likeable man, not pretentious, not full of himself at all, enjoyed a joke, a person who was pleasant to be with. He

was also a great political theorist and, unfortunately, economical theorist. I think as a manager he left much to be desired. He was a charismatic figure on the stump, a great leader of his people. I don't believe for a moment that he meant anything but to do the best he could for the well being of his people.

But I guess the best way I could put it is that during early 1963, Nyerere decided that the party, TANU, Tanganyika African National Union, was not functioning the way it was supposed to. It wasn't really mobilizing the masses for new initiatives and so on. So he decided he would give up the premiership and go out in the boonies, revitalize the Party, and he would turn to Rashidi Kawawa to be acting premier. He was a minister--I've forgotten of what, a very small man but well known because he had been an actor in Swahili-language films. So everybody in the country knew him.

At any rate, Rashidi Kawawa was no great political figure at all, but within days of Julius' departure for the boonies, one noticed a difference in the way government functioned. You got answers to questions, decisions were made, and it was simply because Kawawa was not theorists, didn't spend hours and hours talking about the future of the world with visitors from other parts of the world, but instead came to his desk promptly early in the morning, looked at his "in" box, took things out of his "in" box, made decisions, and put them in his "out" box. It made a world of difference.

Q: *Bob, what was the situation with Nyerere? How did you see him?*

HENNEMEYER: As I mentioned, one could not help but like and respect him as a leader. Clearly he was a world leader, not just an African leader. But he was not really one who enjoyed the nitty-gritty of government, and he was not very good at it. He tended not to empty his "in" box, and that was a complaint I heard from his ministers and so on. That was not his strong suit. The result was, of course, that since this became a one-party state and became highly centralized in his person, when he didn't empty his "in" box, a lot of things didn't happen.

Q: *You saw him as the leader who was going to be around for some time.*

HENNEMEYER: Oh, yes, no doubt. He was unchallenged.

Q: *As the United States representatives there, did you find yourselves being concerned about the fact that he seemed to be off, you might say, on the left-wing socialist side, both for our own political interests, but also for concern about the economy?*

HENNEMEYER: That wasn't so apparent during the time that I was there. We did have some concern about the speed with which he was trying to develop cooperatives as an alternative to the Indian middle class, which had a monopoly of commerce. Obviously there was a political imperative for him to involve his own people, to involve the local people in the economy. That had to be done. But some of us had some concern about the pace and the method. But that didn't really become an acute problem until after I left, until the Lusaka Manifesto and things like that.

Q: *We had no real commercial interests there, did we?*

HENNEMEYER: Almost none. There was a time some years earlier when the U.S. automobile industry had some major exports to Africa, but by that time we had been displaced largely by Peugeot in East Africa, and I suspect they've been replaced by the Japanese since then.

Q: *There are schools that say that American policy is driven by economics and trade and all that, but in many cases there just isn't that much at stake there. You didn't feel anybody breathing down your shoulder on that?*

HENNEMEYER: No, not at all. No, that was not a major factor at all. I think we started out with a lot of genuine good will towards Tanganyika and Nyerere as a leader. I think as time went on, our concern was that the Soviet bloc or the Chinese not acquire undue influence there. We wanted to keep Nyerere basically Western oriented; that was our objective. I think, with minor glitches, that was successful. He never really went over to the other camp. He flirted, but I suspect some of that was tactical, and some of that, of course, was dictated by the fact that he saw one of his major roles to be a haven for those who were trying to free from colonialism the rest of Southern Africa.

So one of the more interesting aspects of my time in Dar es Salaam was the presence there of major Southern African liberation organizations or political parties. ANC was there, BAC, Felimo. In fact, I knew Eduardo Monley quite well. That gave the place certain spice that it would not otherwise have had.

Q: *What was our attitude? What were your instructions on how to deal with Felimo? We're talking about the early sixties.*

HENNEMEYER: That's right. We maintained close and friendly relations with them. By this time we had on our staff a very, very able first-tour officer, John Blacken, who is now our ambassador in Guinea Bissau. John and I worked very hard to maintain close personal relations with Sam Dejoma, who was there at that time, and with a great many others. We would invite them to our homes, we would see them in their offices. What some of them wanted very much--they realized soon that that was not in the cards--was military assistance from us. It just wasn't going to happen.

Q: *You made that quite clear?*

HENNEMEYER: Well, that had to be made clear right away that we weren't going to do that. What we did try to provide them were educational opportunities, believing that while eventually they would succeed in governing their own countries, in the interim it might be very worthwhile for some of their better young people to acquire skills that would be useful in an independent non-apartheid South Africa.

So through AID, we contracted with the African American Institute. Pat Murphy was then the director of the program in Dar es Salaam, and we ran an active program of providing scholarship opportunities in the States and elsewhere in the west for exiled Africans, if you will, and we established a small school, also under African American Institute auspices, funded by AID, for

Mozambican government. However, at the same time, we were aware, of course, that they were receiving military assistance. I remember one case where a ship from Algeria came in with a great deal of military equipment for Felimo and other organizations. So others were doing that, but clearly that was something we could not do, but we felt it was important to maintain contact with these people and, in the area of education, to do something constructive for them for their future. I think even though some of them are rather high-powered in their rhetoric of criticizing us, I think some of them are really aware that what we did at that time was helpful.

Q: *How about Nyerere? Back to him for a minute. What was his attitude toward the United States?*

HENNEMEYER: I think it was very friendly. I thought his attitude toward the United States was generally positive. I think there were times when he felt that we were neglecting Africa, other times that he felt that we were excessively preoccupied with the Cold War, but I felt that, too.

Q: *How about the situation in Zanzibar? That became rather volatile while you were there.*

HENNEMEYER: Yes, it did. That happened in January of 1964. To me it came as a surprise, although, in retrospect, Fritz Picard, who was our consular there at the time, was aware of growing unrest. I don't think any of us predicted what finally happened. Yes, I remember very well. Then the press descended on Dar es Salaam to try to find out what was going on in Zanzibar. But we had no special brief for the Sultan's Government in Zanzibar. In fact, as you recall, the election, which had confirmed the Sultan's Government in power, was one that was a very dubious affair, and nobody was really happy with the result. It was clear, I think, to most observers that if it was going to survive, it was going to have a lot more representatives, and it didn't have a chance to do that.

A lot of people have forgotten what a bloody affair that was--there were several thousand people killed, Arabs driven down to the beaches and slaughtered at the beaches by the insurgents. There was an Italian photographer who chartered a plane from Mombasa, flew down there and got some extraordinary footage of the slaughter on the beach.

At any rate, our concern was exactly the same as the Tanganyikan Government's concern, and that was to contain the rebellion on Zanzibar and direct it to a more constructive end. That is, it accomplished its immediate purpose--that is, it brought a black African majority group into power. But then the question arose for Tanganyika's own security: What kinds of relationships would that new government have? As you know, very early on there was a fairly strong East Bloc presence, and that concerned us and the Tanganyikans.

So very quietly and discreetly we worked with the Tanganyikans to help them establish a police presence initially on Zanzibar, and we encouraged Nyerere in his efforts to develop a cooperative federal arrangement with the Zanzibar Government. That succeeded to some extent, although it never worked the way it was supposed to. But in time, the red house on Zanzibar, for whatever reason, calmed down and it never became what some sensationalists predicted, the "Cuba of Africa."

Q: *Did you have any part in dealing with it? At one point, Picard and the others were actually under arrest and they had a problem extracting.*

HENNEMEYER: That's right. I was involved in the call. There was a U.S. Navy ship in the city. At that time the Navy ran periodic cruises around Africa. I think they were called SoLant Amity at the time. The ship was the USS Manley, I remember very well, was visiting Mombasa at the time of the Zanzibar revolt. Picard and the other Americans there, particularly the Project Mercury people, which was a NASA project, a tracking station for NASA's satellite program, most of them were contract employees of Bendix, as I recall, they were literally trapped on the island. There came the question of trying to get them out. Fritz Picard, with great courage, persuaded Karomi and the revolutionary council to agree that the Americans would leave.

Ambassador Leonhart and Jim Rookte, who came down from Nairobi to help us out, and I, we succeeded in getting in tough with the Manley and got approval for the Manley to come down. I believe Jim flew back to Mombasa, boarded the Manley, then went with the Manley into Zanzibar. Fritz, at great personal risk, succeeded in getting everybody on the ship. He and maybe Dale P____, stayed behind. I can't swear to that. But Fritz stayed behind. I remember Fritz's wife, Shona, and their son came and stayed with us. Fritz came out later, but I've forgotten how. He also came to live with us.

As you know, he was quite ill at the time. He had what seemed to be a kind of nervous breakdown. No sooner did he arrive with us than the Tanganyika Army mutinied Fritz thought he was back on Zanzibar, and this was Zanzibar happening again. So he was very difficult to control for a few days. Unfortunately, during some of that time, I was under arrest by the mutineers, and after that, trapped in our embassy, in the chancellory, for a while. So I was unable to assist my wife in trying to manage Fritz. It was a very difficult time for her. Shona and Hoge, the boy, we had gotten out earlier before the mutiny, and they had gone to Nairobi.

At any rate, the mutiny burst on us completely unprepared. We didn't know that was going to happen. I realize now what the immediate causes of it were, and it was one of these unfortunate management glitches which occurred on Nyerere's watch. There was a program for Africanizing the Tanganyika rifles officer corps. The non-commissioned officers and the enlisted personnel were all Africans. This was supposed to be phased in over a period of time; I've forgotten how long it was. It was a three- or four-year period.

In the meantime, Tanganyikan African officer candidates were being sent to Sandhurst, the British military academy, for the short course, and as they returned, one more British officer would return to his regular regiment. In the process, however, not all billets were slated for Africanization in the near future. In a few of those cases, some British officers were being replaced by British officers. This was misunderstood by many of the Tanganyikan non-commissioned officers who thought that meant that Africanization was being abandoned. The reason they thought that was that Nyerere and made a speech that because they had moved too quickly in Africanization, there were a number of economic activities and other government activities that had suffered in the process, and therefore they were going to have to reschedule this and draw this out. This coincided with three new British officers arriving. Mind you, we're dealing with a fairly small universe. A number of senior non-coms decided this meant that

Africanization of the officer corps was being abandoned, and they had pay demands, as well, and so on. Within a couple of nights, the mutiny was plotted.

The first inkling we had of it was when I got a call in the middle of the night from an African officer, Alex S_____, one of the first commissioned officers, later became commanding general, saying that the troops had mutinied, that many of the officers had fled, and that some of the British officers had been captured up at Koleto barracks, north of Dar es Salaam, were being held prisoner, and he was saying, "You should keep your people off the streets." That's what his message was.

So I called Ambassador Leonhart. We had a warden system, and he agreed to implement the warden system and tell people to stay home. I agreed I would go down to the chancellory and get a message out. So I started driving down. It must have been about 1:00 or 2:00 in the morning. I decided I would drive by State House to see if anything was going on, or if Nyerere was up, I'd talk to him. I got there just in time to see a group of soldiers breaking down the front gate, while being resisted by a group of police. So I decided not to stop there, and drove down to Zania Front, which was the street right on the harbor in the center of town, where the old German bungalows were, which housed some of the ministers.

I saw, on the street corner, my British colleague. He was the number two, but was then serving as chargé, Steven Miles, and the Minister of the Interior, Joe Lucindi. So I stopped. We were chatting, trying to put together what was happening. Just then an Army jeep Landrover pulled up with a group of soldiers on it, and they grabbed the three of us and threw us in the back of the Landrover and drove off with us, not far, a few blocks away to the post and telegraph building, where they put us up against the wall and held us there. This group was rather disorderly. Some had been drinking, and some, I think, had been smoking bang, a type of hemp. Some were sort of in bits of pieces of uniforms. All of them had their new British-issued rifles that they had gotten to replace the old Lee Enfield 303s. They had their new SLR NATO-type rifles. Periodically, several of them would say they were going to shoot us, and they'd level their rifles at us. One, the only who I think was not drinking, a corporal, kept saying, "No, no, they're not British officers." Well, they knew who Lucindi was, but they thought Miles and I were new British officers who had come. The others kept saying we were, and we should be shot.

I remember one imaginative young soldier taking the clip out of his rifle, taking the cartridges out of the clip, sharpening them on the sidewalk of us, reloading, pulling the bolt, and putting the muzzle right up against my nose, and saying, in what English he knew, "Time is finish. Now is time to kill." At any rate, this went on all night. I remember I turned to Joe Lucindi and I said, "What are we going to do about this, Joe?" He turned to me and said, "It's better if we don't know each other." So we three tried to stay as quiet as we could while this internal debate went on. I remember sometime during the course of the night, a truckload of soldiers came by and said that they wanted to take us along. Our guys said, "Go find your own prisoners." At any rate, it was a long and difficult night.

Q: *In a situation like that, all the diplomatic niceties and everything else go by the boards, because there's nowhere to go or to protest or anything else.*

HENNEMEYER: No, and I tried a diplomatic nicety, but it didn't work. I didn't know how to say I was deputy to the ambassador in Swahili, but I knew how to say "ambassador." So I told them I was the ambassador and I was going to my office. One said, "No, I've seen the ambassador, and you're not the ambassador." So I just made my case more difficult.

At any rate, this went on in this vein, with them being ugly and calm at intervals, until about 7:00 in the morning, I guess, when they suddenly said to me, "Quinda." "Go." I started to walk down the street, making myself walk very slowly. I turned around and I saw that they had their rifles leveled at me. I don't know if that was to see if I would run or what, but at any rate, I walked down the street, and when I got to the first corner, I ducked around it, only to find two more standing there saying I couldn't go that way, I had to go back out in the same street.

At any rate, I walked down the length of the street, turned the corner, and got over to the chancellory, where Bill Leonhart was waiting and very anxious about what had happened. He asked, and I said, "Well, the mutineers took me prisoner." I remember he said, "Good. You can try to finish this cable." He handed it to me. He was trying to describe what had happened, and thought that since I had been with them, I could finish it.

I sat down to try to write it. Just then, the reaction set in. I couldn't write, my hand was shaking so. That lasted only about a half-hour or so, but at any rate, we got the word out. That was my little adventure.

Then came the problem of what to do, because some of the mutineers were getting out of hand, there was a little looting. Although in retrospect, I have to say, given what I've heard of since, it was a relatively orderly mutiny.

Q: *It wasn't of the scale, say, of the Force Publique, which was full of killing and looting?*

HENNEMEYER: No, no. There was a little killing and a little looting, but by and large, as I say, in retrospect I have to say that it was a fairly orderly mutiny.

As soon as we could move around a little bit, which took a day or so, in the meantime, the mutineers decided that there might be a landing and that they would take my house as a stronghold to defend against the expected landing. My wife and our two very small children were surrounded by these soldiers, who didn't harm them, but it was frightening for them.

Then came a rather confused several days where we were consulting with our British allies, trying to figure out what to do. Basically, this was Bill Leonhart's responsibility, with the British chargé, to persuade Nyerere to ask for British assistance. That proved to be rather difficult, but eventually he did agree. At that time, the British aircraft carrier, the HMS Centaur, came in from Adana with the Royal Marine commandos. There were some extraordinary events, some of which I heard about, some of which I saw, of getting Brigadier Patrick S____ Douglas, who was the deposed commander of the Tanganyika Rifles, out to the Centaur to lead the Royal Marine commandos. That was accomplished largely, I think, by the NI-5 man at the British High Commission, a gentleman by the name of Jacobson.

There were a few of us who knew that the Royal Marine commandos were going to come in to Koleto barracks the next morning very early, and as I recall, those of us who knew agreed to stay in the chancellory or at the High Commission that night so there would be no leak. They did come in. They had a bombardment of blanks first, artillery blanks, over the barracks, then came in with helicopters. Douglas landed first and told them to surrender, identified himself. There were a few shots fired. The Marine commandos then fired a bazooka, shot through the orderly room, killed a few of the mutineers, and then the others ran. They ran to the bush, and the helicopters rounded them up. Most of them were taken prisoner. They were picked up over a period of days. I think the following day, Royal Marines flew to the other garrisons. I think there was one down at Iringa, one up in Moshi or Arusha, I can't remember where, and one in Tabora. They took their surrender, so that ended it.

Then subsequently there was a Commonwealth arrangement whereby the Nigerians came in and replaced the British. The Nigerians maintained order until Tanganyikans were able to reorganize another force.

Q: *Did Nyerere come to you or to our embassy, or did you go to them as being a party off to one side?*

HENNEMEYER: Nyerere was in hiding during this week. Subsequently, I learned that he was held very closely, and I was not involved with the negotiation with Nyerere, so I didn't have to know. But I've learned later that he was in a convent on the south end of the harbor, the other side of town. But he was reachable. It was, I think, mostly Steven Miles who conducted the negotiations.

There was some criticism of Nyerere at the time for being in hiding. I guess one has to respect his judgment. It was Oscar Camona, the Minister of Defense, who went out on the streets and tried to get the disorderly elements of the troops to go back to their barracks, and who then went out to the barracks to try to free the British officers who were being held prisoner, for which he was beaten and pretty roughed up by the soldiers. At the time we thought Camona showed great courage, and it contrasted with Nyerere's being in hiding. But there may have been more important reasons for that. I'm not suggesting Nyerere should have gotten out on the streets. He might have been killed, and the sole rallying point for the country would have been lost. But I think it hurt him somewhat politically and probably led later to the quarrel with Camona, which resulted in Camona being exiled. I believe he's still in exile in London. I think from that time, there was ill feeling, but I'm speculating here. That was the conventional wisdom.

There was considerable disorder and considerable confusion. I remember the chief of protocol was also chief of the secret police. We were friendly. He came to my house to warn my wife that he feared the next day there would be kind of a "night of the long knives" against the wives. This allegedly because the dock workers union, the leadership of which had been East German-trained, had made common cause with the police, and they had decided that they would also mutiny. The police, by the way, had more or less disappeared when the Army came, with the exception of the prison wardens out at Morogoro, who decided to march on Dar es Salaam to combat the Army, which would have been very foolish because they didn't have the weaponry at

all. Fortunately, somebody stopped them before they got there. At any rate, these are random bits and pieces.

Q: *What was our embassy role at the time? Was it basically one of reporting?*

HENNEMEYER: It was basically one of reporting, and supporting our British colleagues, who were the ones directly involved in trying to bring some order out of the chaos. We supported their effort to get Nyerere to agree to ask the British to come in, because the alternative was anarchy. So our role was a support role, not a lead role.

Q: *That was just before you left?*

HENNEMEYER: This was January 24th, within a week of the Zanzibar events.

Q: *When did you leave?*

HENNEMEYER: I left in July. The rest of the time following the post-mutiny events in Tanganyika and the negotiations that Nyerere was having with K____ to establish Tanzania, one of the concerns of the Tanganyikan Government, which was initially allowed to send a small police contingent over to help maintain order in Zanzibar, was allowed by the Zanzibari Revolutionary Council, was that compared to the Zanzibar rebels, they did not have the same fire power at all. So we were of some assistance in getting the place some hardware which they could then give to their force in Zanzibar. That may or may not have played a role, but ultimately, as you know, the negotiations were successful. I think April was the date when Tanzania was announced. It was a very, very loose federation, indeed, with a good bit of friction between mainland and island. But it did, I think, mark the high point of what could have been potential disorder from the island to the mainland. From then on, things gradually got under some degree of control.

SAMUEL H. BUTTERFIELD
Deputy Director, USAID
Dar es Salaam (1962-1964)

Mission Director, USAID
Dar es Salaam (1966-1968)

Mr. Butterfield was born in Moscow, Idaho and graduated from the University of Idaho. After serving in the US Army Air force in World War II, studied at Georgetown University, receiving Bachelor and Master degrees. Working first for the Bureau of the Budget, in 1958 he joined the International Cooperation Administration (ICA) as desk officer for Berlin. Subsequent assignments in ICA involved him in matters in Libya and East and South Africa. After the establishment of AID, Mr. Butterfield served as Mission Director in Tanzania, Sudan and Nepal. Mr. Butterfield was interviewed by Harry Missildine in 1996.

BUTTERFIELD: In August of 1962, Lois, our three children and I left the US for Tanganyika, now Tanzania. I served there as the Deputy Director of the USAID mission. Mark Gordon, the former head of the Europe and Africa Bureau in ICA was the Mission Director. After Mark transferred at the end of 1962, I served as Acting Director for some months until Al Loren came down from Ethiopia to take over as Mission Director. In April 1964 I transferred to the Sudan as the Deputy Director to that much-larger mission. In January 1966 I returned to Tanzania as the Mission Director, serving there until the middle of 1968.

At Haven North's suggestion, I will treat the Tanganyika-Tanzania tours, which were broken by a tour in the Sudan, as a single story, since there were no important differences between the two periods, and it will simply hang together and be more effectively presented as that. Subsequently I'll briefly deal with our tour in the Sudan.

Lois and I and our three children, Charles, then aged 12; Stephen, then aged 10, and Susan, then aged five, arrived in Dar es Salaam in August of 1962. Dar es Salaam was at that time a charming little city set on the edge of the Indian Ocean, with a beautiful harbor, which was small enough to be easily viewed from any spot on its shore line. The area had wonderful sandy beaches. It was a notable year, of course, for us. One of the big events was the granting of independence to Tanganyika by Britain. It occurred, as I recall, on New Year's Eve, 1962. The official year of independence is 1963. It was a colorful ceremony, as one would expect, in the soccer stadium at Dar es Salaam. At midnight all the lights suddenly went out with the Union Jack flying. When the lights came back on the flag of Tanganyika flew in its place. It was a time of great elation. The fireworks display was awesome. It was an event that my family and I will always remember.

The government of was then (as Tanzania remained for many years) suspicious of foreign interests. My impression is that all East African groups were suspicious of foreigners, and that included each other, that is, persons who were not of their own tribal group or neighbors. They were not an open, happy, welcoming group of people. The government was very suspicious particularly of the US and the Russians, less so of the Chinese. They wished the Cold War to stay away from their shores. To try to insure that this happened, the government put a clamp on the number of AID staff who could be in that country, if they were not specifically requested by the government of Tanzania. That is, the mission headquarters staff on the US side, which was necessary to back up the technical assistance advisors and their families, was limited, much to our surprise. We hadn't expected this to happen. Initially we were limited to, as I recall, five Americans. The point of this was to try to assure that we weren't filled with intelligence officers and spies of various sorts, as they would view them.

But the effect of this, because of the program documents, the planning, the negotiations, the general support that needed to be given to effective technical assistance efforts, and even more so, to the preparation of capital assistance applications, hampered our ability to provide the aid which they requested from us and particularly, was slowing down our implementation of President Kennedy's $10,000,000 capital assistance commitment to President Nyerere. We groused about this, and tried to get it changed, and agitated in a quiet, diplomatic way to see if we couldn't get an increase, but there was simply no give on this subject. However, while I was

Acting Director, early in 1963, the President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, attended an event, the precise nature of which I forget at a fairgrounds in Tanzania. There US Ambassador William Leonhart brought together all of the American technical assistance staff and the American AID staff and families. Ambassador William Leonhart took President Nyerere around the group, introducing each of the families to him; it was a grand thing to do, and when they came to Lois and me (as the Acting Director of the AID mission) President Nyerere, in his genial manner, said, "Well, we need more aid, that's what we need, more aid." Though not having been briefed on this or thought about it, I responded, "Well, Mr. President, more aid would be possible and more quickly if we had more shoulders at the wheel." President Nyerere laughed, he seemed delighted at that response. Ambassador Leonhart smiled and made some genial remark in support. President Nyerere moved on. We all proceeded on about our evening's business, and then the next day went on with our work, of course, because this was just a passing moment.

However, it turned out that the following morning, President Nyerere had phoned the foreign ministry and told them to increase our numbers by two or three, which was a 50 percent increase in the headquarters staff, and we were quite delighted with that. So it shows that the occasionally personal diplomacy can pay off.

And with that increase in our central staff, which remained, of course, still very small, our ability to provide additional assistance was substantially improved.

Our program emphasis in Tanzania was, as one would expect, on rural activities such as agricultural production, agricultural technology, and agricultural education. One of our big efforts, and I think a largely successful one, was assisting the development of an agricultural college at a town called Morogoro, about a hundred miles inland from Dar es Salaam. That was done through technical assistance provided by the University of West Virginia. The University of West Virginia took their responsibilities very seriously. It was a project with great meaning to the home campus in Morgantown, West Virginia, as well as with great meaning to Tanzania. Community development was also a major area, plus a number of small capital projects such as town water supplies and rural roads. We had almost nothing in the capital city of Dar es Salaam as far as I recall, except health.
Something of political significance was technical assistance to the refugee and resistance groups from the white-settler-dominated southern part of Africa, especially the Rhodesias, South Africa and Mozambique. We had a special project with the African American Institute to provide a technical training center in an area of Dar es Salaam called Kurasini. The project went on for many years and was well received by the Tanzanians and resistance groups. I think it was an important link between the revolutionary forces and the United States. The revolutionary forces eventually succeeded in gaining power in their home countries.

I had an interesting conversation with the Minister of Agriculture, Derek Brycesen in 1963, when the selection of a source for technical assistance for the prospective agricultural college was being discussed, sorted out and negotiated. The University of West Virginia and one or two others whose names I do not recall were considered for this contract, and the University of West Virginia seemed to be the preferred contractor. Brycesen, himself an agriculturalist who knew the educational institutions of the United States, complained to me that the University of West Virginia was not one of the big names in American education. He said "Why can't we have

Cornell?", and I think he mentioned one other major school with a strong agricultural faculty. I replied, “Well, it is possible to have Cornell if they are interested, but one thing you must remember is that everybody wants Cornell, and as a consequence, Cornell is hard put to provide both sustained attention and able technical persons for all of the projects around the world which want to have them. The University of West Virginia will be concentrating primarily on this project, and you will get their full attention and their best people, or their very good people, and if they're not very good, you can get a replacement quickly, and I think you'll find it more satisfying.”

The University of West Virginia did indeed devote serious attention to its commitment to help Tanzania develop an agricultural college at the town of Morogoro, and over the years performed well, sometimes a little better than others, sometimes not as well, but overall, a very good performance and very valuable for Tanzania.

The Kennedy commitment to Nyerere, $10,000,000 dollars worth of loan projects in Tanzania, did indeed prove difficult to implement rapidly. There were no major projects that we would finance such as the import of commodities which we were not prepared to do there, nor to finance the construction of state-owned enterprises such as tire manufacturing or that sort of thing, which the Tanzanians were keen to do, to develop their industrial base. We were not prepared to support those projects, and I think wisely so. We were prepared to support projects in education, and we helped finance several structures at the new University College of Dar es Salaam, which at that point was part of the University of East Africa. Unfortunately, the University was breaking up, but in any event, we did finance projects there, and they were useful and well-received, and we also financed a number of small capitol projects in the inland, rural towns of Tanzania, such as electrification, water supply projects, rural roads, which again were useful, and which along with the University College of Dar es Salaam and the agricultural college at Morogoro eventually provided the $10,000,000 as President Kennedy had promised.

Overall, in the 1960's our program was aimed at helping Tanzanian programs to increase agricultural production, technical education, agricultural education, community development, plus a number of small capital projects to try to implement President Kennedy's commitment, which we did. They were good projects; they were aimed primarily at helping the rural engine of growth of Tanzania, which was the small farm family. Tanzania's record was quite extraordinary based on these small producers, which resulted in an agricultural growth of about 6% a year during the late ‘50s and early ‘60s and mid-60s. There was a great deal of promise there. However, Tanzania began to move in the direction of “African Socialism.” African Socialism was an appealing vision; it grew out of Nyerere's and others exposure in UK universities to the Fabian socialist theories which were dominating British economic thinking at that time in British government and certainly in the British academic circles, and in many circles in the United States and elsewhere. The concept offered a democratic alternative to the collectivization experiments of the Communist countries of Eastern Europe. It was to be a democratic process, not an authoritarian process. Nyerere provided African intellectual/political leadership for the concept. As part of it, rural people would be brought together into villages from their scattered rural homes on small farms. There educational facilities, water supply and health facilities could be provided at a cost that the government could afford.

However, the approach and vision were flawed. They were based on an assumption that Africa traditionally had much collective work as the basis for its production, and I think that does not stand up to historical scrutiny. In the near-term at that time, as I mentioned, the small farmer in Tanzania was a real agricultural entrepreneur. The men and women responded to market opportunities, and as a result, the increase in rural production every year was high, and this was sustained for some years. But they were independent, and they were not together in villages. It is true that it was difficult to provide health services or education. Those things mattered greatly to Nyerere. Indeed, they mattered to all Africans. So in any event, African Socialism was evolving in Tanzanian thinking, and it went along with the then very popular thinking of centralized planning, with top-down directives to efficiently use the scarce resources and foreign aid that would be available to Tanzania. This approach has much to commend it from the standpoint of avoiding major errors and, in a macros assessment, efficiently using those financial resources that are available.

All this thinking culminated in what was known as the Arusha Declaration of May 1966. It was unveiled at the town of Arusha, in northern Tanzania. Arusha was a pretty little place then, right on the edge of the major game parks of Serengeti and Ngorongoro Crater plus other game parks. The Arusha Declaration sought to replace the private market arrangements of the Tanzanian farmers with a collective state-owned monopoly arrangement for the purchasing of agricultural products and the supply of agricultural inputs. That was another fundamental flaw in Nyerere's vision for his centrally-planned African Socialism.

As the Arusha Declaration was implemented over the following months, some ugly aspects began to appear. Most of the farm families were very unhappy about moving from their individual farms into villages, and they resisted, and where they were slow in adapting to this, the strong arms of the state or the single political party were brought to bear to speed up their acceptance. Similarly, the very efficient Asian rural traders, who were shopkeepers, sellers of commodities to the rural Africans, in many cases buyers of African output, and lenders of money, with the pluses and minuses of that, were to be replaced by State-managed input provision and agricultural output purchasing, generally referred to as co-ops. They really were not cooperatives in the true sense of the word, they were simply state monopolies.

They worked badly. The agricultural inputs that the farmers needed did not get to the farmers when they needed them, very often the outputs from the farmers were not purchased at market prices. The prices of inputs increased, the quality of services decreased and their cost increased. All in all, agricultural production of Tanzania began to drop, proportionately at first, and then absolutely over the years ahead. A very sad thing.

When I left Tanzania in summer of 1968, all this was getting underway, but the direction was clear, and the probability of failure was becoming apparent.

One of the unfortunate aspects of the Arusha Declaration and the follow-on changes in government operations was that it blew apart what had promised to be, and indeed over some years had proved to be, a useful program of community development. I'm sure the readers are familiar with the program in many countries, in which facilitators work with communities in ways the communities themselves wish to improve their abilities to provide themselves with

education, health information, health facilities, agricultural production and distribution arrangements that fit their situation.

We had three community development advisors--not always the same advisors--each year over a number of years. They were good advisors. The program was useful. Our principal C.D. advisor during this time was Boyd Faulkner, a Native American from Idaho, the same state from which I come. He was a graduate of the University of Idaho, the institution which I also attended. He was one of the most effective technical advisors in terms of gaining the trust and confidence, and deservedly so, of the host country nationals that I've ever seen. He was simply extraordinary and this was particularly remarkable because Tanzania's relationship with the United States was then, as it was for many years, prickly, to say the least.

I will take a moment here to say something about Boyd Faulkner, whom I enjoyed personally, but also whom I admired enormously professionally. He had his office in the Tanzanian Ministry, and in an up-country training facility at Arusha. He was both a trusted member of the USAID team and a trusted member of the Tanzanian government's community development team. His quiet manner, his straight but gentle talk, his recognition that essentially it was their program and not his, were the qualities that were invaluable in his role as a technical advisor to that government. He wrote policy speeches for the Vice President of Tanzania, who was very interested in community development and under whose hand that ministry was operating. I have never worked with anyone better in terms of relationship and the substance of what he did, and I've worked with very few as good.

A little side point: we wanted to give him an award, and yet because of the prickly relationship between Tanzania and the United States, we weren't sure that if the United States government gave Boyd Faulkner an award in recognition of his work there, that it might make Tanzanians suspicious of Faulkner, and might do more harm than good. But we felt that the award was deserved. So we proceeded to provide him with--I forget whether it was a superior honor award or a meritorious honor award--and we presented it to him in a quiet ceremony in Ambassador John Burns's office. Happily it didn't seem to hurt him, and he was pleased.

Now let me turn from that very cheery piece back to the prickly relationships between Tanzania and the United States. Nyerere's UN positions irritated the US and the UK both; third-world solidarity and public pronouncements against, for example, our Vietnam policy, were continuing sources of friction, so in general, getting proposals for any major increase in assistance to Tanzania reviewed sympathetically in Washington was a substantial task, and seldom successful. On the other hand, people did admire Nyerere, and properly so, because he was incorruptible and non-Communist. We could say, “With friends like that, who needs enemies,” in the United Nations sphere. But in any event, the US did want to maintain an aid program, and links with Tanzania, and for good reason--Nyerere was very influential, and he in fact had done one major geopolitical move which clearly pulled the West's chestnuts out of a fire that they could not damp down, and that was in regard to the island of Zanzibar.

In the early 60's, after an anti-Arab revolution on Zanzibar, it was dominated by a pro-Communist, African-led government which had replaced an Arabic-led government. It was a supply depot in effect; arms and intelligence and training for many revolutionaries against the

existing governments in eastern Africa. The East Germans were very active as the principal source of assistance to Zanzibar. Nyerere was deeply concerned about this threat to his country and to the stability of eastern Africa in general. Through a combination of diplomacy and, I would guess, quiet threats of force, he convinced enough of the Zanzibaris that they ought to tie in with Tanganyika, that they finally did. Thus the country of Tanzania (Tanganyika and Zanzibar) came into existence. That was a very significant thing geopolitically. It was of benefit to the West. While official memories can be pretty short (asking "what have you done for us lately"), the impact of Nyerere's statecraft carried over into continuing respect for him and an interest in continuing some development and political ties with him.

It's interesting to note that on the island of Zanzibar we had a US consulate throughout these years. The young officers who were sent there as the US Consul were of the very highest order. They included Frank Carlucci, Thomas Pickering and Jack Matlock -- all now included among America's most distinguished diplomats.

Zanzibar was an exotic place, and we had several little AID projects put together by the US Consul in cooperation with the USAID mission in Dar es Salaam. A pleasant little aspect of this small presence was the trip to Zanzibar from the mainland. The short water crossing was done not by boat, but by an ancient little airplane. It was a biplane with a wooden frame covered with canvas. It was extremely slow, but it was certainly stable. The chairs in which we sat were made of wicker. It was something out of movies of the early 1930's, and it was fun. Everybody enjoyed that little trip.

An area in which Nyerere kept sticking his finger in the eyes of Western governments, had to do with their southern Africa policies. Tanzania sheltered freedom fighters from Mozambique, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). The West was disinclined to work with Nyerere because of his continuing criticism of western tolerance of repressive white regimes and yet inclined to work with Nyerere, because the West certainly wanted to have good operating contacts with freedom fighters and to be seen as quietly in support of freedom efforts. Nyerere was important to those freedom efforts, and it was important for the United States, therefore, to be in continuing contact and to have as friendly as possible general relationships with Nyerere.

Zambia was independent at that time. Its President was Kenneth Kaunda, another African socialist. Tanzania wanted to provide Zambia with an alternative route to the sea for its copper exports, which were the major source of its national income, certainly of governmental income. At that time it was forced to send its exports via Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique. Because they could cut off their exports of copper at any time, this gave them a powerful weapon against Zambia and its position with regard to freedom fighters. Kaunda and Nyerere wanted to build a road or a railroad or both between the copper belt and Zambian towns at one end, and the port of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania at the other end. The United States would not put up the money, or even recommend that the World Bank put up funding for the railroad, but it did indicate some interest in the possibility of helping upgrade road links between the two countries and help with the development of what became known as the Tanzam (Tanzania-Zambia) Highway.

To put together the analytical justification for such a large project, Stanford Research Institute was hired by AID and they sent a team of men out to Tanzania to do a survey of the road areas;

not the alignment as an engineering thing, although that was dealt with, but primarily the economic justification for providing a road of this nature, particularly through Tanzania's Southern Highlands, and then, of course, far into Zambia. The Stanford Research Institute (SRI)'s report turned out to be, not surprisingly, favorable, and the team was invited to present its findings to President Nyerere and his cabinet one afternoon. I was invited to sit beside President Nyerere while the presentation was going on, a nice honor which I very much appreciated. I think we all had a little trouble understanding the technical jargon of the SRI's experts and their report, but they were all enthusiastic about the conclusions.

My friend and colleague Art Howard, who was the head of the USAID office in Zambia, and I both felt that this project was important and that it ought to go forward. When the SRI report was received in Washington, it was, I think, considered quite OKAY, but for whatever reason the Africa Bureau decided that this wasn't a project they were prepared to go forward with. The staff were listing various factors leading toward that conclusion. So Art and I engaged in a delaying campaign with Washington. We pointed out in cable messages that there were still things that were unclear and needed to be looked at, that there were several possibilities and various additional points that needed to be studied. We felt that if we could keep it alive for awhile by these various devices, that the project would eventually be approved for political reasons, even if some of the technical officers felt that there were more economically sound projects available elsewhere for the use of Africa Bureau's capital allotment.

Art and I were successful. Within not too many months, the Tanzam road project was approved and it went forward. The road was built. It did indeed provide a valuable alternative avenue for traffic. However, a road is not a very good thing to carry copper. The maintenance costs are enormous, because trucks that carry copper really pound the road. There remained a strong argument for a railroad. The Chinese, who were quite willing to do things for political reasons without need for a thorough cost-benefit justification, committed themselves to build the Tanzam Railway. Their task was made easier by the fact that the line of rail was pretty much the same as the line of the highway. So the Tanzam Road's major contribution over the short run was to facilitate the development of the Chinese Communist project by providing an avenue for carrying the materials for the railroad's construction. Art and I had certainly not raised that as an argument. I think that in the long run, the road proved useful, although I have not followed up to determine if indeed that is the case.

I want to add a couple of sentences about Ambassador Korry and the regional emphasis. I skipped rather quickly over his purpose and report. My recollection is that in 1966, maybe 1965, Ambassador Korry was then Ambassador to Ethiopia, or perhaps just finishing a tour as Ambassador to Ethiopia. He was a flamboyant person, never without an opinion, and very able and bright. He put forward the proposition--which is a constant desire of many people going back into the '50s and extending on up into the 90's--that we limit our major program attention to countries in which we have a hard interest. He made a tour, at the request of either State of AID or both, to various countries in Africa and came out with the proposal that the AID presence be phased down in most countries in Africa. Our assistance to those minor countries would be focused on what was clearly a good idea, that is, to increase the links between them, the regionalism of the continent. The US would concentrate substantial aid and personnel in a few countries, such as Nigeria and Ethiopia.

Well, I won't repeat what I said about it, but it didn't work. It was predictable that it wouldn't work, but nevertheless, it took a lot of time to fail almost everywhere, required much wheel-spinning by the US Mission Directors in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, for example (this was continent-wide, but I know the East African efforts to try to make this turn into something). We would meet almost monthly to try to devise ways in which our programs would work more closely together, in which we could see projects that would be of value to two or three of the countries, and which we could help the countries to promote. We brought in the mission representatives from Somalia and from Ethiopia. It was pretty much to no avail, and it was pursued at great cost in terms of our scarce time and the matters within each of our own countries which were important and needed our attention. The vision of regional links to strengthen the African development has great appeal, but the practicality of it has yet to be demonstrated. In East Africa, for example, they had the University of East Africa, which was centered at Makerere University in Uganda, and as the other countries began to become independent, and even before, branches were being established in Kenya and in Tanzania. That regional university split apart, and that was sad. Makerere University was a fine institution, and there was a great loss when the University of East Africa in effect disappeared. The same thing happened to the East African Railway and to the East African Airlines. The East African Currency Board and the Common Market foundered. Competition and the jealousy between Tanzania and Kenya and between Kenya and Uganda were strong and rising. While the idea of USAID facilitating international ties between the countries of Africa was a good idea, perhaps even a great idea, its time never came. That completes my review of Tanganyika and Tanzania.

EUGENE ROSENFELD
Public Affairs Officer, USIS
Dar es Salaam (1963-1964)

Eugene Rosenfeld began his government service in the Census Bureau. When the 1940 Census was over, his background in journalism led to a position in the Office of Emergency Management (later called OWI). Mr. Rosenfeld's career included positions in India, the United Kingdom, Tanzania, and Ethiopia. This interview was conducted by Jack O'Brien on November 28, 1989.

Q: Okay, Gene. Do you want to turn to your African experiences?

ROSENFELD: Let's see, now.

Q: That would be what years that you went to Dar es Salaam?

ROSENFELD: I went to Dar in the spring of 1963 and I stayed there for less than two years. It was not a very happy assignment for me even though it was my first as PAO and in that sense it was very important as a learning experience, even if it was a very small post. It was me, an information officer, a CAO and 5 or 6 local employees. It was a very small program, not terribly important because our policy at that time was that we were "junior partners" to the British. The

British had granted the Tanganyikans independence a couple of years before and they were the ones who were considered big brother and we should just support whatever they were doing, which was not necessarily the way it ought to be, but that is the policy that had been decided upon and there we were.I don't think that the Kennedy administration wanted to get mixed up too much in East Africa at that point, but for whatever reason it was a sound policy for a small, generally untroubled Third World country we wanted to support for strategic reasons.The problem was that we didn't have a particularly good program. At least, we didn't have much money. The audience was very, very low level.

Q: Did you have a library?

ROSENFELD: We had a good library, as a matter of fact. The office was two or three flights up in this building, over a grocery store. The library was rather a nice one and it was well used, with a good small staff under the watchful eye of the fabulous regional librarian, Anne Davis.

Q: Did you have a Fulbright program?

ROSENFELD: Yes, but small. A couple of people a year, maybe. The CAO was junior but very good, bright and hard-working. Remember, this was 1963 -- the year of the March on Washington. Incidentally, the Agency put out a film called "March to Washington", a title that was sharply criticized by a number of the American blacks who were there.

The CAO was very capable but militant. He decided that as a black American he had to express himself because of what was going on back in Washington and in the States on the race problem. There were a few American blacks living and working at that time in Tanganyika (it became Tanzania -- 1964). Because he felt that he was closer to these black expatriates than he was to the Embassy. He decided to join with them in boycotting the Ambassador's July 4th party and they were going to make it known that they were going to boycott it. This infuriated the Ambassador. He wanted to do something. He wanted to send the CAO back home. I, of course, had to intervene and had to stand up for my staff man. I argued that such a disciplinary move, even if justified, would be a basic public relations blunder. If he did this, he and all of us would be sharply criticized by host-country officials. It would be -- I didn't say it in so many words -- one of the stupidest things he could do, because neither the CAO nor his friends would take it quietly. It was going to be a perfect opportunity for the CAO to show how independent he was, that he was being kicked out by this "racist" ambassador, (which he wasn't at all), but he was just angry and he wanted to show somebody something, you know. Fortunately, it all settled down. This guy was a good officer and he rose rather rapidly in the Agency, as a matter of fact. He ended up, I think, with a senior ranking. Unfortunately, he was succeeded by another black officer who was incompetent.

Q: What does "racist" imply? And would the appropriate action on your part be an explanation of the reason he should attend -- the obvious one-discipline? Did that enter into it? Did you take this young man aside and say, "Regardless of your views on racial matters, you accept the discipline that you promised to observe when you got into the business."

ROSENFELD: I was less worried about the discipline than I was about continuing my program. Of course we talked it over.

Q: Could you reason with this man on that basis?

ROSENFELD: No, he was not going to be reasoned with. He had made up his mind.

Q: I see.

ROSENFELD: He was not making it up on his own. He was the only black who was an official American and there were a dozen other blacks around there working for the African American Institute or whatever -- so that is what he felt he had to do, and he did it because he had a principle that he was going to uphold. I could not argue with his principle. In any case, I could not tell him "You are wrong."

Q: You did not make clear how this was reconciled. Did he or did he not demonstrate? Did he or did he not boycott the Ambassador's party?

ROSENFELD: Definitely he boycotted. He did not show up at the party.

Q: I see.

ROSENFELD: I don't think he made a big thing of it, but it was quite clear. ...

Q: But he stayed on a continuous tour?

ROSENFELD: Oh, yes. Oh, yes, he stayed on. I believe that he thought taking such a stand would help him in his job, especially in Africa. He made it clear that he was at one with his other black friends and associates in the city and he felt it was important not only because he had the best contacts among Africans but as a black American officer he had to do this. This was his way of expressing independence. The interesting part of it was that the DCM was a very liberal guy. He had been a union official. He was really in a bind. He had to play the game as a DCM but his sympathies were totally with this guy.

Q: That is a tough one.

ROSENFELD: It was a tough one, but it was resolved because if -- I just felt that trying to be vindictive or vengeful in a situation like this gets you nowhere. Discipline is not all that important, really, if your program will be hurt by it.

DONALD PETTERSON
General Officer, Political Officer
Zanzibar (1963-1965)

Ambassador Donald Petterson was born in California in 1930. Petterson served in the US Navy for four years before graduating from the University of California Santa Barbara. Petterson joined the Foreign Service in 1960 and served overseas in Mexico, Tanzania, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, South Africa and as ambassador to Somalia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, and Sudan. In Washington, DC Petterson served on the Policy Planning Staff and as a deputy assistant secretary in the African Bureau. Ambassador Petterson was interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy and Lambert Heyniger in 1996.

Q: You were in Zanzibar from when to when?

PETTERSON: From July 1963 until November 1965, over two years.

Q: I wonder, could you explain what the situation was when you arrived, not what happened after, but when you arrived, and what our consulate was doing or expected? I think that's where we'll end it this time.

PETTERSON: The American consulate, the first consulate in Zanzibar, was established in 1837. As a cost-saving measure, it was closed in 1915, but reopened in 1961. The reopening was occasioned by the establishment of a Project Mercury tracking station on Zanzibar Island.

Q: Yes, our space program.

PETTERSON: Project Mercury was the first manned space effort of the United States, and tracking stations were set up at various places around the world. Zanzibar was one of them. At that time, Zanzibar was moving toward independence. It was a British protectorate under the guidance of British colonial authorities, led by the resident. His title was "resident," not "governor," because Zanzibar was a protectorate, not a colony as such. The protectorate consisted of Zanzibar Island and the island of Pemba, which lay about 45 miles northeast of Zanzibar, and a few very small islands. Arabs had dominated Zanzibar since the end of the seventeenth century, when Omani Arabs seized control of it. The Sultan of Oman moved his sultanate to Zanzibar in 1832. It became a British possession in 1890, when the Germans, who had gained control of Tanganyika and were on the verge of occupying Zanzibar, agreed to let the British have it in exchange for Heligoland. The British ruled through the Sultan of Zanzibar but retained ultimate power and administered the protectorate.

There had been some turmoil in the years immediately leading up to independence, because of deep antagonism between the black African majority and the Arab minority who continued to dominate Zanzibar politically and, with the Asians, people of Indian and Pakistani origin, economically. The Arabs were a minority, with about 50,000 inhabitants, whereas the Africans numbered some 250,000. The Asians, a community of about 20,000 divided into various religious sects, were mainly businessmen, shopkeepers, and professional people, most of them living in Zanzibar Town. The European community numbered about 500 - the British colonial administrators, some business people, and spouses and children. The sixty or so Americans in Zanzibar were counted as members of the European community.

The elections in 1961 had been accompanied by riots and some killings. So the British, concerned about the '63 elections, brought in troops, Scots Guards, to maintain the peace. The election went off with no violence.

Q: The election had taken place before you arrived?

PETTERSON: Yes, just before our arrival in July 1963. A coalition of the Arab-led Zanzibar Nationalist Party and a smaller party consisting mainly of people of mixed blood, won the elections. There were accusations that the British had gerrymandered the electoral constituencies so that the African majority would not win. In the event though, it was the divisions among the Africans, their inexperience in politics, and the organizing skills of the Arabs that won the prize for the Arabs and their allies. An Arab named Ali Muhsin led the coalition government.

From the elections until independence, which came on December 12, 1963, although the African politicians voiced strong opposition to the acts of the pre-independence government, there were few overt signs of serious unrest among the Africans. Yet, many worried that after independence there could be some trouble, for the Africans were deeply upset by what had occurred. I remember that a Special Branch police officer, a Briton who was about to leave Zanzibar, told Fritz Picard that there would be trouble, but not until well into the year.

With the arrival of Zanzibar's independence, our small consulate became an embassy. Picard, the consul, was to became the chargé d'affaires. I was the other State Department embassy officer, and Stuart Lillico was the U.S. Information Service officer. Imelda Johnson, was Fritz's secretary. The four of us made up the American diplomatic establishment in Zanzibar. The other Americans on the island, in addition to our families, were associated with the tracking station.

Q: Why don't we stop at this point, do you think? I think this is a good place. We're talking about independence. You're getting ready for independence. We're taking about December of '63, I guess, aren't you?

PETTERSON: Yes.

Q: We'll pick it up at that point in Zanzibar, okay?

PETTERSON: Okay.

Q: Great.

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Q: Good morning. This is Lambert Heyninger, Nick Heyninger, and today is Friday, November 30, 2000. I'm at the house of Ambassador Donald Petterson, Don Petterson. We are picking up on his oral history four years after his interview with Stu Kennedy.

So, Don, let's start, and let me ask you what you have to say about Zanzibari independence.

PETTERSON: Neither the British nor the Americans knew that for months, almost a year, before independence, a shadowy figure by the name of John Okello was making preparations for an armed revolt. The African majority party, the Afro-Shirazi Party, which had lost the election, had determined that, if necessary, they might resort to arms to take over the country, whose government they believed rightfully belonged to them. Okello, who was from Uganda, had come to Pemba in 1959. Four years later, in early 1963, he came to Zanzibar and began plotting revolution. The handful of people in the Afro-Shirazi Party who became aware of this did not include the party's leaders.

During the independence ceremony, there was an ominous incident that foreshadowed trouble. At midnight, when the British flag was lowered, the lights went out, and when they went back on, the new Zanzibar government flag was raised. There were cheers from among the gathered dignitaries, but the Africans, including the hundreds who were off to the side of the cricket pitch where the independence ceremony was held, were ominously quiet.

On January 12, 1964, a month after independence, the revolution took place. During that month, the Arab-dominated government had done just about everything they should not have done to anger the Africans. They passed legislation that was unfavorable to the African population. In addition, they made it clear that Zanzibar was going to align itself with Egypt and the Arab world, rather than with the sub-Saharan, black African world, as the Africans wanted.

On the night of January 11, I had come home in the evening. There was a well attended dance going on in the African quarter, Ng'ambo, where I had taken the children's nanny home, but I saw no sign of anything untoward. At about 2:30 in the morning, the phone rang. I went to the hall and answered it. While I was walking to the phone, I could hear popping sounds. Fritz Picard, my boss, the American chargé d'affaires, was on the line. He told me that something was up and that I should begin to notify Americans to stay home. The firing became more intense. I could hear it quite distinctly. Our next-door neighbor was Ali Muhsin, the leader of the government (not the prime minister, but the de facto leader), and armed revolutionaries had come to get him. So we were very close to the action at the time. As the morning wore on, Fritz, Stu Lillico, and I managed to get in touch with most or all the Americans. They hunkered down.

It became apparent that the government was no longer in control. At about seven o'clock, Okello got on the radio for the first time and began a series of broadcasts in which he announced that the radio station had been seized, the government had been toppled, and a new government was taking over under the leadership, Okello said, of Abeid Amani Karume, the head of the Afro-Shirazi Party.

Karume was actually, at that time, in Tanganyika, in Dar es Salaam. Young revolutionaries who had came to his house on the night of the 11th had told him that he should leave the island because it might be dangerous for him. He was taken to Dar on a boat. Two other leading Zanzibari opposition politicians had also gone to Dar. One of those was Abdulrahman Mohammed, "Babu." The Americans and the British viewed Babu as a Communist who was exerting a dangerous pro-Communist influence. Just before the 1963 elections, he had broken with the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, of which he had been the Organizing Secretary. Much more radical than the party's other leaders, he founded his own political party, the Umma Party. In the

first week of January, the government banned the Umma Party, searched its offices and Babu's house. As a warrant for his arrest was being prepared, he fled the island and went to Dar es Salaam. So the big actors of the opposition were in Dar es Salaam when the revolution took place, which further indicates that they really were not in charge of its inception, as was said later. Okello was. Nevertheless, he announced that Karume would head the government. Karume came back to Zanzibar the day after the revolution, along with Babu and Abdul Kassim Hanga, who would become Karume's vice president.

To get back to the action that morning, about midmorning Fritz said we should all gather near the airport in case we needed to evacuate. He had been trying to get in touch with the government and with the British authorities, who were still there. Although the British had ceded control to the new government, many British civil servants remained, some of them occupying high administrative positions. Fritz did reach some of these officials, but none was well informed about what was happening. He also tried to communicate with Afro-Shirazi Party leaders, but without success. Thus he did not know the degree to which Americans and other foreigners might be in danger. However, he did not determine at that point that we should evacuate.

The firing around our house had subsided by the time that Fritz had called me. So when he said we should go to Stu and Helen Lillico's house, which was not far from the airport, I figured it was no safe enough to do so.

I had gone into town on my bicycle about seven or eight o'clock to see what was going on. I didn't tell Fritz I was going to do this, but I thought it would be interesting. As I approached Ng'ambo, Africans told me I should get out of there because it was dangerous, and indeed, people had been killed in that area earlier that morning. Most of the violence was taking place outside of Zanzibar Town by that time, but it was still dangerous in town.

Julie and I bundled up the two little girls. I guess I neglected to mention that in September, Julie gave birth to our second daughter, Julianne, at the Karimjee Jivanjee Hospital (soon to become the V.I. Lenin hospital). Julianne was the second American ever to be born in Zanzibar.

We put the two little girls in the Volkswagen, and I drove from our house, past Ali Muhsin's, to the road that led to the airport. The prison was close to the left side of the road a couple hundred yards farther down. As we approached, a rebel attack on it was taking place. Suddenly we saw just ahead on the right side of the road a group of twenty or thirty men armed with various weapons. When they saw us coming, they turned and pointed their weapons at us. But when they saw who we were, they yelled at us to get out of there and removed the roadblock they had place across the road. We chugged by.

Q: You did not turn around?

PETTERSON: No.

Q: You continued on?

PETTERSON: I continued driving on, thinking, "Well, that's that," I suppose, if I thought

anything! [Laughter]

We came around a corner less than 200 yards after that, and there behind some palm trees was another group of Africans, another log across the road, and another firefight going on. Once again we were confronted by people with weapons, everything from spears to old rifles. Bullets were actually whizzing over the car, as I stopped it. I could hear them smacking into trees. The rebels, as before, saw that we were foreigners. They told me to drive around the roadblock and get out of there, which I did. [Laughter]

We went on our way. Once we were clear of that area, I had to stop the car for a moment and steady myself, because it dawned on me how close we had come to losing our lives. Julie was extremely scared. Poor little Susie, who was a year and a half old, was very, very frightened. The baby [laughter] didn't have any problems. She was in her basket at Julie's feet. Susie was on Julie's lap.

We proceeded, and drove out to the Lillicos' house. There we gathered with the other Americans who had come together to wait and see what happened. Picard, who lived a little further out, had not arrived yet. I talked to him on the phone, and he said to come over, which I did. It was quiet in that area. He and his wife, Shoana, had been packing. After we had talked for a bit, I took Shoana and their three children to the Lillicos'. Fritz followed later. Once at the Lillicos', Fritz, who had been in contact with the embassy in Dar es Salaam by telephone, called again to inform them of the state of play. Even though the rebels controlled everything by that time, they had not cut international telephone service.

Peering through gaps in the shutters - we had closed the door and shuttered the windows - we watched revolutionaries as they went into nearby Arab houses. We could hear people screaming and saw some killing. It was frightening. The Americans who were gathered with us were very, very apprehensive. At some point in the early afternoon, Fritz decided that he and I should go to the airport to see if we could arrange for an evacuation. We drove the less than one mile to the airport. As we approached it, a car filled with Africans headed towards us, and as it went by us, the long barrel of a large weapon emerged from one of the windows and blasted a cloud of black smoke and I don't know what else. They apparently were trying to give us a fright, not harm us. They succeeded, but nevertheless we went on to the airport control tower, where we talked with the two British air traffic controllers. They pointed out some groups of armed rebels who were standing about in the tall grass just beyond the periphery of the airfield. They told that it was too risky for any aircraft to try to land. Fritz and I left and returned to the Lillico's.

Q: Hang on a second.

PETTERSON: Yes.

Q: Who was in control of the airport at this point, Arabs or Europeans?

PETTERSON: Europeans.

Q: Europeans.

PETTERSON: The airport was managed by an Arab professional, Ali Khalifa, and it had a mixed-race staff. The air traffic controllers were British. At this time, when Fritz and I were at the airport, nobody else was around, just the two controllers.

Q: Were there any either East African Airways, the small East African Airways planes, or charter planes around?

PETTERSON: No, there were no aircraft there. The East African Airways flight that normally would have come in that morning had been diverted. The prime minister of Zanzibar had been trying to get a shipment of weapons in. He had communicated his request through the controllers, who were in radio contact with the mainland. But the weapons never arrived. Shortly after Fritz and I left the airport, the Africans took it over.

Our decision then was whether to evacuate or not. Fritz decided that an evacuation was called for. Because it would have to be done by sea, we would need to go into Zanzibar Town and congregate there with the Americans who lived to the north of the city. Once together, we would prepare for an evacuation. Fritz asked me and a fellow named Irv Zolo, who worked for the tracking station, to drive into town to see if the road was safe. We got into my car and headed into town. I was sweating profusely, and not just because it was hot and humid! We both were nervous because we didn't know what would be around each curve in the road. As it happened, we encountered no problem. We saw some results of the revolution. Cars shot up. We saw no bodies. They had been removed already. We went all the way into town. Conditions seemed to be safe enough for the rest of the Americans to make the trip. After we went back, everyone got their things together, and in a convoy of several cars, we drove into town to the English Club, which was right on the beach.

In the meantime, the Americans who lived on the other side of town had gathered together in one of their houses. After hearing from us about the decision to evacuate from the English Club, they drove toward town in several cars. Unlike us, they did encounter rebels, who stopped them, threatened them, and might have harmed them. But someone with authority interceded, and they were allowed to proceed. On their way in, they saw some grisly sights of Arabs who had been killed and had been mutilated in a very gruesome fashion. So they had first-hand experience with some consequences of the revolution's first day, consequences to-

Q: The Africans that threatened those people in those cars, did they know that they were Americans?

PETTERSON: Yes, well, they knew that the people were Europeans, as all whites were termed.

Q: Europeans? Why would they be sort of angry with Europeans?

PETTERSON: Well, there was no love on the part of many of these people for foreigners, who led comfortable lives and had all the things that most Africans didn't have. But this was not the problem, for there really was no deep hatred. The rebels carrying weapons were, for the most part, simply ragtag fellows who had no discipline, who had been drinking, or were on something,

and they were out of control. They were trying to shake down the Americans. At one point, a baby began to cry, and one of the rebels said to the mother to shut the baby up, or he would kill it. They were pretty nasty. But then someone more reasonable arrived, someone in authority, and he changed the climate of what was going on there. The Americans were allowed to proceed, and reached the English Club without further incident. There were 60 or 65 Americans at the club, and later some Europeans tourists in town joined us.

Q: So that includes the people from the tracking station as well?

PETTERSON: That's right. The official American community - the small embassy and USIS staff - along with the tracking station people, and our respective families. With the tourists, there must have been some seventy to eighty people in the hotel as the sun went down. We decided that we would man a command post downstairs. Upstairs, men, women and children got set for the night. Fortunately there was some food in the establishment, and people were able to get something to eat that night. I stayed downstairs and manned the command post all night long, as it turned out, because of an incident that took place in the middle of the night.

Fritz Picard became very concerned about the fate of Stu Lillico's secretary, a young Zanzibari woman whose name was Fathiya. She was an incredibly beautiful woman, and Fritz was having an affair with her, which I mention because it turned out to be quite germane to what could have happened to the Americans. The revolutionaries were looking for members of the government. One of her relatives was a cabinet minister, a man named Mshangama. She was at his house, which was not very far from the English Club. Fritz had been talking to her on the telephone, and she told him that rebels were coming.

Fritz came down from upstairs and without telling me and the other fellow who was with me at the command post what he was going to do, he went out into the street and began to make a racket. I didn't know what he was doing. I went out and told him to come back into the English Club, but he persisted. What he was trying to do was to divert the attention of the rebels who might be endangering Fathiya and her family. He wanted to get them to stop what they were doing and come to the English Club instead. He succeeded in doing this because very soon a group of armed men came by and tried to ascertain what he was doing. He bantered with them for a while. Finally they told him to shut up and go back inside, which he did. At that point, I was simply worried about Fritz. I didn't know what he was doing. He then explained, and I was very angry because he had put all of the people in the English Club at risk. Whether or not his diversion saved Fathiya, I'll never know, but at any rate, the rebels did not go into that house. Later that night Fathiya, her mother, and her two children came into the club. Fritz had telephoned her and told her to come there. He met them at the door and took them inside. She was downstairs, and his wife was upstairs.

Q: Oh, really?

PETTERSON: Yes. He arranged for her to stay in a place downstairs away from the Americans who were upstairs, including Shoana. In fact, nobody knew about Fathiya until the end of the following day.

In the morning, the embassy in Dar es Salaam informed us that approval of the evacuation had been given, and that an American destroyer, the USS Manley, would be coming in to take the Americans off the island. The Manley had been in Kenya at the port of Mombasa on a ship visit when the revolution occurred. The ship was ordered to steam back and forth off the coast of Zanzibar over the horizon until the decision was made that an evacuation could be carried out.

During the course of that day, Fritz continued to act in a way that disturbed me. For example, when we went out of the English Club onto the beach to talk to rebels, Fritz, at one point, brought his five-year-old son with him. Throughout the day he carried a mug of beer with him, whether he was in the club or outside. It caused a lot of people to raise their eyebrows. It was bizarre behavior. Nevertheless, he showed some very fine qualities later in the day. Certainly his judgment as to the need for the evacuation was not questioned by anyone. The Americans, all of them, were thoroughly frightened and wanted off the island.

The Manley picked its way into the harbor very slowly about mid-afternoon. A small boat came ashore with Jim Ruchti, who was the deputy chief of mission at the American embassy in Nairobi. He had been in Mombasa for the ship visit. The captain had asked him to accompany the ship to Zanzibar and to give him political advice. Jim received permission to do that. He brought with him a Kenyan cab driver, so there would be somebody who could speak Swahili, listen to the radio to hear local broadcasts, and thereby help keep Ruchti and the captain abreast of what was happening in Zanzibar Town. After the ship had anchored, Ruchti came ashore in the ship's whaleboat with the executive officer and several sailors. They were not permitted, initially, to land until Fritz prevailed upon a group of armed rebels on the beach to permit Ruchti and the executive officer ashore. The sailors had to remain in the boat. Fritz and I took Jim and the exec to the English Club, where we continued to try to contact the revolutionary government.

Q: Let me just ask you a quick question there, interrupt you. Picard and the captain of the ship had not themselves just decided to evacuate the personnel who were at the English Club? Just go ahead and do it?

PETTERSON: No. The State Department, Defense Department, and White House had approved Fritz's request for the evacuation. But when the executive officer of the ship came ashore with Jim Ruchti, we had not yet received permission from the rebels. It was only through negotiating with the rebels on the beach that were we able to get those two people off the whaleboat, so that they could wait with us to see whether or not permission for the evacuation would be granted.

Q: Permission from the?

PETTERSON: From the rebels.

Q: Revolutionaries?

PETTERSON: That's right. As the afternoon wore on, a phone call from the rebels finally came. It was from Aboud Jumbe, one of the ministers in the new government, who said that he wanted to come over and take Picard to the revolutionary headquarters. In due course he arrived in an open Land Rover with armed people in it. Jumbe himself was heavily armed. Fritz and I, along

with Jim Ruchti and the executive officer, got into the Land Rover and were driven to Raha Leo (about a mile away), the site of the radio station and the African community center. Raha Leo was now the command headquarters of the revolution. There was electricity in the air when we neared Raha Leo. Hundreds of Africans who were in a very fierce mood ringed the place, many or most armed with everything from sticks to old swords; an occasional rifle was seen. As we approached the headquarters, better-armed revolutionaries came into sight. They carried police rifles, and a few had automatic weapons. We saw Arab prisoners, some of them bloodied, some lying near the entrance to the revolutionary headquarters, all looking despondent. The crowd was so excited because they knew that at that moment, or soon thereafter, Ali Muhsin, whom they hated, would be brought in.

Q: The tension in the air!

PETTERSON: Yes, it was so tense as they began to swarm toward the Land Rover, that Aboud Jumbe yelled at them in Swahili (he had a bullhorn) to get back or he would open fire. They obliged, and a way was cleared for us. We got out of the Land Rover and waited for somebody to come out of revolutionary headquarters.

After a while, a figure emerged, a man dressed in a semi-military uniform. He had on dark shorts and a dark blue shirt, a peaked cap, knee socks in the British style. He approached us, went up to the executive officer, pulled a revolver out of his holster, stuck it right at the exec, either in his ribs as I remember it, or in his face as Jim Ruchti remembered it, and said, "How do you do? I'm John Okello." With that, he put his revolver back in the holster and said there was going to be some target practice behind revolutionary headquarters. Would we like to join in? Well, figuring that the targets might well be some of the captured Arabs, we declined.

He escorted us into Raha Leo. We went up the stairs into a meeting room, where after another wait we were ushered into the room. Sitting there behind a table with Okello were Abeid Karume, leader of the Afro-Shirazi Party and now the president of the new government, Babu, Hanga, and several others.

Q: Back from Dar es Salaam?

PETTERSON: Back from Dar es Salaam. Karume had come back to Zanzibar by boat early that morning with Babu and Hanga. The British high commissioner had met with them just before we did, and as he left we entered. The discussion began. Fritz, first of all, told Okello (who had put his revolver on the table with the barrel pointing at Fritz) that we would not negotiate at gunpoint. Okello made no reply, but picked up and reholstered his weapon. He didn't say much during the ensuing discussion, in which Fritz made the request for an evacuation. Babu replied angrily, so did Hanga; Karume was uncomfortable. They were angry that the Americans had brought in this warship. And it seemed to us, as we thought about it a bit later, that they didn't know whether the Manley might open fire. In any case, they really didn't care for the evacuation. They didn't want to see it happen, but they agreed to it, fearing there might be consequences otherwise.

Finally, Karume indicated that he would not oppose the request. Then he turned to Okello and

said, “It’s your decision.”

Okello sort of shrugged and said, “All right.”

This made it clear to us there that Okello was indeed of great importance. I say this because later on there were those belittled Okello’s role in the revolution. In fact, the official history of the revolution barely mentions him. But he was the force that pulled it off. Weeks later, others with more political sagacity took control.

We returned to the English Club. Fritz went off to the hotels to pick up those tourists who were still there. While Ruchti and the executive officer went down to the boat to get the crew ready for the operation and to notify the captain what had happened at Raha Leo, Lillico and I met with the Americans, who waiting for us on the club’s upper porch, which overlooked the beach. Earlier, we had stipulated that women and children, regardless of nationality, would go first. However, now a couple of the Americans, tracking station employees, said, “Uh-uh, Americans first, foreigners second.” Stu and I said [laughter], “Not on your life! Women and children first.” And we made that stick. With Fritz now back, everyone who wanted to go was at the club, and the whaleboat and another boat, the captain’s gig, began taking the evacuees out to the destroyer. The sun had gone down and it soon grew very dark. I took Julie and the babies down to the boat with the few possessions that she had brought, mainly things for the children and some clothes. We said goodbye, and I kissed her and the two little girls. She was fearful, as she said later in letters to her parents and to mine, that she would never see me again. I had no such thoughts, myself! [Laughter] I was having too much of an interesting time! Off she and the children went into the gloom. We had set up some portable lights from the ship on the beach, but their beams didn’t carry much beyond 30 or 40 yards out to sea. The boats would disappear into the darkness as they went out to the ship. After all the evacuees were aboard, the Manley sailed to Dar es Salaam.

Q: Let me interrupt you again for a second.

PETTERSON: Yes.

Q: Were personnel from any other consulates taken off, the British for example?

PETTERSON: No. There were no other diplomatic establishments, just the British and the Americans at that time. The British had not made a decision to evacuate. They considered it, but had not yet decided. There was some criticism of the American decision to evacuate, but Fritz had sound reasons for doing what he did. (1) We had no idea that the word was out not to harm foreigners. (2) We were unable to get in touch with the revolutionaries. We didn’t know whether the violence would get worse, or whether it would subside. (3) There had been animosity shown toward the Americans by some of the very people who carried out the revolution. They had protested the presence in Zanzibar of what they termed the American rocket base and demanded its removal. There was a lot of hostile propaganda directed against America in that month after independence.
The Manley arrived in Dar es Salaam harbor that night, but couldn’t go in through the channel, which was very narrow.

Q: Including yourself?

PETTERSON: Oh, no, no! Pardon me! I forgot to mention that Fritz and I stayed. We had agreed that somebody should stay behind to look after the embassy and the property of Americans. Washington said that if we wanted to stay we could, so that left the two of us on the island. The next day, in Dar es Salaam the Americans disembarked from the destroyer. My family and Fritz's family remained in Dar until a week later.

Q: How about Fritz's girlfriend?

PETTERSON: She was there. Everybody [laughter] saw her on the Manley.

Q: She went over to Dar as well?

PETTERSON: Yes.

Fritz and I then went home that night and drank a lot of beer. I had a beer or two, but by that time I'd been up for over 48 hours and was very tired. I went home to my now lonely house. By the way, we were no longer in the stable. We had moved two months earlier to my predecessor's house in another part of town, a much nicer home.

The next day, Fritz and I were told by the revolutionaries not to leave our respective houses, but later in the day we were given permission to go about our business. My Swahili came in to very good use, either that day or the next. We were driving from Fritz's place to the embassy when we came upon a group of armed men, who yelled in Swahili, "*Simana*," which meant, "Stop!" Fritz didn't speak Swahili; I did. I said, "Fritz, stop the car" which he did. [Laughter] Otherwise, he would have kept going and we might have been shot at.

By the way, my Swahili (and I'm talking to Nick who studied Swahili with me)-

Q: A classmate.

PETTERSON: That's right…was very useful. I formed a friendship with Karume as a result, because I was the only American who spoke Swahili and my Swahili was getting better and better all of the time. We carried out our conversations in Swahili. I was very deferential to him; Fritz was not. Fritz, unfortunately, was a bit patronizing with Karume, and that came back to haunt him, as I'll explain.

On the morning of January 16, four days after the revolution, we were at the embassy. Fritz received a telephone call from the British high commissioner, who somewhat testily said, "Some of your people are causing a problem down at the port, reporters, your people, Americans." He said they were a matter of "grave embarrassment." So Fritz told me to go there, which I did. At the boat landing, I encountered several armed men who were gathered at the top of a concrete sea wall from which steps led down to the water. A couple of British colonial port officials also were there. I could see the top of a dhow's mast. After explaining who I was and why I had come, I

was allowed go to the edge of the sea wall. I saw that there were seven men in the boat. We talked, and I learned that they were American, British, and Canadian newspapermen – reporters for Time, Newsweek, The New York Herald Tribune, a Canadian paper, and a British paper – and an Indian photographer for Life magazine. So they weren't just Americans, were not, in the words of the High Commissioner, "your people" only. They had sailed in the dhow from the mainland, arriving in Zanzibar the previous night.

They started asking me questions. Foolishly I answered. At that point a rifle was pointed right at my face, and I was told to "Shut up!" So I stopped talking, [laughter] the better part of valor! Some authorities from the revolutionary government joined these armed people at dockside. They said that the men in the boat were spies and we were going to be taken to revolutionary headquarters. Off we went. I tried to explain to the rebels who I was. They couldn't care less, nor did they accept that these were just newspaper people.

We had been held at Raha Leo for several hours when Fritz showed up. He finally had found out where we were and what the problem was, and had talked to a minister in the government. Karume was away. He had gone to Dar es Salaam that day. The minister said, "Well, sure. Let these people go." Fritz told us the good news, and he and I drove the journalists to the Zanzibar Hotel, where they got rooms and then went off about their business.

But suspicions were high about these people. Some of them had U.S. Defense Department press cards, and they showed them when asked for an ID (identification) card. The name of one of the reporters was Conley, Robert Conley. That sounded like "colonel." So the rebels had this Colonel Robert, and they had Defense Department ID cards. Spies, you know! It really rang a bell with some of these less-than-sophisticated rebels.

When Karume returned late that afternoon, or early that evening, he was told about the reporters and the suspicious about them. He was also given some of their notes, which had been taken from them and which were not too complimentary about the revolution. Karume was angry, and he went to the Zanzibar Hotel to confront them. Picard was with them. The minister who had allowed these fellows to go about their business happened to be a political enemy of Karume, even though he was in the cabinet. When Karume saw Picard with his political enemy and the correspondents, he was furious. Babu, who was with him, and another government official, who had no love for Fritz, egged Karume on. In essence they said, "You know, these people are up to no good. Picard has interfered." Karume bought that and angrily ordered Picard, at gunpoint, to be taken to his house.

I was over at the embassy at that time, composing a long classified cable, using a primitive system of those days called a "one-time pad," and as, Nick [laughter], you'd know, it was a very laborious task! It took me a couple of hours to encrypt the message. It was dark outside when I locked up, left the embassy, and started across the square - Kelele Square - to Cable and Wireless to deliver my telegram for transmission. In the darkness, in the middle of the square, I came upon Karume and a gaggle of fellows with weapons. Karume asked me what I was doing.

I said, "I'm taking a message over to be sent."

He said, “No, I can’t allow that!” He told me what had happened. He said that he had arrested Picard, that Picard had done something bad and would be expelled from the island, and that I would have to be placed under arrest, too.

He ordered four of the armed men to get in my car, the VW, and accompany me. I drove toward my house with the barrel of a rifle in the back of my neck, not intentionally, but it was a bit disconcerting! They didn’t stop at my house, but instead took me to Picard’s. There I spent the night with Fritz, who was drinking heavily. The next day, a chartered plane came over from Dar. Fritz was placed on the airplane, along with some of his possessions and the Lillico’s dog, which had been left behind, and off he went. I was at the airport with him and breathed a sigh of relief when the plane left, because I had been worried that his behavior since the onset of revolution might lead to his harm. There were some Chinese at the airport taking pictures of Fritz’s expulsion. Babu and some of his people were also present.

Now Babu was a factor to be reckoned with. He was not an African. He didn’t belong to the Afro-Shirazi Party, but his followers, many of whom had been trained in Cuba or other Communist countries, had automatic weapons. They had more firepower than Okello’s people, and therefore were a factor to be reckoned with. Babu was the Zanzibar government’s foreign minister. I chatted with him, and we agreed we would talk later on. I was told to go back to my own house, which I did.

That began a period of five weeks, during which I was the only American in Zanzibar, pretty heady stuff, [laughter], a junior Foreign Service officer in charge of the embassy! In the course of those five weeks, I had a number of adventures in trying to protect American property, failing in some cases because looters had come, encountering looters at one property and chasing after them, foolishly, on my bicycle, and capturing one of them, only to find that he was just a kid. If I turned him in he would be executed, so I let him go, and warned him not to do that anymore.

I managed to communicate by telephone with the embassy in Dar es Salaam. I was not given diplomatic privileges. I could send nothing out by diplomatic pouch and could send cables only if they were not encrypted and were approved by a government censor at Cable and Wireless. Now and then, the censor didn’t like my choice of words and refused to all the message to be transmitted.

I formed a relationship with Karume, and also with Babu, who was a very charming guy, a militant left-winger, to say the least, and very shrewd, very intelligent. Karume was a stolid man, not nearly as bright as Babu, but a man of very real native intelligence. I don’t mean to use that term in a derogatory sense at all. He was a very able man in many ways, but impressionable and unsophisticated. As time would go by the results of that would be harmful to Zanzibar.

Occasionally I got a classified message out by taking it over to the British, who had been given the permission to use their classified pouch. Twice, at the airport I met American officials who were on a flight from Dar to Nairobi via Zanzibar. I was allowed to go out and talk to them. I slipped each of them an envelope with a message in it.

My time was largely taken up with looking after the American property, trying to find out what

was going on, dealing with the revolutionary government, and reporting as well as I could. By mid-February, it was clear that the revolutionary government was getting fed up with the lack of recognition from the British and the Americans. Concern about Zanzibar in the American government reached the highest level, President Johnson, and in the British government at its highest level, Prime Minister Alec Douglas-Home. This was extraordinary when you think about it. Zanzibar was seen as a precursor of revolution for Africa, as a Communist foothold could spread into the continent. The Chinese communists, the Soviets, and East Germans had established embassies (which grew to be quite large) and had begun arranging for military and economic aid. Communist diplomats, technicians, and military trainers began to come to Zanzibar in relatively large numbers.

The British were dithering. They didn't want to recognize a government that had come to power by force of arms. Moreover, they didn't like this government's pro-Communist or apparent pro-Communist leanings. So the British waited despite the urgings of Tanganyikan Prime Minister Julius Nyerere that they grant recognition to the new government of Zanzibar. Washington followed the British lead. By a month or so after the revolution, the Zanzibaris were out of patience. On the 19th of February, I was summoned to revolutionary headquarters, where the British high commissioner had arrived just before me. Karume told us that because the U.S. and UK (United Kingdom) had not recognized his government, we would have to go; otherwise, the people might rise up and do harm to us or to the government. Well, that was an exaggeration, but we were given 24 hours to leave.

From the embassy, I called the American ambassador to Tanganyika, William Leonhart, in Dar es Salaam and informed him of what had happened. Then I went back to burning classified documents, which I had been doing for several days, using a small potbellied stove. Leonhart tried that day to convince Nyerere to influence Karume to postpone my expulsion, but without success. That evening, the ambassador called me. Passing a message from Washington, he said I should see Karume if I could and ask him to delay the expulsion for at least twenty-four hours. I should tell him that a U.S. official from Washington had just arrived in Dar and could come over the next day to talk to him about recognition. I managed to get through to Karume, who said I could come see him. He didn't agree to the proposal but left the door open. After another exchange between Leonhart and me, and a message from Washington for Karume, which arrived at seven o'clock the following morning, Karume agreed to receive Leonhart and the man from Washington.

At midmorning, Ambassador Leonhart and Frank Carlucci, a Foreign Service officer, came to Zanzibar in a small chartered aircraft. I met them and went with them to see Karume.

Q: What was Carlucci doing in Dar?

PETTERSON: Frank had been in the Congo, where he had acquired a reputation as an exceptionally able Foreign Service officer. He was the embassy's troubleshooter in the Congo. After the Congo and before coming to Zanzibar, he had a job in the State Department-

Q: Well, when I saw him, he was assistant desk officer for the Congo under Charlie Whitehouse.

PETTERSON: Okay.

Q: That was '63.

PETTERSON: Yes. Frank was well regarded by Joe Palmer, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs and by Charlie Whitehouse, and by everybody else. It had been decided that Frank would be the new chargé d'affaires in Zanzibar. He came with a letter from President Johnson that indicated recognition would be coming soon. Frank and Leonhart tried to convince Karume that with recognition just around the corner, it would be much better if he didn't throw me off the island. By the way, the whole Revolutionary Council, which included all the wild men along with some of the more able and moderate Zanzibari Africans who were in the cabinet, were at this meeting. The discussion went on for a couple of hours, but in the end Karume and the Council rejected the American proposal. Karume, when he said goodbye, said, "If you come back, if recognition takes place, and you come back, Mr. Carlucci, we'll have a parade in your honor." So with that, Frank and Ambassador Leonhart returned to Dar es Salaam.

I went back to the embassy to finish burning the classified materials. I had just started when there was a pounding on the front door. Ali Mafoudh, the head of the newly created special police force, demanded to come into the embassy. When I refused him entry, he said he would have to take me in custody. He drove me to State House, the seat of the government. An official there told Mafoudh to take me back to the embassy and not interfere with me. After I did some burning, I went home for a quick lunch. When I returned, the officer in charge of the soldiers who had surrounded the building said I could not reenter it. When I argued with him, he told me a government official wanted to see me and he drove me to a government office. I was taken to the office of Abdul Azziz Twala, one of the more militant members of the cabinet. Unbeknownst to me, an argument had preceded my arrival. Some of the people there wanted to kill me. At least that's what a man named Mohammed Ali Foum, who was there at the time and later became a diplomat in Tanzanian diplomatic service, told me years afterward. We met at the United Nations one day, and he told me this. I don't know if it's true, but he swore it was. He said that after some argument, it was decided that killing me would cause too many problems. At any rate, when I got there, Twala simply told me to return to the embassy, then go home and get ready to leave later that day. This was-

Q: You had been summoned over to the Revolutionary Council headquarters?

PETTERSON: No, to an administrative office-

Q: They'd asked you to come over?

PETTERSON: Yes, right.

Q: But once you got there, nothing much happened?

PETTERSON: That's correct.

Q: And then you went back home?

PETTERSON: No, to the embassy. After using an ax to demolish the code machine, which didn't work and we'd never used, I started burning papers again. I soon realized that I couldn't destroy all the classified papers using just the stove, so I got one of the two or three destruction kits that were stored on the same floor as the walk-in vault, where we kept the classified files. Each kit was a heavy cardboard cylindrical drum, about three and a half feet high and two feet in diameter, the size of a large garbage can. It contained a bag, or bags, I can't remember, of inflammable chemicals in granular form and a magnesium igniter. I put in papers, threw some of the chemical stuff on them, put in more papers, more chemicals, until all the papers were in the container. With everything now ready, I then dropped in the igniter. It worked like a hand grenade. You pull the pin, drop it in, and whoosh! A sheet of fire shot up. The heat of the fire was so intense that had I not kept the vault door open, I would have been incinerated. The pressure that resulted was so strong that to close the vault door, which I left open, I had to put my feet against of the opposite wall of the narrow hallway outside the vault and use my leg muscles to get the door closed. I began to wonder, "What the hell have I done?"

Knowing that the troops outside would see smoke coming through the small open barred space in the vault, I went outside and talked to the guy in charge. Sure enough, black smoke could be seen pouring through the opening. He asked me what I was doing. I said, "Oh, I'm just burning a few papers. It's normal for us to do that, you know." And he accepted it, and I went back inside. I really thought, "How am I going to explain [laughter] to Washington that I burned down the embassy? Luckily the vault was built of steel-reinforced concrete. Had it not been, the walls would have buckled, and the fire might well have spread. But it was contained in the vault, and I didn't burn down the embassy.

Q: This is all very interesting because your evacuation certainly wasn't the last and won't be the last. But one of the lessons learned perhaps is that when you use these destruction kits, you should use them outdoors?

PETTERSON: Absolutely!

Q: Or on a roof, or something?

PETTERSON: Absolutely! They didn't have directions on them. A couple of weeks or so later, I sent what we called an "operations memorandum" to Washington describing in detail what had happened and urging the Department to put a label on the destruction kits, "Do not use indoors under any circumstances!" I'm told that that memorandum made the rounds in the department and [laughter] got a lot of laughs.

I went home, packed a suitcase, and waited to be taken to the airport for the flight to Dar es Salaam.

Q: On an East African Airways flight?

PETTERSON: Yes, a regularly scheduled flight. I was met at the airport in Dar, taken to the embassy where I was debriefed. I wrote a report before I left the next day for Nairobi, where

Julie and the children were. They had been in Dar es Salaam but had been evacuated from there after a mutiny by the Tanganyikan army had almost toppled the government of Julius Nyerere and had brought considerable violence to Dar es Salaam. During that violence, Fritz began to relive the Zanzibar revolution, and he had to be medically evacuated. He'd been under great stress and was as tight as a drum. After medical treatment in the States, he was medically cleared and resumed his career. It had been damaged, however, and ended after his next overseas assignment had not given him the kind of efficiency report he needed for a promotion.

I flew to Nairobi and spent two or three days there. I had the flu, but didn't feel too bad. I got a call from Frank Carlucci in Dar telling me to come back, that recognition had been granted. He and I would be going over to Zanzibar right away. So I flew to Dar, and, with Ambassador Leonhart, Frank and I flew over to the island. There was no parade to welcome us. Karume, who was visibly pleased, received us at State House, and Frank read to him the formal note of recognition. Leonhart returned to Dar es Salaam. Frank and I opened the embassy. The first thing we did was clean up the vault, which was covered by a thick coating of slimy dark brown [laughter] soot. While Frank, his secretary, Lynne Derzo, and I were doing that, I almost passed out. I was done in by a bad case of flu, fatigue, and maybe weight loss. I had lost a lot of weight when I was alone on the island, cooking for myself or being fed by friends. Anyway, I was simply…

Q: Exhausted!

PETTERSON: Yes. So I went back to Nairobi, spent about a week with Julie and the children before going back to Zanzibar to resume my job working with my new boss, the chargé d'affaires of the American embassy, Frank Carlucci.

I began a very good year with Frank Carlucci, one of the most able, dedicated people I've known anywhere, certainly an outstanding Foreign Service Officer. Frank was very generous in giving me free rein to do whatever I wanted to do in the way of political reporting. Under Fritz I had been confined to lower-level officials and labor reporting. But Frank gave me, as I said, free rein.

I learned a lot from him by his example. He was an excellent reporter. He got out, beat the bushes, met people. He was charming. He got people to trust him. He dealt with people who were essentially hostile to us at that time, befriended them, and got a lot out of it. He knew what was going on in Zanzibar before he'd been there very long. A measure of his dedication is shown by the fact that whereas he spoke no Swahili when he got there, one year later, by taking tutoring from an Anglican nun and listening to tapes, Frank got a three-three in Swahili when he was tested at the Foreign Service Institute.

Q: Let me just interrupt you there to say, you know, obviously, you have a lot of respect and admiration for Carlucci. But I think it might be interesting for researchers, as well as journalists and other people who are going to use this interview, for you to describe briefly what the characteristics are, in your opinion, of an outstanding American diplomat. What is it that Carlucci represented, in your opinion?

PETTERSON: First of all, he had extraordinary intelligence, coupled with very good common

sense, and an outgoing nature. He knew how to get along with Africans. He was sensitive to their culture. He had no false pretensions. He was an excellent writer, had superior analytical skills, and was a superb manager. He knew how to delegate.

Q: What makes a good reporting officer, Don?

PETTERSON: Somebody who's willing to get out of the office, travel around the country, to do whatever is necessary to get information, to establish a rapport with people so they will talk to you. You collect intelligence from people whom you meet and process it through whatever abilities you have. You learn to sift out good information from bad. I believe, too, that, like Frank, the best officers are very industrious and dedicated. Frank worked long, hard hours and gave a great deal of thought to his work. He also (maybe this isn't a quality of a great reporter or necessarily a successful Foreign Service officer, but to me it's something very important) cared about people, the people who worked with him, and he showed that. He got their loyalty, and he got a lot out of them. He had all the qualities that would later propel him to high offices in the U.S. government, including secretary of defense.

Q: Okay, so there you are in Zanzibar?

PETTERSON: That's right. We are behind the bamboo curtain, as we said in those days, or the clove curtain, as some joked, cloves being Zanzibar's principal export. Frank set out to meet and establish a relationship with as many people as possible in the government and other areas.

Q: Yes, but this story is about you and not about Frank.

PETTERSON: [Laughter] Yes, but-

Q: So you were doing the same thing?

PETTERSON: Yes, I was very happy to be able to start becoming a political reporter because it was what I had wanted to do, and I had not been able to do it either in Mexico or much in Zanzibar before the revolution. I now got out and about, established whatever contacts I could. It was very difficult because we were under suspicion. Sometimes we were under surveillance. People were afraid to see us. We could not entertain Zanzibaris; nobody would come to our house. So we didn't have the usual kind of social opportunities to meet people and get information.

But we could wander around and go to people's offices and other places where we could meet people who might give us information of the kind we needed in order to inform Washington what was happening in Zanzibar, which had become (in the eyes of Washington and London) a bastion of Communism. The Chinese brought in more people - military trainers, agriculturists, and embassy staff - as did the Soviets and the East Germans. The East Germans were delighted to have a diplomatic establishment in Zanzibar. Before getting Zanzibar's recognition, they had not been recognized by any other countries except communist countries.

Q: But those three countries are among the three most difficult countries for a Western diplomat

to observe and gather information about.

PETTERSON: True. We were we trying to report not only on what was happening in Zanzibar among the Zanzibaris, but, more important from Washington's standpoint, on what the Chinese, East Germans, and Soviets were doing. Other communist countries were also represented in Zanzibar. Cuba, for example, the Czechs, the Poles, North Vietnamese, Bulgarians, you name them; they were all there. It was a great place to be as a young reporting officer in the Cold War days.

We set about our work. As I said, I learned a lot from Frank and began doing political reporting. I was also the administrative officer and the consular officer. Our embassy began to grow. Suddenly we were in the front lines of the East-West struggle and a place, at least for some more months to come, considered to be very important in the eyes of the State Department and others in Washington.

Q: When you say that you began to grow, for example, did the USIA (United States Information Agency), USIS send any people? Were there any CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) people there?

PETTERSON: USIS reestablished their office, and an officer came to run it. The CIA did come in. This was the major factor in the growth of the embassy, as you can imagine. Zanzibar was very fertile ground for the CIA, the KGB (Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti, Committee for State Security, USSR), and other counterparts of these intelligence services.

So yes, we now a CIA presence. We had a station chief and his staff, which included communications personnel, an administrative person, and a secretary. The State Department side began to grow a little, too, as we got another secretary and an administrative assistant, who took the admin burden off of me. So from a four-person U.S. mission, we expanded to about a dozen.

Q: Did the NASA tracking station people come back?

PETTERSON: Momentarily. The Karume government decided in April that the tracking station would have to close down. The decision came despite a report that had been issued just before the revolution by a Swedish diplomat whom the previous government had asked to assess the station. He attested to the peaceful purposes of the manned space program (which indeed they were). Pressure to close the station decision had been building. It was being exerted by Communist diplomats, as well as by people within the government, including but not limited to Babu and other leftists. Whether they believed it or not, I don't know, but some continued to call the tracking station an American rocket base. Karume summoned Frank and told him the tracking station would have to be dismantled. So a few of the Project Mercury people and the NASA representative came back and very quickly dismantled the station, much faster than Karume had thought it would take. He was pleased by the professional way they did this.

Q: This would be about mid '64?

PETTERSON: No, we're still in the early part of '64.

Q: Early part of '64? Okay.

PETTERSON: Yes. By this time, Okello had been eased out of power. He was simply not up to the skills of people like Babu and Karume. He had embarrassed them during the revolution. He had been on the radio giving very inflammatory announcements about who would be killed and who would be boiled in oil and all sorts of grisly comments, which embarrassed some Zanzibaris and terrified others. But as much as Karume and others in the Afro-Shirazi Party leadership and Babu and his followers feared Okello for a time, they must had known that they would be able to get rid of him at some point. He had no political base. All he had was some mainly very unsophisticated people with weapons. Okello was not clever enough to see that disarming these people, which Karume had inveigled him into doing, and putting them into new military units would remove his base of power. Sometime in March, he went over to the mainland, and when he came back to Zanzibar, Karume met him at the airport and said, "You can't get off the plane." Karume flew with him back to Dar es Salaam, where he stayed for a while before being ejected from Tanganyika.

Q: Where had he come from originally?

PETTERSON: He was a Ugandan-

Q: Okay.

PETTERSON: Who had gone to Kenya when he was a young man, worked as a laborer, then as a mason, and learned construction skills that he took with him to Pemba in 1959.

Q: Pemba is a small island north of Zanzibar?

PETTERSON: Yes. Zanzibar was composed of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

Q: So he went back to Uganda?

PETTERSON: He ended up in Uganda. From Dar es Salaam, he went to Kenya, where he was expelled. Nobody wanted this man around. He had a fearsome reputation. People were afraid that wherever he went, he might foment a revolution. He had trouble with immigration authorities and was either expelled from places or put in jail. Finally he returned to Uganda, where he was imprisoned. In 1971, he was seen with Idi Amin shortly after Amin came to power. Then John Okello disappeared from the face of the earth, no doubt killed by Amin.

In the meantime, Karume was concerned about Babu and his people, who had close relations with the Chinese and who were very well armed. Karume feared that they wanted to take over the revolution. So did Julius Nyerere on the mainland. Nyerere and Karume decided that they would unify their two countries to undercut Babu. This they did, telling only a very few trusted advisors. Their decision, when announced, came as a complete surprise. Babu was out of town. As Zanzibar's foreign minister, he was in Pakistan on an official visit. When he heard about the union, he was furious. He later denied that he was upset and said, untruthfully, that he knew in

advance about the plan for union. When he came back, he found a new political dispensation. The government of Tanzania, the name chosen for the country later, was in the process of being formed. Babu was given a post in the Tanzanian government, which was located in Dar es Salaam, since it was the new country's capital. In time, other Zanzibaris who were deemed as possible security threats were transferred to mainland jobs or sent off as diplomats. Babu was effectively stripped of his political power. From then on, he was bitter toward Karume and, especially, Nyerere. With Babu's departure from Zanzibar, Karume's power increased.

The marriage between Tanganyika and Zanzibar was a marriage of convenience. It had strains from the very beginning. As time went on the relationship became more strained as Zanzibar wanted to run its own foreign affairs, have its own military, and control its own foreign exchange. But the union continued. Nyerere wanted it and Karume wanted it, if on his own terms.

Q: Let me ask you, Don. In Tanganyika at the time of independence, there was a small Indian minority as well as a few Arabs. If there were also these minorities in Zanzibar, what happened to them?

PETTERSON: The population, as I mentioned earlier, included about 250,000 Africans. A high percentage of them were them people from the mainland who had come over to pick cloves and then had stayed and had established their families in Zanzibar. Some of the Africans were longer-term inhabitants, many of whom, especially those living in Pemba, called themselves Shirazis, claiming that they were descended from the Shiraz people of Iran. In addition to the Africans, Zanzibar had 50,000 Arabs, and about 20,000 Asians of Pakistani and Indian origin. During the revolution, some 5,000 people were killed. Almost all of these were Arabs. That's one tenth of the Arab population. By the time I left the island near the end of 1965, the number of Arabs was less than 25,000. Those who remained had no place in the power structure whatsoever. The Asian population was also down by half or more by that time. As the government of Zanzibar became more and more repressive, Asians wanted out, and those who could, left.

Karume, despite a lot of good qualities, became increasingly dictatorial. I didn't see the worst of it during my time and I got along very well with him, as did Frank. But subsequent to our time there, he became more and more erratic, more and more dictatorial. Eventually he was assassinated, and a more moderate man, Aboud Jumbe, whom I mentioned earlier, became Zanzibar's president.

Frank and I settled down for a long siege of working in the Cold War trenches. Julie and the children came back in March. In April, because of anti-American demonstrations, they went back to Dar for a short time, returning after the demonstrations were ended and any possible threat was over.

We had a wonderful life in Zanzibar when all the hullabaloo was over. We had a small circle of friends - small because we couldn't mix with Zanzibaris. The Revolutionary Council had become very anti-Western and prohibited Zanzibaris from having anything to do with the Americans and British. Even cabinet members were afraid to associate with us. So our social circle was limited

to the small British community that remained, members of the British high commission, the Americans, and a few other foreigners, including some Africans. We had a tight-knit little community. We did a lot of socializing. The beaches were lovely. A number of us took our children to a beach just about every Sunday. Zanzibar was a nice place to be, from that standpoint, and a very fascinating place to be because of what was occurring there, as we watched the influx of Communists and observed how things were playing out. We tried to influence Karume and others in the government to take a more moderate stance, and to be more truly nonaligned. We finally succeeded in that. Frank made a lot of inroads and a lot of progress before he had to leave the island.

Q: I wanted to ask. This is a good time. Were there any AID (United States Agency for International Development) or Peace Corps people on the island when you were there?

PETTERSON: No Peace Corps or AID. But we had an AID project, and AID officers from Dar es Salaam came over occasionally, or I would go over there to confer with them. The project was the construction and equipping of a secondary manual arts school that would turn out artisans, technicians, which the island very much needed. Karume looked upon the project with great favor. A Zanzibari resident, a South African architect, designed the school to our specifications. The project, which cost about a million dollars, was appropriate to Zanzibar's needs and was not at all grandiose or ill conceived. Within a decade, however, it failed. After the school was turned over to the Zanzibari authorities to run by themselves, they didn't handle it well at all, and it deteriorated physically as well as academically.

Q: While you were there, then, this AID project was one of the tools of American diplomacy. Were there any other tools that you had to try to influence the Zanzibari government?

PETTERSON: Well, the tool of rational discourse with the Zanzibaris. The agency has its own way of making friends, and some money was passed around. Whether that that produced any lasting positive results, I don't know. Our USIS library was very popular with Zanzibaris, especially young people. But its very success as a tool of our diplomacy was its undoing. At different times in the coming year and a half, our opponents succeeded in bringing trumped up charges against two USIS officers and getting them expelled.

Another thing we had going for us was the mistakes made by the communists themselves. The East Germans promised to build a massive housing projects, enough housing for all the Africans in Ng'ambo. We're talking about 40,000 or 50,000 people. In the end the Germans built some apartments that were unsuitable to the culture of the Zanzibari people, who didn't want to live in large blocks of flats. They wanted a house that would be their own. The Chinese imported a lot of commercial goods, some of which were shoddy. For example, they brought in some talcum powder, which sat in a warehouse and congealed in the heat and humidity. The Soviets didn't come through with the kind of aid they promised.

I don't want to give a picture that the Communists really blew it. Because of their mistakes, they may have lost some of the luster they had gained right after the revolution, but overall their aid was welcomed. The Chinese gave a cash grant of one million pounds, which the Zanzibar government sorely needed. Although the Chinese rice production of the communal farms was

hardly bountiful, Zanzibar's leaders seemed favorably impressed by it. And the Chinese brought in medical personnel to work in the hospital. Soviet military advisors, as well as Chinese, continued to train Zanzibari soldiers. Both countries provided more arms, equipment and ammunition. And the East Germans brought in technicians of various kinds, and teachers as well. They also delivered an armed patrol boat and some fishing boats.

As for our AID project, we never promised what we couldn't deliver, and I think that set well with Karume. He was impressed by what we did. He wanted to have a balanced relationship with East and West - very hard to do in those days. He seemed to come to the conclusion that we were there not to do him in, but to work with him. Even though he had been very much angered and upset because of the delay of our recognition, in time we developed a good working relationship with him during those years before he became so erratic, eccentric, and dictatorial.

Q: It sounds to me as though Karume, at least for a while, had the same sort of balance among foreigners and foreign interests as Julius Nyerere had in Tanzania with the Russians-

PETTERSON: To a degree, yes.

Q: And the Chinese that were in Tanzania, as well as the Scandinavians and the Germans and the Canadians.

PETTERSON: Yes, but the West didn't have as many countries represented in Zanzibar, just the British, a one-man French consulate, and ourselves. So we were really outnumbered by the communist countries, and more so by the number of people they brought into Zanzibar. In the long run, it would not matter, as Zanzibar's importance in the Cold War diminished and both East and West lost interest in it. But that did not happen while I was there.

Q: Okay. So now we're up to '65?

PETTERSON: Yes, let's put it at the very beginning of 1965. Frank was well in stride running the embassy. All of us were pretty productive. U.S. relations with Zanzibar had improved. So, things were definitely going well when, suddenly, there was an unexpected reverse. On January 15, Frank went to Dar es Salaam. While he was there, Bill Leonhart was summoned to Nyerere, who said that Frank and Leonhart's deputy chief of mission, Bob Gordon, had been involved in a plot to overthrow the government of Zanzibar.

Now this was totally idiotic. It stemmed from a telephone conversation that Frank and Bob had had earlier in the month, a telephone conversation in which they were trying to work out a way to get a high-level American official to attend the celebration of the first anniversary of the revolution. Ambassador Leonhart was against the idea, and there was opposition to it in the State Department. Frank and Bob were developing arguments in its favor. They were speaking guardedly, using code words, because they figured the phones were tapped. Among other things, one of them said something like, "This will give us ammunition to get the big gun," the big gun meaning [laughter] Assistant Secretary of State Soapy Williams, G. Mennen Williams, who they hoped would come for the celebration.

Whether the tape was doctored or not, it and some spurious intelligence reports that he had seen convinced Nyerere that Frank and Bob Gordon were concocting a plan to bring down the Zanzibar government. Nyerere foolishly believed it. His rush to judgement is all the more incredible considering that only two months earlier he had been burned by an equally unlikely fabrication that the American government, in league with Portugal, was plotting to overthrow the Tanzanian government. The allegation was based on documents that had been sent to Nyerere's foreign minister by the Tanzanian ambassador to the Congo Republic. The foreign minister, Oscar Kambona, had made them public and denounced the United States. This gave rise to a surge of anti-Americanism in the country. Subsequently, a document-authentication expert proved to the Tanzanians that the documents were crude forgeries. Kambona's and Nyerere's readiness to believe the worst of the United States had made them look foolish and must have been embarrassing to Nyerere. But here he was, once again acting precipitately.

Ambassador Leonhart urged him to reconsider, but Nyerere was adamant. Frank and Bob Gordon had to go. Frank was allowed to come back to Zanzibar to be able to pack before leaving. He went to Karume and told him the whole story. Karume was sympathetic, and said that he had no role in the affair. He and Frank parted on cordial terms. The next day, we said goodbye, and off he went. His wife, Jean, stayed on long enough to pack their household effects.

Nyerere, incidentally, finally came to realize, after receiving messages from President Johnson and from Secretary Rusk in which the entire story had been laid out to him, that he had made a mistake. He was contrite, but nothing could be done. In one talk he had with Leonhart, he got so emotional that he wept, and he said, "This is one more damn period we've just got to get through."

Q: But obviously it had no bad effect on Frank's career. So there you are in Zanzibar, again in charge?

PETTERSON: Yes. There I was, once again, in charge of the embassy. I was acting consul. By the way, we were no longer an embassy because when Zanzibar and Tanganyika joined to become Tanzania, Zanzibar no longer was the capital, so we were reverted back to consular status. I was acting consul for a larger establishment than when I was acting chargé d'affaires, when I was the only one there. I now had, in some ways, a more challenging kind of a job, certainly from a management point of view. Before long, Washington, perhaps figuring that if once again they sent someone to be my boss again, he might get thrown out [laughter], decided to let me be consul for the rest of my tour of duty. This was done even though Frank's replacement would come out while I was still there and would be an officer who outranked me. The officer was Tom Pickering, and we worked together for the rest of my tour, which ended in November 1965.

Q: Tom Pickering, another one of the shining stars of the United States Foreign Service!

PETTERSON: Absolutely.

Q: Yes, you worked with both Frank Carlucci and Tom Pickering.

PETTERSON: Yes, I tell people that I made Tom's career.

Q: [Laughter]

PETTERSON: I wrote an efficiency report [laughter] on him. I hope it was a good one! He was an extraordinary guy and a lot of fun to work with. He and Alice, and Julie and I had good times in the months that we were together in Zanzibar continuing to do the kind of work that Frank and I had done. We had some new difficulties. For example, the Zanzibaris accused Harry Radday, who was the USIS officer, of being up to no good. According to the charges against him, he was seeing the wrong kind of people, plotting, doing this or that. It was total nonsense. I went to Karume, and said, in effect, "This is not true; don't do this! He is a good officer, who has done nothing wrong."

But Karume was inflexible. He said the decision had been made by the Revolutionary Council and could not be changed. Harry, who was popular among the Zanzibaris, and, because he was so tall – at least six foot five – was called "Bwana Twiga" (Mister Giraffe), had gotten around town a lot, meeting a wide range of people in the course of doing his job as our cultural affairs and information officer. I'm convinced that either a hostile intelligence service or extreme radicals in the government, or the two working together, had fabricated the reports about Harry. And they had chosen him because he was being effective in countering the anti-American propaganda that was so prevalent and was providing Zanzibaris with information about the United States and the outside world that otherwise was not available to them.

Q: So he was good at his job?

PETTERSON: He was good at his job.

Q: And making friends for America?

PETTERSON: Yes. Harry was expelled quietly, which was how Karume had proposed to handle the matter. Another USIS officer, a man named Barney Coleman, whose most recent assignment had been in Nigeria, replaced Harry. Barney eventually ran into the same problem. He was out seeing people and doing his job. Our enemies didn't like it, stories were circulated about him, nasty stories, and Karume said he had to go. Again, I remonstrated with him. Karume could be reasonable on some things, but he dug his heels in, and Barney Coleman had to go. So we didn't have complete easy sailing, to say the least. There was always some kind of battle going on.

Q: So what it sounds then, Don, a little bit sort of like Stalin, you know. Karume is a man with great strengths, but also very deep suspicions, because this makes, I think, three American diplomats who have been quietly or otherwise pushed out of Zanzibar in a year!

PETTERSON: That's right, and before that, of course, Fritz Picard. Karume did have definite weaknesses. He was a very suspicious man, and with reason as time went on because he had enemies within his own establishment. Some of those people came to grief later on and were executed. Othman Sharif was. He was the minister I mentioned when Fritz Picard got expelled, the one who had authorized the release of the American reporters and before the revolution had

been a political enemy of Karume. After the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, he became a minister in the Tanzanian government, serving in Dar es Salaam. Later, he went to Washington as ambassador. On a return trip to Zanzibar, Karume imprisoned him. Nyerere got him out, and he went back to the mainland. But later on, the government of Zanzibar accused him treason. He was brought back to the island and was executed. Abdul Kassim Hanga, the vice president of Zanzibar, was also executed, along with some others.

Q: More and more like Stalin?

PETTERSON: Yes, he became, unfortunately, more and more-

Q: Paranoid?

PETTERSON: Paranoid, erratic and dictatorial as time went on. My own relationship with him, and again, this was before he really got bad, was quite good because of the friendship we had established when I was a vice consul, and because I continued to deal with him in his own language, and, of course, treated him with a proper measure of respect.

Q: So, Don, in terms of the career Foreign Service, this is another really good argument for language training?

PETTERSON: Oh, absolutely.

Q: Would you say, in retrospect, that the Foreign Service should be doing more in terms of training officers in languages?

PETTERSON: Yes! The Foreign Service at different times placed greater emphasis on foreign language training, but in general the focus was on training as many people as possible, but not training enough in depth. Many officers, as a result, would gain a superficial working knowledge of a language, but far short of excellence. The Service did not, and still does not, have enough officers possessing a grasp of languages approaching bilinguality, especially in difficult, important languages such as Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese. We have some, but not nearly enough.

Q: So that sort of wraps up Zanzibar?

PETTERSON: Zanzibar, almost. Our second and third children, Julianne and John, were born while we were in Zanzibar. Julianne was born on the island in 1963 and John in Dar es Salaam in 1965. Julie had gone to the mainland to have John because the hospital in Zanzibar had deteriorated so much by 1965. In September we had our first and only vacation while we were in Zanzibar. We spent four days in game parks at Ngorongoro Crater and Lake Manyara and had a wonderful time. She and the children left Zanzibar near the end of September, and I followed in November, ending my assignment in Zanzibar and turning the reins over to Tom Pickering.

DAVID SHEAR
Assistant Program Officer, USAID
Dar es Salaam (1963-1966)

Mr. Shear was born in the Bronx, New York in 1932. He graduated from New York University and Harvard. His career in the Foreign Service included posts in Nigeria, Tanzania, Ivory Coast and Senegal. He was interviewed by W. Haven North in 1998.

SHEAR: I left Lagos in 1963. I had a euphemistic 22-month mid-tour transfer to from Nigeria to Tanzania, where I was to be Assistant Program Officer.

Q: What brought that about?

SHEAR: Don Gardner, who was backstopping our Capital Projects in Washington for the program in Nigeria, put my name forward when he learned that the position was open in Tanzania and they were having difficulty filling it. He knew of my background and interest in East Africa because of my work with the African Studies Program at Boston University, and he was aware that I had gotten to know Tom Mboya and Julius Nyerere. I was thrilled with the prospect of moving up within the system from being an intern and program analyst and to move to another part of Africa. At the same time, my wife and I had developed a number of good friendships in Nigeria, some of which we still maintain, and we felt it was a remarkably rich experience. It was a wonderful first post. And I was also fortunate, in retrospect, in working with the people I knew there. Haven North, Don Miller and Burt Gould, who was the program economist, were all exceptionally bright and competent, so I learned a great deal from them. I also gained a lot from traveling around the country, interacting with both the Nigerians and some of our more competent technical people.

Q: So you moved on to Tanzania in...?

SHEAR: It was in 1963 that I became the assistant program officer there. Tanzania presented a profoundly different environment in many ways. In Nigeria, we had a very large mission, in some ways perhaps even too large, and we had a very large headquarters staff. I don't remember exactly, but our administrative budget was in excess of $3 million, which at that point in time was quite large in Africa. And our presence in Lagos numbered probably over 100 Americans.

In Tanzania, in contrast, there was a government imposed ceiling of 10 Americans in the AID mission. And we were required then to both use and develop local staff, a number of whom were Asians who became Tanzanian citizens, and also a lot of African Tanzanians. It was a much smaller program; I had moved from an environment of $225 million to a commitment of $10 million, which had been made by President Kennedy to Tanzania at independence, just the year before I arrived there. This was a much poorer country in terms of natural resources, but it fascinated me because of its abundance of animals, and had a much more healthy and pleasant climate than Nigeria. Its proximity to Zanzibar. A much different set of cultures. Nigeria, with very large tribes and rich cultures, was quite different from Tanzania, which was almost bereft of culture in a traditional sense. None of the tribes had great populations, the largest one being the

Waskuma, by Lake Victoria, numbering about a million people. All the other tribes had less than a quarter of a million members. There were over 200 languages spoken in Tanzania, and some of the tribes comprised only 10,000 to 12,000 people. So tribalism per se was not a major issue.

Q: That's interesting. What characteristic of Tanzania to you stands out in comparison to other African countries?

SHEAR: I think one should read Sonya Cole's Prehistory of Africa and study the movement of African peoples. Tanzania in many ways was a less hospitable environment. For example, the great population movements that came from the north across the desert into northern Nigeria and northern Ghana, bringing a lot of Arabic culture and even some indirect European influences (although not perceived as such), did not occur in that part of East Africa. The Arab influence occurred along the east coast, essentially due to slavery. The interior of Tanzania was impacted very, very heavily because of Arab slavers. And probably, unlike the Yoruba in Nigeria who lived in large villages (actually cities), the Tanzanians avoided large encampments that made them more vulnerable. There are probably much more subtle and scientific reasons for that, it's my impression. Along the coast Swahili was developing as a lingua franca, but the first Swahili grammar wasn't published until about 1886. Tanzania could be considered less advanced culturally, in a traditional sense, than Nigeria. But in some ways it was much more open because there was not the issue of tribalism.

Q: What was the economic situation like? The development situation?

SHEAR: It was quite different from Nigeria because Tanzania had so few resources. Agriculture (mostly cotton) was largely confined along Lake Victoria. In the northern highlands near Kenya there was coffee, along the coast some tropical products, and some hides and skins in the interior. There were no significant mineral resources known at that time. Nigeria had been a major exporter of tin for 30 years prior to independence, but here there were no major industrialized agricultural products like rubber and palm oil. But although Tanzania had a much poorer economy, it bore a much more distinct stamp of the colonial past than Nigeria, where under the principle of Lord Lugard, the first British Governor General, the British used indirect rule operating through local chiefs, leaving them in place. Tanzania had 50,000 or 60,000 English settlers living in the Iringa highlands in the southern central part of the country and in the north near Kenya. Most of the economy was derived from those richer, more experienced farmers. Tanzania was for the most part a subsistence economy, except for cotton and coffee.

Q: What was the nature of the program in that context? What were we trying to do with our $10 million?

SHEAR: The program was in some way structured by our having to undertake projects with a minimum of direct hire staff. We didn't have constraints in terms of bringing in university or private sector contractors, but there was much less managerial capacity in the government of Tanzania. Our program had initially three components. One was to provide Americans as operating personnel within the Tanzanian government, essentially within the Ministry for Public Works. And we had a large contract that annually supplied up to 18 Americans as operational personnel. The $10 million was not a total budget, but a capital program that was pledged. Those

capital projects were focused on roads, water systems and technical and agricultural education.

Q: Before we go to that, what about the operating personnel? What kind of positions did they fill?

SHEAR: The U.S. operating personnel in government positions worked surprisingly well because they were not anomalies. A lot of British were carried over in their positions, so they didn't present as Wazungu (white men, an anomaly) in the Tanzanian Civil Service, although the number of British was declining. In truth, some Americans just replaced the Brits. They were focused in some fairly crucial areas such as transportation, both roads and airports, and they worked very effectively in upgrading the airports. They brought in safety control systems, and certainly modernized the airport in Dar es Salaam. The other projects were in the educational area, and they were reasonably successful. There was an agriculture college in Morogoro, which is very important in Tanzania to this day. And there were educational projects at the university level.

Q: The Agriculture College. Who was working on that?

SHEAR: We had the University of West Virginia working on that, and there was a low level experimental farm and then a high altitude farm. The agricultural college had the advantage of being on the edge of the Ulaguru Mountains, so they could farm both at sea level and at 5,000 feet. Another program funded out of the $10 million was essentially for farm-to-market and feeder roads. We also had a tourist road system which included the Serengeti Park. That gave me a wonderful travel opportunity; it was thrilling to fly over the entire Serengeti in a little chartered airplane from Arusha and land in Seronera in the middle. John Owen, then director of the national parks, had what the Brits call a sundowner: I enjoyed drinks the evening of my first visit with the park personnel, set up on a plain trestle table by a big fire in this encampment in the Serengeti. All around us we could hear the wonderful rolling roar of lions hunting at night.

Q: What we were trying to do with the park?

SHEAR: What we were trying to do, and succeeded quite well, was to build roads on which people could not drive more than 30 miles per hour because of the way they were engineered and graded. Some of the funds were also used for water catchments for the animals. For a fairly modest amount of money (I don't recall the total), we built several hundred miles of tourist roads to access certain areas of the park. We also had a very interesting program there - one of the first joint AID-Peace Corps programs, I think - in which we imported about a million and a half dollars worth of road culverting. We used Peace Corps volunteers to work with local villagers in installing the culverts in critical areas. We used some of the OPEC civil engineers that were assigned to PWD to site the culverts and train Peace Corps members in how they were fit together and laid out. Then Peace Corps volunteers worked with the local people. Some eight or nine thousand miles of roads were improved through the installation of these culverts. The balance of the capital funds applied to really quite good projects, which included putting in water systems for the seven principal Tanzanian towns. As I recall, only two towns had central water systems at that time: Dar es Salaam and Arusha. The others were all local systems. We put in seven water systems at low cost that functioned fairly effectively. We had, on a working level,

really excellent relationships with our Tanzanian counterparts. We found the Tanzanians good to work with; they were competent and extremely open to ideas. Such was not the case, though, with the overall political environment. Julius Nyerere viewed the United States with a good deal of suspicion. Many of his principal advisors early on were East Germans, and he found this very, very comforting to his own sense of Fabian Socialism, which rapidly came to be a form of African Marxist Socialism. The Chinese opened a very large embassy there and had a very large aid program focusing mostly on agriculture and rice production.

At that point in time it was Tanganyika, not Tanzania. Tanganyika and Zanzibar were two distinct states. Both of them were established in 1963 as independent countries. Zanzibar inherited a constitution which was untenable. The Arab minority was given control of the Zanzibar Parliament, and that was indeed a very small minority, comprising only about 15 or 20 percent of the population of the island. There was a great deal of anti-Arab sentiment on the part of the African population there because Zanzibar had been the center of slaving for the entire coast. The last slave sold at market in Zanzibar Town was late in the 1880s.

On a Sunday morning in January 1964, the Africans acted on an established plot to overthrow the government. They did so in a very violent and bloody fashion, driving all the Arab inhabitants from Zanzibar Town, which is the old town, into the harbor where they massacred them. Eight to ten thousand people were killed that Sunday, almost all with knives and machetes. It was a dreadful experience. The American Consulate faced the harbor and the American Consular officer who was there rushed out, tried to help the people and suffered a nervous breakdown. This was a terrible experience for him. The government of Zanzibar was overthrown and a revolutionary council established. That "initiative" was then copied by the armed forces of Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. Within two weeks there was a mutiny in each of those countries inspired by the events in Zanzibar. They were not funded by any outside source that we knew of, certainly at that time. What were exhibited were strictly local uprisings that caught fire throughout East Africa. All three governments were on the edge of being toppled. At that point, the British, at the invitation of the three chiefs of state, intervened and within 48 hours put down the mutiny.

Q: Did we have a program in Zanzibar at that time?

SHEAR: Not at that time. We had a cultural exchange program.

Q: Are there other activities that you recall from that period? You went back to Tanzania later.

SHEAR: Later. Much later.

Q: Much later, but it might be useful for the continuity of this history to cover that period now.

SHEAR: I'll be happy to. In order to give a fuller picture, I'd like to mention something that occurred in Zanzibar at that time. We wanted to establish a program there despite the Revolutionary Council. About a year after the establishment of the Revolutionary Council, Nyerere negotiated the union between the mainland and Zanzibar. Tanganyika became Tanzania. That gave us leave to establish an assistance program in Zanzibar under the "patronage" of

Nyerere.

Q: Why did we want to have a program in Zanzibar?

SHEAR: We wanted some way of combating, if you will, the very 19th century Marxism rampant there. The early advisors to the Zanzibari Revolutionary Council were East Germans and Chinese; not Russians. At that time, we had diplomatic presence there; Frank Carlucci was our Consul General. A message he sent back to the embassy on the mainland dealt with the annual Fourth of July celebration. However, it was taped by the East Germans on the island and modified to appear that he was talking about the importation of arms from the mainland to Zanzibar, and he was declared persona non grata. Just the week before, when he was on the mainland, he had invited me to come to Zanzibar in my little fishing boat. When I asked about gaining entry to the port, he said, "Don't worry, I have a terrific relationship with the government."

Q: What kind of activities were we carrying out?

SHEAR: We were looking at what we could do for Zanzibar that would benefit the population and also have a long-term effect. Our education officer, John Rensinbrink, developed the idea of a technical and vocational school. The Zanzibaris desperately needed to improve their skills because the Arabs had carried on most of the trade and made up most of the artisans and the mechanics on the island. So we negotiated a grant agreement with the government on the mainland and designed a technical school to be located right outside of Zanzibar Town. Construction was begun using a Pakistani contractor from the mainland. However, the Zanzibaris, citing the fact that these were non-Africans, harassed the contractor and workers, finally expelling them all from the site. The project came to a standstill. But then I had the thought of sending one of our own engineers (we had two staff engineers on contract) to Ghana to recruit a Ghanaian firm, because they were then dedicated Marxists. If we could import a good Marxist firm to work on Zanzibar, it would be very difficult for the Zanzibaris to protest. So, using about 40 Ghanaian workers, we completed the school in about a year. Of course, we used local labor as well, but most of the skilled work was provided by Ghanians and one of their own contractors.

Q: Fascinating.

SHEAR: Tom Pickering had taken Carlucci's place on the island and I flew over to Zanzibar on a monthly basis to inspect the school construction.

Q: This was while you were assistant program officer?

SHEAR: Right. Tom would have to come out to the airport to meet me because the Zanzibaris did not want to let me into the country. Each time there was a hassle, and he had to repeatedly negotiate my entry into Zanzibar as if it were a foreign country, even though it was supposed to be part of Tanzania. It was worth it, though. After I left Tanzania, the technical school became operational and is functioning to this day.

Q: Who was operating it then? Who was providing technical assistance?

SHEAR: Six or eight Ghanians stayed on, liaising with our American contractor in Dar for technical knowledge and input. American technicians were not allowed in country to help install the machinery. It became a fairly successful institution.

Q: Do you remember its name?

SHEAR: Yes, it was Zanzibar Technical College. In 1994 I had the opportunity to return to Tanzania for the first time since my departure in 1966. The private company that I'm now with was invited by UNDP to emulate an employment generation program I had started also in the private sector in Senegal. That's a different story, but it explains numerous visits I made in 1994-95, when I had an opportunity to visit Zanzibar and also travel extensively within Tanzania. The contrast in Zanzibar could not be more striking. Liberalization of trade, the removal of government controls, the release of the entrepreneurial spirit which had existed there for centuries was made manifest. Zanzibar is again the bustling port that it was in the 19th century.

Q: What was the motivation for the United States having a program in Tanzania at that time?

SHEAR: There were strong political reasons. Nyerere had been a strong supporter of the anti-apartheid insurgency in South Africa, which was then at a very low level. He gave both material and political support to many refugees coming out of South Africa to the degree that he could, and also granted asylum to the Mozambique revolutionaries. Roberto Monolane, who was the head of FRELIMO, the Mozambique independence movement, was resident in Dar es Salaam. I got to know him and his American wife while we were there. The United States also had, under the aegis of the USAID program, a secondary school at Msasani for education of South African refugees. So Tanzania was a very active center of the freedom movements for Mozambique and for South Africa. It was later to become also a center for Rhodesian freedom fighters after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). That occurred while I was in Tanzania.

The U.S. government mounted in Tanzania an airlift to Broken Hill, Zambia, which permitted the movement of commodities into Zambia, then cut off from oil because of the UDI and the embargo laid on in Rhodesia. Improvements we had put into the Dar es Salaam airport proved invaluable for landing 707s and transporting oil. Daily flights were moving out of Dar es Salaam and into Zambia.

We also began surveying for the Dar es Salaam to Zambia highway. At that time, the Chinese made a commitment to the Dar es Salaam/Zambia railroad (TANZAM). I happened to be in the office of my friend, the Principal Secretary for Public Works, when he received word that the Chinese Ambassador had just informed President Nyerere that the Chinese had approved a massive program to build the railroad. This was seen as a huge coup for the Chinese, and of tremendous economic benefit to the Tanzanians. They did not know at that time, however, that some 12,000 Chinese were to arrive in Tanzania to do most of the work, and there was initially very little economic benefit. Mr. M'suya, the Principal Secretary, informed me quite openly of this development that day, so I was the first American to inform the Embassy, which then notified the State Department in Washington.

The government from time to time would also mount anti-American campaigns. Nyerere would take to the radio, accusing missionaries of plotting to overthrow the government and the Peace Corps of being in cahoots with them. On two occasions, there were actually U.S. naval vessels off the coast ready to take us off if conditions got worse. Those were very tense times. Tanzanian friends would say to us "We've been told not to have anything to do with you socially. If we don't acknowledge you on the street, it's not because we don't like you." There were informers everywhere. It was the beginning of a very subtle kind of police state by Nyerere. It was really very repressive in terms of any real civil liberties and freedom of speech.

Q: But we were maintaining a program?

SHEAR: We were maintaining a program, a fairly modest one with two modified objectives. One was to maintain a presence - exhibiting development value - within the country. The other was to provide a political beachhead in a relatively hostile political environment. We also saw Tanzania as important to the East African Federation.

You may recall that at this time, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania shared common services - telephone, telegraph, postal, railroad and airline. East African Airways was probably the only airline in all of Africa making a profit; it was well run. Much of our program was designed to support the federation. We had a substantial program at Makerere University, Uganda, which was the largest of the universities in East Africa. Each of those institutions had many components that were regional in nature, but were tied into one another. We supported the East African common services with administration and management, and some of the regional telecommunications and transport services.

Unfortunately, we encouraged the East African Union to move toward further regionalizing other functions. The East African Union finally broke apart over an issue which we strongly supported, erroneously, which was to bring about some kind of rationalization of foreign investment, so that Uganda would receive one kind of investment, Kenya another and Tanzania yet another. It became a wedge in what was a reasonably well functioning set of services between the three states. That was another reason why we had a program in each of those countries. We saw the three countries as being important as a southern bulwark with Ethiopia, as a way of damping the radical fervor in Tanzania, and as a means of providing stability for southern African liberation movements.

Q: Why was it a wedge in the regional cooperation?

SHEAR: Because it became a very divisive element. The governments could not agree on selecting certain sectors in industrial development for themselves. They all wanted everything. And so, except for Kenya, all got very little.

Q: But we were pushing that idea?

SHEAR: We were pushing that idea very strongly. We also, in a programmatic sense, shot ourselves in the foot (although that's a terrible metaphor), because, at that point in 1966, the last

year I was there, we came forward with two major constraints to operating the AID program. One was that a special letter of credit had to be issued for funding local costs. All such expenditures had to be offset by documentation relating to importing goods from the United States.

Q: Why was that?

SHEAR: Because of concern on the part of the Johnson Administration with the balance of payments in the United States. The administration imposed a number of restrictions, trying to constrain the outflow of U.S. dollars.

Q: Didn't you meet Nyerere at about that time? What was your impression?

SHEAR: I had met him before, and while I found him to be enormously charismatic, I became increasingly disenchanted with him as a political leader. I always had very affable meetings with him. Among his political counselors was an exceptional English woman - a true Fabian Socialist of the 19th century. When we talked I was very careful not to talk about the political context of the program.

Q: What could you garner about his views from that these meetings?

SHEAR: My encounters with him were not long discussions, but it was quite clear from my conversations with him and then from his policies that he had an enormous mistrust of the private sector. In capitalism he saw reflections of the colonial past. To him the path of independence, true independence, was really along Socialist lines. He began to organize all the food stores as national outlets, tried to discourage the foreign merchant population and forced a lot of Indians to move, although publicly espousing Indians as citizens of Tanzania should they desire to become so. He made it extremely difficult for them and forced many out. There was one extraordinarily competent Indian, Eihir Jamal, who was a very effective Minister for Finance, but then became increasingly constrained in that role and took instead an Ambassadorship. Nyerere was also very much preoccupied by Zanzibar. He had taken Zanzibar into his fold as a way of controlling the revolutionary fervor there, but the island was always a thorn in his side.

Q: Did you see any evidence of the ideas that came out of the Arusha Declaration and the consolidation activities?

SHEAR: Yes, it was evident in the concept of "Ujamaa." Ujamaa was discussed before the Arusha Declaration.

Q: What is Ujamaa?

SHEAR: Ujamaa is essentially the sharing of all property so that no one person should own property as such. It is an attempt to have a wholly proletarian society, without any class distinctions whatsoever. It denies the validity of personal property, which is only a manifestation of greed. Perhaps I'm overstating it, but not by much. It was a profoundly idealistic and

unrealistic view of society. African societies are usually built around modestly materialistic and strong spiritual belief systems. Even within a deeply spiritual culture, there was nothing in most African societies that denied the importance of material possessions.

Q: Wasn't the property common, under the control of the chief, or is that not that pattern there?

SHEAR: The access to land was under the control of the chief. So in that sense property was communally held. However, all women when they got married had their own shamba, which is Swahili for farm. So they had access to resources, and that was very important for them. After the Arusha Declaration their access to these independent farms was denied. So, ironically, the position of women declined substantially in the society, and they became much more susceptible to the whims of their husbands. Having their own shamba at the time of their marriage had been part of their wedding agreement, their dowry. Ujamaa also limited the influence of the coastal Arabs, who were traders in a long historical pattern. It was a way of trying to make Tanzania more African and less Arabic.

Nyerere moved people out of the city and back to their villages in a most brutal manner. People would be rounded up by the police, loaded in trucks and driven back to where they had come from - often a couple hundred miles. Still, the idea of a people being moved to different sites for settlement was not an obvious one when I was there.

Q: Any other observations on Tanzania at that time?

SHEAR: Part of the anti-American feeling fostered by Nyerere was related to U.S. activities in Vietnam, which were then growing in scope. Nyerere viewed this as U.S. imperialism, and I sensed real mistrust of our motives in Africa. That mistrust of capitalism in the private sector was exacerbated by U.S. military interventions in Southeast Asia. Nyerere also had a very close association at that time with the president of Algeria. The Algerians exerted a lot of influence on Nyerere. Dar es Salaam was a passage point for many South Africans moving to Algeria for both training and more regular forms of education.

Q: This was all before Nyerere became a favorite African leader among the donor community.

SHEAR: The Swedes were just beginning activities in Tanzania; the Nordic countries had substantial rural development programs, but they were in the very early stages.

Q: You finished up in Tanzania in what year?

SHEAR: I left Tanzania in 1966.

BERNARD FRANCIS COLEMAN
Assistant Cultural Affairs Officer, USIS
Dar es Salaam (1964-196?)

Branch Public Affairs Officer, USIS
Zanzibar (196?-1966?)

Bernard Francis Coleman was born in Washington, DC in 1913. He graduated from West Virginia State College in 1935, served in the US Navy, and worked extensively in public schooling including as principal in schools in Africa. Coleman joined the Foreign Service and served in post primarily in Africa in addition to serving as ambassador-in-residence in the US. Coleman was interviewed by James T. Dandridge, II in 2001.

COLEMAN: I'll tell you right now. I was expelled because I had made too many friends in Zanzibar when the Chinese were there. I had a tail of three people following me the whole time I was there. And wherever I would go I would see Sosalli, Salli or So, and I would speak to him. Karume (the president) liked me and I had gotten a trip for his wife on our exchange program to go to the United States. She had been to Russia, she had been to Moscow, I mean to China.

Karume was [the] president of Zanzibar. Nyerere was the president of Tanzania. I went to Nairobi, then to Kampala. They had a coup on the day after I got there, so they transferred me up to Sudan. And I was just getting tired of being floating, so... When I got expelled... I have to backtrack a little bit. When the President told me that he called Tom Pickering and me in one day and sitting there (pointing) is the president, and I could kick him. And sitting there (pointing) was Tom Pickering, and over there (pointing) is 25 wild men. That was the Revolutionary Council, with guns in their belts. Crazy people.

So the president would not speak to me in English. He spoke to Tom in Swahili and accused me of subverting the youth of the island. I had motion pictures of boxing brought in. I had boxing gloves sent to me. I had movies every Friday night in my place. They would not let me go out in the big field; I had to do it right in my property. And the Chinese would be waving banners on their movie. And I got shoot-em-ups, I got a 007 (James Bond movies), and I got everybody coming.

That day, the first day, they accused me of giving these cards out to the kids. So, the minister of education, who was an Arab, jumped up and said I had given out three hundred to five hundred of these cards. And I said, "Mr. President, your minister is in error. I haven't given out five hundred. I have given out a thousand of them. You want 'em [them]?" And he said, "Yes" in English, "Send them to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs." So we left. As I sat there and talked to him, and listened to him talk to Tom in Swahili, I looked at his feet. He had on odd socks. And I came out of there laughing. And I said, "Tom, we ought to get that man some socks."

Two weeks later he sent for us again. He's there, Tom's there, and I am here and nobody there. Not a soul.

Q: No Revolutionary Council.

COLEMAN: No Revolutionary Council and he said in a quiet manner, "Mr. Coleman, you got to leave the Island." I said, "What did I do?" He said, "Nothing. I lost in the power struggle last

night. I had to give up somebody, so I had to sacrifice you." I said, "Okay, Mr. President, if that's your wish." I said, "We can get by that." We left there and Tom was with me all the way. Tom went in and started sending cables. He sent Rusk a cable, Rusk sent a cable back, "Keep Coleman there as an example." Coleman to Rusk, "Get me out of here." Nyerere to Rusk, "Coleman has done nothing wrong. He can work in Dar es Salaam." Coleman to Rusk, "Get me out of here." I asked the President when did I have to leave. They usually give 24 hours to get the hell out of there.

They gave Frank Carlucci 24 hours to get the hell out of there. He was expelled that's why I was there. Frank Carlucci and Gordon. Frank was there, I think he was the consul there. It had been a consulate general there until the Revolution, then he downgraded it. So Frank and Gordon got on the telephone one day. Soapy Williams had sent a cable, a letter, rather, to the embassy for delivery to Karume and they were having some kind of big celebration and they wanted to do it on this day. They were going to give him the letter celebrating and congratulations. And the letter got there late. So, Gordon picked up the phone and called Carlucci. "Frank, we missed the president" and this is actually what they were saying, "we missed the president today and we're sorry about that but we'll have more ammunition the next time."

It was reported and they got 24 hours to go in there to leave Dar es Salaam and, I put Carlucci on the plane. We all went in to the airport you know, and put him on the plane, so that's how Frank Carlucci got expelled from Zanzibar if he didn't know (why) he was expelled from Zanzibar.

Q: I didn't know that.

COLEMAN: And they sent in Tom because there was a little bastard of a consul there. No, Tom came in before that and Tom stayed and he ran a shop by himself. They then cut out USIA over there as I understand but I got some pictures of what I did. I built a place for USIA that had a presence right on the playing field, right out there, where you could see it and I had an excellent thing. I sent the pictures to Washington; they knew I was doing a good job, so that's how I got expelled.

There was another consul there, I can't recall his name. He became ambassador later on in life. And he was transferred some place else and Tom Pickering came in. Tom Pickering was fluent in Swahili and he was a tall well-liked fellow and he moves very easily among the powers that be in Zanzibar. Of course at that time the Chinese were running everything and the Revolutionary Council thought they were but, the Chinese were actually running things.

So Tom and I became quite close. And we shared secrets together and we didn't hide anything from one another. When time came to go, Tom had a sense that the president was going to expel somebody so he came to me and said, "Barney, the president wants to see us on Tuesday 11.00 o'clock over at the Palace." So on Tuesday at 11.00 o'clock we showed up and there's the president waiting for us. The scenario was, the president sat facing me looking into the Indian Ocean; on my left was Tom Pickering in a chair by himself; and on my right was 25 wild men. I call them "wild men;" they were the Revolutionary Council.

Everybody had a gun stuck in his belt, everybody wanted to know they were important and the

president would not speak to me in English, he spoke to Tom Pickering in Swahili and Tom translated for me. And he said, “Mr. Coleman, you are accused of subverting the youth of this island.” I said, “What did I do, Mr. President?” And he said to Tom in Swahili, “He gave out some cards.” Well, I had a library there and it was quite active. It was right on the main playing field and so people passed it all the time and they would come to get books. In order to get a book you had to have a card, a signature card, so the librarian could give you a book and know where to find you when you didn’t return the book.

So, I said, “May I see the card, Mr. President” and he received the card from me. The Minister of Education, he was an Arab and he said, “Mr. President, he has given out 500 of these cards” and I looked at the card turning it over and saw it was one of mine. I said, “Mr. President, your minister’s in error. I didn’t give out 500 of those cards.” He said, “How many did you give out?” I said, “A thousand. You want them?” And he said in English, “Yes, take them and give them to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.” I said, “Anything else, Sir?” He said, “No, thank you for coming.” And Tom and I got up and walked out. And before leaving, (something) significant about that meeting was the President sat in front of me and I was astonished to see that the man had on odd socks. And I took him (Tom) outside and I told Tom, “Did you notice the president’s socks?” He said, “No.” I said, “We need to get (to) the (US) Ambassador Leonard to get him some socks, a dozen pair of interwoven socks.” So that blew over.

Two weeks later Tom Pickering said to me, “Barney, we got to go see the president again.” “I know he’s going to throw me out this time,” I said to Tom. “He doesn’t want to throw you out,” he said, “he wouldn’t dare throw you out.” I said, “Why?” He said, “Because you’re black, they wouldn’t throw you out.” I said, “You want a bet?” So we got there and the same scenario, the president sitting and looking into the ocean. I’m looking at the president on the wall and Tom on my left but on the right there was nobody and the president addressed us in a quiet tone. “Mr. Coleman, you got to leave the island.” I said, “What did I do, Mr. President?” He said, “You’ve done absolutely nothing. I like you. I can trust you but some of them wild men with them Chinese behind them decided that you’re ready to go. You meet too many people on this island, so you have to leave.” I said, “Thank you, Mr. President. How much time do I have?” He said, ”When you get through with your work.” I said, “No 24 hours?” He said, “No, whenever you feel that you are through with your work, you leave.” Well, I was through with my work. Consciously, I was through with my work at that moment. But a week and a half later I left the island and there was no 24 hours.

Incidentally, one of the things that I think contributed to my exile was that I’d gotten a trip for the president’s wife to the United States of America. She had been to Moscow, she had been to China. Now, I wanted her to see the United States and Ambassador Leonard pushed it through and I got a trip for her to go to the United States. I put her on the plane in Kenya. I promised her I would put her on the plane to the States and I put her on the plane in Kenya. And, when she stepped out the plane in Chicago, she is looking at my wife; my wife had that whole trip planned for her. Everything she wanted to do or wherever she wanted to go had been planned for her, and she took care of it and so it was a success and that’s how I know about Carlucci and Tom Pickering.

FRANK CHARLES CARLUCCI III
Principal Officer, Consul General
Zanzibar (1964-1965)

Ambassador Frank Carlucci was born in Pennsylvania, graduated from Princeton University, after which he served in the US Navy. After a year at Harvard Business School, in 1956 he joined the Department of State. Before his tenure as Ambassador to Portugal from 1975 to 1978, Mr. Carlucci served in a number of posts abroad, including Johannesburg, Leopoldville and Rio de Janeiro. His career includes several high level assignments at the Department of State in Washington. He was interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy in 1996 and 1997.

Q: What had been the situation in Zanzibar that led to the previous expulsion?

CARLUCCI: Zanzibar had become independent in 1964. We had a consul, Fritz Picard was his name, who has since died. The Africans rose up and slaughtered the Arabs because the Arabs had been running the place. They drove a number of them right into the sea. They took over but they had a decided communist tinge. A lot of the Africans had been trained at the Patrice Lumumba University.

Q: Now what was the situation in between Zanzibar and Tanganyika at that time?

CARLUCCI: They were independent countries.

Q: Two independent countries.

CARLUCCI: Two independent countries. It was later, in fact it at least partly our design, I think it was Bill Leonhart's idea as a matter of fact, that Tanganyika swallow up Zanzibar as a way of getting rid of the communist influence in Zanzibar. And eventually that proved to work, but it took time.

Q: Well, why were we pressing to develop or resume relations with this rather small, little island nation?

CARLUCCI: There was a lot of the focus on it. It was being called the African Cuba. But we also had a NASA [National Aeronautics and Space Administration] tracking station in Zanzibar which NASA at least thought was quite important. When I got to Zanzibar, I concluded that it was hopeless and we would have to dismantle the tracking station.

Q: What was it that in your estimate… In the first place, how did these negotiations go with Zanzibar? What was your role, what were the contacts like?

CARLUCCI: Well, the contacts, there were multiple channels. Basically, sometimes using the British, sometimes working with other African countries, or sometimes using Tanganyika to get

in touch with the Zanzibaris. Eventually, Amani Abeid Karume, who was president, agreed that we could come back in.

Q: What was the rationality from their point of view to bring us back in?

CARLUCCI: I can't really answer that. I assume they didn't want to be totally isolated from the western world. Karume himself was not a communist. The government under him was basically communist and Karume was not a very sophisticated man (He was later assassinated.). He had a certain amount of good will toward the west. I assume that eventually he prevailed, allowing us to come back in. One of the reasons that I think I got kicked out was that I managed to develop a good relationship with Karume. Karume spoke very little English and at one point I asked him what I could do to develop better relations with Zanzibar. He said learn Swahili, so I set to work and learned it. I was the only senior diplomat on the island who could converse with him in Swahili and he loved that. So we had a very good relationship.

Q: Well when you arrived there in early '64, what was the situation from your perspective on the island?

CARLUCCI: It was pretty chaotic. People would be thrown in jail left and right. Asians sometimes literally were whipped in the streets. Mosques had been invaded and people killed. All land had been nationalized. The British club became the people's club, which was advantageous to me because tennis balls then became free and I was the only westerner left who played tennis. I found [locals] who could play with me.

There was just a lot of hostility toward the West. The Soviets and the Chinese flooded the place. There were well over a 100 Soviets attached to their embassy and the East Germans had a very significant presence. All doctors had fled except one female Asian doctor. The only doctors on the island were East German. We had a North Vietnamese embassy. We had a North Korean embassy and a very substantial Chinese communist presence, hardly matched by a very small British and American presence. I think there were three of us, a vice consul, one other officer, and a secretary or two. A very small British presence and that was it as far as the West was concerned.

Q: To me, one of enigmas is the large Chinese, at that time called Communist Chinese, presence in Africa which seemed to often have quite large missions and they were doing things, and yet I haven't heard anybody say it had any particular influence as far as getting involved. What was your impression in Zanzibar?

CARLUCCI: My impression was that the lead country for the Communists was East Germany. They had the most influence. They had a young, attractive ambassador, although the Soviets sent one of their most senior ambassadors. He had been ambassador to Canada. I think clearly the Soviets and the East Germans exercised more influence than the Chinese.

Q: Were the East Germans heavily into the security side as far as secret police and that sort of thing, because that seemed to be their specialty?

CARLUCCI: Yes, they got into that and they got into the media and the education system. They were building houses. Some of their projects turned out to be disasters. I managed to get one small aid project going. I built a school which I'm told is still functioning in Zanzibar today.

Q: With the expulsion of the Arabs, I would have thought that this would have been a disaster for the economy in Africa. Had the Arabs been sort of the merchant class and that type of thing?

CARLUCCI: The economy essentially was closed-tourism and some small trade. The economy spiraled down, such as it was. It wasn't a very significant economy to start with. They just planned to live on aid from the then Soviet Bloc.

Q: Did you have any problems getting the small aid project rolling?

CARLUCCI: Oh, yes. I had difficulty getting it accepted. Once again the President had agreed to it and he actually, as I recall, came out and dedicated the school which was fairly major event because we couldn't get anybody even to attend our Fourth of July party. One of my neighbors, a minister named Jumbe, who later became vice president, had a tendency to drink a bit and one night he came over to my house. No sooner did he come in than the police arrived and essentially told him to get out. We were pretty much isolated. We were socially ostracized. Virtually every Sunday there would be a demonstration against me. I would get my tear gas [mask] and my beer and I'd go to the embassy and watch the demonstrators. They would go around the block about three or four times to exaggerate the numbers. Sometimes I'd go down and mix with them as they were getting ready to demonstrate.

Q: Was there any focus or was there just…?

CARLUCCI: Anti-American. It got serious when the Belgians sent paratroopers into Stanleyville.

Q: This is Dragon Rouge?

CARLUCCI: Yes. That's the one time the demonstration got quite serious. By then we had had some Tanganyika police on the island. They managed to keep the demonstrators from breaking into the embassy. I guess it was then a consulate general because technically we had merged with Tanganyika. That demonstration by the way was led by the chief of protocol.

Q: *How did this…Let's talk first about the NASA station. It was a space monitoring station was it? Had it been running during the time that we had no relations with the country?*

CARLUCCI: No, I think it had been shut down temporarily. There were some NASA people-I'm not even sure if the NASA people stayed, they may have been evacuated. It was essentially dormant when I got there. To get back to the aura of your question, the only reason Zanzibar was important was U.S. domestic politics. I can remember before I left, Averell Harriman, who was Under Secretary of State, called me in and gave me essentially two instructions; get the NASA tracking station back in operation and to make sure that Zanzibar was not a political embarrassment to President Johnson during the campaign. Those were two difficult tasks.

Q: Was Zanzibar at all on the political map? Did you have correspondence coming in?

CARLUCCI: Oh, yes. There was quite a bit of press about the "African Cuba." It had become, I don't want to say it was a major story, but it had become at least a significant story in the U.S. press.

Q: Were you able to do anything about that or…?

CARLUCCI: Well, there was eventually, as I said, we merged with Tanganyika and the situation moderated, but that was over a period of time. During the first year, it was pretty chaotic. We didn't manage to score any major victory, I guess I'd have to say although it was clear that our influence was increasing as time wore on. To the extent that our influence increased, the Soviets and Chinese influence decreased and I was warned that they were going to try and get me.

Q: Was there a Soviet fleet presence there? If I recall, about this time, this was not too long after the Cuban Missile Crisis which was '62 and the Soviets really didn't have a very major fleet.

CARLUCCI: No, there was no Soviet fleet there.

Q: I mean it was really in the '70s when the Blue Seas Navy was developed.

CARLUCCI: No, it was really a civilian presence but they would spread scare stories. I can remember one time being called off the tennis court by the President of the country who said to me, "There's an American submarine surfacing in our waters. Get it out of here." Of course there was no American submarine.

Q: How would you conduct…What would a day's work be there for you when you say you were pretty well quarantined against most contacts?

CARLUCCI: The ministers would receive me in their offices and I had pretty good access to the President. When I asked to call on the President, invariably they would agree and I used to have some fairly good and lengthy conversations with him. Essentially, my time was spent providing political analysis, observing what was going on, establishing as many contacts as I could, talking to my colleagues in the British embassy, talking to the Israeli consul general, seeing what they had found. I also had some contact with the Soviets. The Soviet ambassador became quite friendly. I remember he brought my daughter one of those Soviet dolls. And I spent a fair amount of time, at least in the early portion of my stay, learning Swahili.

Q: When you were having these conversations with the President, what were the subjects?

CARLUCCI: Trying to reassure him of our desire for a mutually beneficial relationship and to convince him that a lot of the stories that he'd been reading about us were not accurate. I talked to him about ways in we could help Zanzibar, working with him on the school project. Essentially, trying to regain their confidence because there were a lot of misleading and inaccurate stories that had been spread about the United States.

Q: What about relations with Tanganyika? Did you go over there fairly frequently?

CARLUCCI: Yes, I did. I never looked forward to the trip because the only way of getting over was a 1930, I think it was a '30s DeHavilland aircraft, which could hold about four or five people. The pilot, I remember, would pull out his novel the minute the wheels got off the ground, which was always a bit disconcerting.

Q: Did you play any part, or our embassy in Tanganyika play any part, in this merger of Zanzibar and Tanganyika into Tanzania?

CARLUCCI: The answer to that is yes. I'm not sure exactly how Bill Leonhart did it, but clearly he played a significant role in it. Whether he convinced Julius Nyerere on a one to one basis or whether there were other channels that were used, I can't say because I was not party to those conversations. But I knew that Bill broached the idea to me long before it happened so there's something that was germinating at least through our embassy in Tanganyika.

Q: What were you reporting from the Zanzibar side as far as you saw through receptivity of the people on Zanzibar to this greater merger?

CARLUCCI: I think it was a mixed bag. The Communists were not favorable to it. They saw it as loss of authority for them. Karume was very much in favor of it. I think it was seen as a threat by the Revolutionary Council. Those were the days where African unity was very important. You could not argue with the idea of African unity. It was a hard concept for them to argue against.

Q: As far as being in Zanzibar itself, was this a subject you could raise at all or was this something that almost better if you didn't raise this?

CARLUCCI: I can't recall whether I actually raised it. If I did, the only one that I could have talked to about it would have been the President. Certainly none of the Communist ministers had any kind of dialogue with me on that subject.

Q: What about the Soviets and the Chinese? Were they involved in this trying to stop this thing or were they…?

CARLUCCI: Not overtly. What they did behind the scenes I can't say. Clearly they were involved in getting me and Bob Gordon expelled.

Q: Did you notice any difference when Zanzibar and Tanganyika became Tanzania? You were there during the initial stages of the amalgamation?

CARLUCCI: Yes. I went from being chargé to being consul general.

Q: Did you notice how the amalgamation was working at that point?

CARLUCCI: Well, very slowly. We virtually couldn't feel any effects in Zanzibar, other than as I mentioned earlier we finally negotiated getting some Tanganyika policemen into Zanzibar. This was the first tangible presence. The island was very unwilling to give up its de facto independence.

Q: Could you do a little compare and contrast between the way things were run in Zanzibar while you were there and what you'd seen in the former Belgian Congo?

CARLUCCI: Well, there was a certain similarity obviously. There was initial hostility toward the west but in the case of the Congo, there had not been the kind of thorough Communist penetration that you'd had in Zanzibar. The Congolese didn't know what communism was, although some of our politicians, particularly Senator Dodd, called them Communists - Senator Tom Dodd, not Chris Dodd, the son. The Zanzibaris, a lot of them, had been to school in Moscow or in Beijing. They were much more sophisticated in their approach. Both situations were chaotic of course. I suppose the Congo might have been slightly more dangerous. We regarded Zanzibar as not particularly dangerous, although some people were killed. Of course during the revolution, a great number were killed.

Q: The similarity is the extreme nationalism and the anti-western overtones.

CARLUCCI: They were more explicit in Zanzibar than they were in the Congo. Zanzibar at least had a resolution. The Congo has never found its resolution.

Q: You were seeing the products of the Soviet training of Communists. Did you find that the people coming out of then named Lumumba University in the Soviet Union were pretty fairly indoctrinated?

CARLUCCI: Oh, yes. The big thing was the young pioneers, which was East Germany. I can remember large numbers of Zanzibaris being taken to East Germany and coming back as young pioneers in uniforms. Indoctrination was pretty thorough. Lumumba University hadn't really been established when I was in the Congo. By the time I got to Zanzibar, it was in full swing and there were large numbers of Zanzibaris, way out of proportion to their population, going to places like East Germany and Moscow and Beijing to study.

Q: Did you find any, were there any, Tanganyikan officials starting to drift over that you could talk to?

CARLUCCI: No. Not outside of the police. Even then I didn't have much contact. There was a Zanzibari police chief that I could talk to. He was not totally hostile to the West, but he was subsequently removed. While I was there, you could not feel much Tanganyikan presence.

Q: How did you expulsion come about?

CARLUCCI: Bob Gordon and I were having a phone conversation. This is about January of '65. We were discussing a message of congratulations on the second anniversary of the revolution. We did something very foolish.

Q: Where were you calling from?

CARLUCCI: I was in Zanzibar. And Bob Gordon was the DCM in Dar Es Salaam, Bill Leonhart's deputy. We started to double talk, which you should never do; it's easily decipherable. We started talking about the anniversary of the revolution and shouldn't we send a message, meaning a message of congratulations. Bob said, "Well, they are very reluctant in Washington and you will need more ammunition" meaning a stronger argument to make our case. I said, "I want to come over and discuss this."
I flew over and I was at the home of Jack Mower, one of our embassy officials. He had the radio on and the radio announced that Bob Gordon and I had been expelled.

Bill Leonhart went to Nyerere and said, "What's this all about?"

Nyerere said, "We have a tape of this conversation." And when Nyerere described it, it was obvious the tape had been doctored in some way to make it appear that we were plotting to overthrow the government of Zanzibar.

I went to see Karume, who even under those circumstances received me. He said this was wrong and should not happen. It was the Tanzanian government now that had expelled me, not the Zanzibar government. He said he'd call Nyerere, but there was nothing much more he could do. There seemed to be no alternative, so I left. A number of years later, I was at a reception at the State Department. A big Russian came up and almost swept me off my feet and said, "Don't you remember me?"

I said, "I'm not sure."

He said, Well, I'm so and so. I was the Tass correspondent in Zanzibar when you were there."

I said, "Then maybe you can satisfy my curiosity. Who was it that plotted my expulsion and doctored the tape. Was it you Soviets or the East Germans?"

He said, "Oh, we were all in it together."

Q: It's interesting though that Nyerere got into this because he certainly must have…

CARLUCCI: Well, apparently somebody took the tape to the cabinet and played it for the entire cabinet. Of course the more radical members of the cabinet, insisted that we be expelled. What position Nyerere took in that cabinet meeting I don't know to this day. Don Peterson, who was my vice consul, later became ambassador to Tanzania. He told me that he had a conversation with Nyerere, this is years later, and Nyerere said they had made a mistake and that I was welcome to come back. But I don't know what transpired in that Cabinet meeting. I thought my career was at an end that day.

ROBERT C. F. GORDON
Deputy Chief of Mission
Dar es Salaam (1964-1965)

Ambassador Robert Gordon was born and raised in Colorado and educated at the University of California. He joined the Department of State in 1950, becoming a Foreign Service Officer in 1954. His Washington assignments include a tour with the Department's Executive Secretariat and with the Bureau of Near East, South Asia and African Affairs. His first overseas post was Baghdad, Iraq, after which he served in Sudan, Tanzania and Florence, Italy. He was appointed Ambassador to Mauritius in 1980, where he served until 1983. He was interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy in 1989

Q: *I would like to move to your appointment as Deputy Chief of Mission, the DCM in Dar es Salaam. Was it called Tanzania in those days?*

GORDON: It became Tanzania while I was there.

Q: *In the first place, what was the country called at the time?*

GORDON: It was Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Tanganyika had been its name clear back in the 19th century. I agree with you, we're way over the time, but probably the most fascinating, important work I did was in Personnel, the three or four tours I had in it. But it's nothing, basically, for overseas.

Q: *What was the situation in Tanganyika at the time?*

GORDON: As I say, in the spring of 1964 it had become Tanzania and had united with Zanzibar. And we had an office in Zanzibar comprised of two officers, Frank Carlucci, who has gone on to great fame since then. And the other one was a fellow by the name of Donald Peterson, who is the current ambassador to Dar es Salaam. That was a subordinate post since it was a consulate reporting through Dar es Salaam.

I arrived there in June and was out in January, and also out three weeks in the London Hospital for Tropical Diseases, so I didn't spend an awful lot of time there. I just barely got myself oriented where I started producing something when the ambassador was called in by the President who told him that Frank and I were declared persona non grata and we had 24 hours to get out of town. Never gave any reason or anything, which you don't have to do.

And one of my ambitions has always been to find out exactly what the reason was. We found out through a quirk that they had tapped the telephones and were listening to conversations I had with Carlucci. He would phone me or I would phone him back and forth just keeping in touch on things. And we had a long discussion a couple days before we were declared PNG. He had called me and said the Independence Day Anniversary of Zanzibar was coming up. I said yes. He said, "I'd like to do something. Some message of some kind."

I said, "Don't forget it's now Tanzania. It's no longer Tanganyika and Zanzibar. It's Tanzania." I said, "I want to move fairly slowly on this." I said, "Let's wait and see what Nigeria, Ghana, Great Britain, Members of the Commonwealth, let's see what the members of the Commonwealth countries do about this type of thing, whether they are going to send a message or not. And if they do, then that will give us the ammunition we need to go back to Washington and maybe get a message out of Soapy Williams or somebody." Now at that time we weren't aware that our lines were being tapped. Now, a few days later we were declared PNG and no reason given.

Many theories of why. One was the fact that I had used the word ammunition with Frank and, theoretically, it was interpreted that Frank and I had plotted against the Government of Zanzibar behind the ambassador's back through direct contacts with CIA. Joe Palmer at that time was Director General and he sent a big rocket around to every post in the Foreign Service saying to be very, very careful when using slang. This and that could be misinterpreted and so forth. Giving credence to the fact that that was the real reason.

Well, baloney. I never had believed that. I still don't know. I can remember when I was going out as ambassador to Mauritius. I went over to CIA for the usual briefings. Frank Carlucci, at that time, was Deputy Director of CIA. I went up and had a cup of coffee with him. I said, "Frank, now that you've got this job, find out what the hell was the reason." He said, "I've never been completely satisfied, either. And I can tell you there's not much here because one of the first curiosity files I poked into was that one."

About two years ago, three years ago, I got a letter from Frank telling me that he had met a very high Soviet official at a reception. And this Soviet official told him that they had set us up on this and that they had fiddled with the tape of what we said and didn't say. I remember Nyerere, the President of Tanzania, said to our ambassador, "Well, they used a word which I think is a very insulting word and they think I wouldn't know that word." And the word was -- whatever the word was. I couldn't repeat the word now and it had no meaning to us. So that made me feel that those guys had been fiddling with the tape, too. Anyway, this may be the answer, that the Russians set us up.

Q: *A disinformation campaign.*

GORDON: Yes. The early days of it.

Q: *What was your impression of President Nyerere?*

GORDON: Of course, when we were there he was the great intellect in both the African independence movement and the movement of "we will correct all of our ills with a well-organized socialist directed society." And, of course, we see that that brought him to no good. It helped ruin what agricultural base they had in the first place. I didn't have too much of an impression except I knew he was very highly thought of.

He was a great pain in the neck already to the United States. But he was somebody we had to work with and he could be very helpful because he had an enormous amount of influence with

other black African leaders. He was so revered as the great father and so on, and so forth. And I understand that he at one time was trying to be very helpful as one of the front line states in the Namibia-Angola-South African negotiations that have just come to fruition in the last months or so.

JOHN HUMMON
Program Officer, Assistant Director for Programs, USAID
Dar es Salaam (1964-1966).

John Hummon was born in 1930 in Ohio. He graduated from Albion College in 1953 and later earned an MA and PhD from the University of Michigan. Mr. Hummon began work at the Agency for International Development in 1960 and worked in Tanzania, Nigeria, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and as the Mission Director in Botswana. He was interviewed by W. Haven North in 1999.

Q: What was your impression of the political and economic situation in Tanzania when you arrived?

HUMMON: When we first arrived it was heartening. Tanzania (then Tanganyika) was considered as the great (pun intended) white hope of Africa in many respects at that time. It was a country that was given special attention. We had, I forget the specifics, but we had a special multi-year commitment that was made...

Q: Long range assistance strategy commitment

HUMMON: Right. It was one of the few countries in Africa where this was done. Nyerere was considered a great leader and hopefully the wave of the future in Africa.

Q: Why was it singled out as being so unusual compared to other countries?

HUMMON: Partly just because it was independent. There were many African countries that still weren't independent. I think Nkrumah and Ghana had been considered in somewhat similar fashion earlier. His luster had paled by that point. Nyerere also seemed to have a vision of change and helping the poor and bringing about a better life for all people. The commitment to him was made during the Kennedy administration. There was much infatuation on the part of the White House with Nyerere and what he stood for. So it was a combination of factors.

Q: What was the program at that time?

HUMMON: It was small (not small by African standards, but by worldwide standards), and directed primarily in education and training areas and agriculture. It was a technical assistance program with a few supporting capital projects - construction of institutions and roads. It was a solid effort. We had assistance in construction and development of the Changombe Teacher Training College, a technical training college in Zanzibar and the Morogoro Agricultural

College. We were involved in participant training.

Tanzania had a large Peace Corps program. This was one of the first Peace Corps programs in the world. They said it was either there or Ghana. We were the predecessor in a sense of the more active AID/Peace Corps cooperation that has taken place in the last several years. My brother Norman happened to be the Deputy Director of the Peace Corps contingent in Tanzania for most of the time that I was there, and we worked together. USAID provided funds for some Peace Corps activities.

Q: What are you referring to when you say, "This was it?"

HUMMON: During the time that I was there, the luster that I talked about concerning Tanzania didn't vanish, but it was marred considerably by a Zanzibar revolution, a communist revolution in Zanzibar in which killed thousands of Arabs were killed. The minority Arabs had been the ruling elite on the island. After the revolution, Zanzibar and Tanganyika came together into the United Republic of Tanzania. This revolution changed the coloration of Tanzanian politics from a sort of pro-western neutrality which had been the pattern in the initial days after independence. There came to be a suspicion of things American. It was a difficult time. You could see relations change. I can't think of the name of the man whom I dealt with most of the time, who was the head of foreign assistance coordination for the government of Tanzania. He continued to be helpful and cooperative. But relations cooled in a political sense.

Q: Did you understand why...?

HUMMON: You mean, why there was a revolution?

Q: No, why there was a change...

HUMMON: These were Maoist type communists who engendered the revolution in Zanzibar. This was the social and political orthodoxy that they espoused and so there was a hatred of the United States. There was also hatred of the Arabs who had been in control on the island for so long. The revolutionaries had a tremendous influence upon Nyerere and those who were on the mainland. A sort of a compromise was worked out in a new United Republic of Tanzania with Zanzibar maintaining some internal autonomy, but part of the union. And Nyerere shifted to the left, partly as an act of accommodation with the Zanzibar revolutionaries

As part of my job I went over to Zanzibar periodically to inspect the progress and the building of the Zanzibar Technical College. I flew in something called the "Bamboo Bomber" which was a 1931 or '32 De Haviland, that flew from Dar Es Salaam to Zanzibar. I'd go meet with the Minister of Education in the Zanzibar government. The fellow was a dedicated Marxist. He was a Stalinist or Maoist (I'm not sure I know the difference) in his views. He loved to try to tweak me into a political argument - his English was impeccable. I had to negotiate with him on any changes in terms of specifications or whatever. It was sort of a torturous scenario.

Q: But you still supported the project?

HUMMON: Yes, we continued to support the project. And they let us continue to build, although I recall there was some question on whether that would be allowed. I visited Zanzibar many times to check on the project, and carry out negotiations. One day at the airport in Zanzibar as I was planning to leave, (and this is the incident I was referring to), a group of men in uniform, whom today we would call "red guards" or para-military, armed with automatic weapons, surrounded me and pointed their guns at me. I was standing there getting ready to go out to take this little plane back to Dar. They were shouting what I believe was, "American spy, American spy!" It appeared they were either going to drag me away or shoot me right there. I don't recall all the details; it is rather a blur. The Consul was there to see me off and bravely tried to intervene - that was Don Pederson. But they were not having any of this. Just then, Sheikh Karume, who was the vice president of the new Republic of Tanzania happened to come by. I had met him in another connection, and he, of course, knew Don. Karume (later killed by fellow conspirators, I believe) was a communist and obviously very much a part of that regime, but he knew basically what I was doing on the island. He intervened, and he got them to lay off. But anyway, for a few moments, I thought that was the end of the AID career - or any - career.

I never found out what prompted their action. It may have been only coincidental that the East Germans had published a book about that time listing the names of "U.S. Spies." My name was among those listed. Anyone in AID or State who was a "Doctor" (although I never used the title) was automatically on the list, it seemed. It was also just after the time that the Tanzanians accused Bob Gordon, the Deputy Chief of Mission and Frank Carlucci, the Consul in Zanzibar, of being spies and declared them persona non grata. I can recall that the entire American official community at the Dar airport one night emotionally bidding Bob and Frank farewell.

The charges were completely false, but the Zanzibaris had monitored a mainland to island conversation between Bob and Frank in which the two were talking about people coming from Washington for some official Tanzanian celebration. Bob and Frank, not wanting to be too specific about who was coming until plans had been firmed up, were elliptical in their comments sousing such a phrase as "we're going to bring the big guns in." Or so I was told at the time. There was no reason for the Tanzanian action, but the firebrands were ready to jump on anything to make an anti-American statement. The irony is that Frank later did in fact become a "spy." When his appointment at CIA [Central Intelligence Agency] was announced years later, I admit I had some amusing thoughts about what the Tanzanian reaction might have been. I suspect they had some nervous moments.

Q: What happened to the project?

HUMMON: It continued. I went back there when I was in the Senior Seminar in the 1970s. I didn't go to Zanzibar, but I did talk with the man whom I had dealt with in Dar, the former coordinator of external assistance, and who at that time was the Minister of Tourism. He was very gracious to me on my return, and said that the project was operational. But I didn't go over to the island.

Q: But the project is still going?

HUMMON: You know, I can't answer that. (Later - in editing this transcript this past week,

January 2000, I checked with the Desk and the Mission. They believe the college is now the Karume Technical College, but have no information on what training is taking place there. USAID has no present involvement in Zanzibar. Apparently the political situation is very touchy on the island, and relations between the mainland and the island are rocky, e.g., mainland Tanzanians have to have a passport to go to Zanzibar.)

Q: What in Tanzania were some of the projects that stood out in your mind?

HUMMON: The first that comes to mind are the training institutions, in particular the Changombe Teacher Training College and the Morogoro Agricultural College. Incidentally, both of these are flourishing. When we assisted in their development, entrance qualifications were at a relatively low level, say 9th or 10th grade. Today Changombe is on the verge of university status in the field of education, and Morogoro is a full-fledged university. I can still vividly remember sitting on the podium with President Nyerere at the dedication ceremony for Changombe, and participating with other donor representatives in discussions with the Tanzanians on the long term future of Morogoro. One of the rewards of our work is to discover that a project or projects with which we were so actively involved have in fact made a difference in the lives of people. That is a special feeling.

There were many other projects. An important example was road building. A key endeavor in those days was improving the road between Dar es Salaam and Morogoro, which was to be part of a major Tanzanian objective - a solid communication link between the port of Dar es Salaam and Lusaka - important to them for both political and economic reasons.

After the Zanzibar revolution, the Chinese came into Tanzania en masse. I can recall the sinking feelings we in the US official community had when Zhou En-Lai came for an official visit. There was a huge motorcade and thousands of cheering Tanzanians. Around that time or on that day there were rocks thrown at the USIA [United States Information Agency] center. Goldwater was characterized as a dangerous lunatic in the local press leading up to the 1964 election. The political climate changed very rapidly early on when I was there, and the Chinese seemed to be hand in hand with the Tanzanians. It was discouraging to us, but our AID program plowed ahead.

There was great fear in Washington that the Chinese would consolidate their presence in East and Southern Africa by building a railroad between Dar es Salaam and Zambia. We were greatly concerned about the blossoming relations between the Tanzanians and the Chinese.

I have to tell you one brief anecdote. I went over one day to meet with the External Assistance Coordinator (I went with Dave Shear, who was working as the exceptionally capable Assistant Program Officer). I have a difficult time with language. If someone doesn't speak the king's English, I have a hard time. It's something in my hearing. I only understood the Coordinator about 50 percent of the time, but I'd smile and so forth. He was talking on and on, something about the Chinese, and I'd nod. So anyway the conversation ended and we went back. Dave turned to me and said, "Did you hear? Wasn't that something?" I said, "What do you mean?" He said, "Well the Chinese have agreed to come in and build the railroad to Lusaka." And I had not heard this, so I didn't know it. Anyway, we raced back to the Embassy to see the Ambassador

and wrote up a cable on this. Of course, it was major and depressing news for Washington.

We carried out some capital projects as well as technical assistance. It was a combination of both capital infrastructure and technical assistance. Years later, when I was in Botswana, I was at one of the SADCC (Southern African Development Coordinating Committee) conferences. One of the Tanzanian representatives was there and whom, as a younger man, I had known. He commented (of course, who knows all the motivations involved) positively in terms of what we had done in those days as something that was sort of a hallmark of the type of technical assistance that they desired, which they had moved away from when they went into their ultra-African socialism type of motif. In later years, as they moved away from that, he said they had wanted to come back to a similar-type of relationship with the United States.

Q: How did you find it working with the Tanzanian people?

HUMMON: I thought the Tanzanians were by and large terrific. I liked the Coordinator of External Assistance with whom we dealt. He was very helpful and responsive. We also had much contact with a talented individual named Nsekela who later became Minister of Finance. Paul Bomani was the then Finance Minister, and capable. We also had much contact with an Asian minister, Jamal (I don't remember his portfolio) whom I later met in a different incarnation in Geneva. He was also very bright. Individual Tanzanians at all levels were very kind to me and my family. The political change which took place didn't really spill over into the type of relations that I had at my level even when I was Acting Director.

Q: How was the bureaucracy to work with?

HUMMON: This is early independence. There were still a lot of Brits around, and there was a need for considerable training of people. There were some highly qualified Tanzanians, but there was a thin number who had really been trained. There were some frustrations, but primarily procedural, not substantive except for the lingering pall cast over U.S.-Tanzanian relations by the overall attitudes about the U.S. after the Zanzibar revolution.

Q: Did you notice that attitude in areas other than sports. That the Asians were second class...?

HUMMON: That was the most direct illumination. That was a personal thing, and, in a sense, they could have said to me, "You get out of here period!" Yes, you could see it. But there are shades of gray in so many of these things. Most of the shopkeepers were Asian and they generally employed only member of their own family or other Asians, not Africans to work in the stores. There wasn't a great deal of understanding and solicitude on the part of the Asians for the development needs of the African masses that had to take place. We have seen similar situations and consequences in other societies. The Zanzibar revolution, with its horrific retaliation, was certainly exacerbated by the insensitivity on the part of the Arabs to the needs of the black Africans.

Q: Did you have any sense of Nyerere's view?

HUMMON: That's a tough one.

Q: No evidence of it one way or another?

HUMMON: It's difficult to answer, I'm sure his sentiments were in favor of tolerance. His basic makeup was to be tolerant and to try to have all Tanzanians feel part of the state - witness the fact that he had Jamal, an Asian, as a minister and a white Tanzanian as Agricultural Minister, as I recall. There was other evidence as well but the pressures were great and the demands for change in the development status on part of the Africans were immense. He was also developing his concepts of African socialism which would have a serious economic impact on the Asian community, and the total economy. I think in fairness to him he was caught in a very difficult situation.

Q: Did you meet with Nyerere?

HUMMON: Yes, several times. We had several signing ceremonies.

Q: What were your impressions?

HUMMON: I should note that my exchanges with him were in the category of pleasantries. But I was impressed with him. I was impressed with him before I went there. I had learned of him when I was at Ann Arbor in graduate school, long before independence. He was one of the heroes of the liberal group of students and professors.

FRANCIS TERRY MCNAMARA
Economic Officer
Dar es Salaam (1964-1966)

Ambassador Francis T. McNamara was born in Troy, New York in 1927. He was in the U.S. Navy during World War II and was also stationed in Japan during the Korean War. He received a bachelor's degree from Russell Sage College and a master's degree from McGill University and from Syracuse University. Ambassador McNamara entered the Foreign Service in 1956. His career included positions in Rhodesia, the Congo, Tanzania, Vietnam, Canada, Lebanon, and ambassadorships to Gabon and Cape Verde. Ambassador McNamara was interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy in 1993.

Q: *You never know. You were in Tanzania from when to when?*

MCNAMARA: I went to Tanzania in April 1964. I was there until just before Christmas of 1966. So, in other words, I had almost three years.

Q: *What was the situation like when you were there?*

MCNAMARA: I got there just a few months after the revolution in Zanzibar and the army mutinies in East Africa, including Tanzania. The revolution in Zanzibar began on January 12, 1964. On January 20, the East African armies mutinied. The British sent troops in to put down the mutinies. In Tanzania, in Dar es Salaam, they sent British Marine commandos who ended the mutiny very smartly.

When I arrived, the situation in the country was still very tense. Nyerere had hidden during the army mutiny. He had lost some face by disappearing, but he had survived. Marxists had taken control of Zanzibar. This made people nervous, including Nyerere. Shortly after my arrival, Nyerere decided that he would take a calculated risk (at least this was what he told our ambassador) in unifying the two countries, Tanganyika and Zanzibar. He took the Marxist regime into the body politic of Tanganyika hoping that the poison would be diluted in the larger body.

I hadn't been there for more than six or eight months, when the U.S. was accused of plotting against the Zanzibar "revolutionary" authorities. Our DCM and our Consul in Zanzibar were declared persona non grata.

In that period, there was a good deal of anti-American animosity. The foreign minister held a press conference to publically denounce us. At the press conference, the Algerian ambassador, a man named Djoudi, who is now fairly prominent in their Ministry of Foreign Affairs, interpreted for the Minister for the French-speaking press. This was an unusual role for a third country diplomat. Djoudi did not like the United States. He had been a student at Bowdoin College in Maine during the Algerian revolution against the French. For some reason, he had developed a great dislike for America and Americans. He encouraged the Tanzanian Foreign Minister, Oscar Kambona, in his own anti-Americanism. Ironically, Kambona wound up in California as a political refugee after being accused of plotting against Nyerere.

Relations between Tanzania and the U.S. were troubled but were never broken completely. Julius Nyerere, I think, was convinced that we were up to something, but did not wish to break with us. Internally, Tanzania was moving in a radical direction. Nyerere was a long-time Fabian Socialist. He visited China and decided that Mao's China was a great model for the mobilization and development of a peasant society. Zhou En-lai came to Dar es Salaam when I was there. I remember seeing him riding down the street, sitting with Nyerere on the back of an old Rolls Royce convertible. The car must have been inherited from some long gone colonial governor.

Tension in our relations persisted for some time. Nonetheless, the ambassador returned and served out his term there. Relations between the U.S. and Tanzania were never again as warm as they had been in the years just after independence. Nyerere continued to pursue his nationalization of the economy, which ultimately turned to disaster.

Q: *How did we view what he was doing at the time? You were the economic officer. How did you view Nyerere at that time?*

MCNAMARA: Initially, I had great illusions, like a lot of Americans, about Nyerere himself. The ambassador and most of our people thought that Nyerere himself was a great man, that he was a great thinker, that he was a Socialist, but he was certainly not a Marxist.

He had a concept of self help village that he called Ujamaa. They were not quite rural communes, but the Chinese influence was obvious. The rural population in most of Tanzania was spread out living on their own shambas, their little farms. His idea was to bring them together in small villages where central services would be provided, e.g., medical services, public works, etc.

Nyerere lost my sympathy (because I really did have a high regard for him) when he forced the people into Ujamaa villages. He said he would never use force, that he would try to convince people to do these things. But when they balked, he resorted to the police forcing them into collective Ujamaa villages. In doing so, he really did great harm and caused much suffering amongst certain parts of the rural population.

For instance, in the north of Tanzania, on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, there was one of the oldest cooperatives in Africa. It was formed by the Chagga people. The Chagga had a thriving cooperative based on the marketing of their excellent coffee. It was high-quality coffee, and it brought in a good price to the growers. Once the Chagga growers were forced off their shambas and into central villages, they lost incentive. Of more economic importance, marketing of the crops was done by the government. The control of the marketing was taken over by the government, and the people were taken off their shambas, collectivized, and put in these damned villages. So he took the incentive of the smallholder away, the private individual working and living on his own land. He destroyed the cooperative, which was doing business pretty well. It may not have been perfect, but it was doing business pretty well, and had been for a long time. In the south, the same thing happened with a tea-growing cooperative among the Nyakyusa tribe.

And, of course, the awful social disruption. Nyerere disrupted the social pattern of the people. Traditionally, that's not the kind of life they lived. It caused a great hardship.

He pursued nationalization throughout the economy. Sisal plantations were taken over from Greek and Asian owners. The banks were nationalized. Finally, he even went so far as to "nationalize" houses. I understand that people were not allowed to own more than two houses.

He ruined the economy of the country. It was not a strong economy to begin with, very fragile, it's a poor country, but what they did have going for them was pretty much disrupted and destroyed by these social experiments that were initiated by Nyerere.

Ultimately, of course, he sent troops into Uganda. And the troops brought back some bad habits from Uganda. Corruption became rife. His party, TANU (Tanganyikan African National Union), became an instrument of corruption and of oppression of the people.

The people who had bankrolled much of Nyerere's follies and who bear major responsibility, along with Nyerere himself, are the Nordics: the Swedes, the Norwegians, and the Danes. Millions were poured into ill-considered socio-economic experiments.

Q: *While you were there, '64 through '66...*

MCNAMARA: A lot of this happened subsequently.

Q: *What were American interests there?*

MCNAMARA: The geographic location on the east coast of Africa, the Indian Ocean coast, was of some strategic interest. It was just north of the Mozambique Channel. The war of liberation going on in Mozambique was being supplied and run from Dar es Salaam. Frelimo (Frente de Liberacao de Mocambique) had its headquarters in Dar es Salaam. Also, Dar was the liberation capital of Africa. The African Liberation Committee, which was the OAU's (Organization of African Unity) liberation instrument, was located in Dar es Salaam. It funneled funds and equipment to various liberation groups. The South Africans were there, both ANC (African National Congress) and PAC (Pan-African Congress). The Zimbabweans, the Zambians, the Angolans, the Mozambicans were there. The whole southern African liberation movement had either its headquarters or strong representation present there. So, obviously, that was a major interest.

Q: *Did we feel that the Soviets were going to take over, or did we feel that Nyerere wouldn't let them take over completely?*

MCNAMARA: Well, we feared of their influence. We thought Nyerere presented a barrier to this, but we couldn't be sure. We saw him as a non-Marxist Socialist who wasn't perfect, but was certainly better than a person under Soviet influence. Nyerere was the darling of liberals throughout the Western world. He was looked on as a good alternative to Marxists. It may have been foolish on their part, it may have been unrealistic, but it was there. In actual fact, Nyerere was more influenced by the Chinese than by the Soviets.

Q: *This was also probably really within the State Department, too, then.*

MCNAMARA: There was a strong current of that in the State Department, and there was a strong current of it among liberals in the United States. When he came to the United States on visits, he was lionized. I remember seeing him in Washington before I went to Tanzania. His speeches were crowded. Organizations like the Ford Foundation were among his strongest supporters.

Q: *Just to get a little feel for the time, while you were there, did you feel, as an economic officer, or working when the ambassador was away, that you were sort of pulling your punches as far as reporting on what was happening in the country?*

MCNAMARA: The real changes didn't take place while I was there. The real changes took place just after I left, after the Arusha Declaration of February 1967. That's when Ujamaa was implemented. As I look back now, you could see a lot of this coming. They talked about it, but the real changes in the economy didn't take place until after 1967. We certainly reported everything that went on. I don't think we really understood or took seriously his determination to

go as far as he did. As far as pulling punches, I do feel now that we, too often, gave Nyerere the benefit of the doubt.

JOHN HOWARD BURNS
Ambassador
Tanzania (1965-1969)

Ambassador John H. Burns was born and raised in Pauls Valley, Oklahoma. He attended the University of Oklahoma and entered the Foreign Service in 1942. His career included positions in Mexico, France, Brazil, ambassadorships to the Central African Republic and Tanzania, and Director General of the Foreign Service. Ambassador Burns was interviewed on May 1, 1995 by Charles Stuart Kennedy.

Q: *Why did you want to go to Tanzania?*

BURNS: It was a very interesting time in East Africa. Tanzania had been independent only a few years and had recently experienced the much publicized revolution in Zanzibar--from which emerged the name Tanzania following the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. The country had a President, the remarkable Julius Nyerere, unique--then and ever since--in Africa. The time in the CAR had stimulated in me a real interest in Africa; and then, from a personal point of view, I loved that out of doors life and Tanzania offered the best, Mt. Kilimanjaro, the Serengeti, the Selous and all. It is not that I am a hunter but I am a dedicated camper, animal watcher and all that.

Q: *When you went out to Tanzania did you have any sort of brief? What were American interests and what were you doing?*

BURNS: Here I will say something that I have never recorded before. But that does not matter as no one would be interested this many years later. It harks back, perhaps, to Bill Blocker's telling me that if I followed the Foreign Service Regulations to the letter I would be a poor officer. Maybe I harked back to that counsel more often than I should have during my Service years but if so I have no regrets.

Tanzania placed a limit on the number of its own nationals each Embassy could have accredited. It was 14 or 15, as I recall, and applied to every country except the United Kingdom, which had, of course, many British citizens seconded at various functions throughout the Tanzanian government. During the briefings in Washington, before leaving for Dar es Salaam, both the CIA and the Department of Defense made it very clear to me that increasing the number of their personnel there (CIA) and opening an attaché's office (Defense), were, in their own words, "their top priorities in Africa". I assured them that I would do my best but my fingers were mentally crossed. The Department never gave me actual specific instructions to present formal arguments for the removal of the American personnel limitation but it was clear that that was favored by most everyone. I look on my three and one half years as what I might term the most "singing"

assignment of my entire career. And that was directly attributable to there being such a small staff. We had one officer for each function: one political officer, one economic, one administrative, one consular (who also worked for CIA, as did the code clerk). No one had to look for anything to do and we had little time for things like staff meetings; we'd have one every two weeks or so. I have always thought meetings, generally, a terrible waste of time. I have also always thought that the more time officers spend out of the office the better and the staff at Dar, especially the Swahili speakers, did a lot of traveling around the country, as I did myself. We had an old 4-wheel drive Land Rover and it was on the road most of the time. Not only did this add to the substance--and I might say validity--of our reporting, it was a practice extremely well received by the Tanzanian government. Because of our mandatorily limited staff, the Department was careful to send out the best qualified individuals. For instance Tom Pickering was DCM, followed by Jack Matlock

Q: *Well, could we talk about, during the '65 to '69 period that you were there what the situation was in Tanzania?*

BURNS: There were no real political problems. Nyerere had essentially no political opposition. When, years later, he finally left the presidency he did so entirely voluntarily. His problems were economic. Tanzania is a miserably poor country, with no basis for hope of much change in the situation. Nyerere, realizing that, consistently worked to lower public expectations--which naturally soared after independence--or even hope of rapid economic advancement and stressed, rather, the importance of work and efforts to improve agricultural production and housing, simple advancements in living standards. Although he attracted an immense amount of foreign aid, there was something about the idea of aid that was alien to him and he was anything but a petitioner. He, himself, lived very simply and he insisted that members of his government do likewise. There were no Mercedes limousines assigned to his ministers--or to himself. He resided in his own house, not a Government House, the old British palace, and it was by no means as grand as the average embassy residence. He not only established diplomatic relations with communist China but paid a visit there. This agitated Washington tremendously, much more so than it did the British, Tanzania's erstwhile "principal". I was frequently instructed to protest this or that action of Tanzania, which Washington found insufficiently "pro-West" and, of course, there was the constant run of pressure about Tanzanian votes in the UN. I found this difficult when dealing with a man as innately sophisticated as Nyerere. Once he laughingly said to me, "Mr. Ambassador, we can't let our friends choose our enemies for us." He never showed the slightest resentment when, to tell the truth, he often had reason to do so.

Q: *What was your impression of Nyerere during this period?*

BURNS: I have rarely known anyone more dedicated to what he saw as his purpose in life. I once said that the song "The Impossible Dream" could have been written for him. He was a remarkably educated and cultured man, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh. One of his hobbies was translating Shakespeare into Swahili and one or two of them --Julius Caesar was one--were performed at the University of Dar es Salaam, an institution in which Nyerere, not surprisingly, took great interest. His problems were, as I have said, economic and they were beyond his solution. I wonder if they, and the economic problems of Africa as a whole, do not defy solution. It was frustrating to try to bring Washington to understand Nyerere. The first

African chief of state invited to Washington by the Johnson administration was Colonel Mobutu of Zaire, who cooperated--one might almost say slavishly--with the United States in return for which he received untold millions in military and economic "aid". He is today one of the world's wealthiest men. Incidentally, the week before he arrived in Washington on a state visit, he publicly executed several of his political opponents. We could never even arrange to have Nyerere received on a personal call at the White House, when he went to the United States to address, at their invitation, the Council on Foreign Relations. This was all because he had established diplomatic relations with communist China.

Q: *Did you find that he was open to you when you came there?*

BURNS: Completely. Originally I had feared that he might be tempted to refuse agrément to one coming direct from the office of the Supreme Commander Allied Powers Europe, and that at least that might inhibit our relationship. Not at all. He is a much bigger man than that. And, as I have noted, he was blessed with a most engaging sense of humor.

Q: *Was he going through the, I don't know what the term was, but it was the creation of all those small village communes. I heard some remarks to the effect that this really broke up what was a viable agricultural system and did not help.*

BURNS: I don't believe that would be a fair contention in that, in my opinion, there was not a viable agricultural system to begin with. The country had not altogether emerged--if that is the proper word--from tribalism and the program called "Ujamaa", a sort of communal village scheme, was something of an expansion of the tribal arrangement based on an organized plan. I don't know how it turned out but I never believed it would work, anymore than planned economies have ever worked in any country. I don't think our own governmental farm programs really "work", however much they may benefit certain segments of our agricultural economy.

Q: *This brings up an interesting situation. Nyerere was being accused of being too much of a devotee of the British Fabian Socialists and...*

BURNS: I have never known how Fabian socialism differs from plain socialism. I do know that Nyerere believed in socialism for Tanzania, a country with no capital foundation, other than land and that not very productive. I believe that he thought that the introduction of large amounts of foreign capital into Tanzania would be simply a reversion to another form of colonialism. His idea was to discourage great economic expectation among his people while endeavoring to raise the simple standards of their day to day lives, through work and education. For instance, during the years that I was in Tanzania there was no television; none at all. It was Nyerere's view that 1) they could not afford television in the first place, 2) it would keep people from the work they should be doing and 3) it would promote discontent by acquainting the mass of Tanzanians with a way of life they could not hope to equal, at least not any time soon. As I said, Nyerere had an "impossible dream". One interesting sidelight of the no television situation was that almost every officer of the Embassy requested an extension of duty at that so-called "hardship post". They all had several children of school age--one had seven--and they found a life with no television to have many advantages; not to say that that was the only consideration affecting their desire for longer duty. There were many agreeable features about life in Dar es Salaam.

Q: *Well, was there any problems...was Zanzibar pretty well in Tanzania at that time?*

BURNS: Zanzibar was legally a part of Tanzania but day to day governmental operations and politics were handled exclusively by a group headed by Sheik Karume, on Zanzibar. Karume held the title of First Vice President of Tanzania but his role on the mainland (where I do not recall his appearing while I was there) was essentially non-existent, as was Nyerere's on the island. Nyerere early made it clear, in so many words, that he did not want the Embassy bothering his administration about questions concerning Zanzibar. It might be interesting to note that three successive Consuls at Zanzibar were Frank Carlucci, who later became Secretary of Defense, Tom Pickering, who went on to six subsequent embassies including the UN and Russia, and Jack Matlock, who also held several embassies, including the Soviet Union. So Zanzibar, a post which was later closed, helped spawn three highly successful careers. Zanzibar was regarded by Washington as a fermenting problem when Tom Pickering arrived. Carlucci had been "PNGed" not long before. Within a short time Zanzibar disappeared from the "pending problems" lists in Washington offices and from the agenda of "meetings". I don't know how familiar you are with Tom Pickering's career but that has happened wherever he has gone. For instance when he was moved from Nigeria to El Salvador--with Secretary Shultz saying, "We are sending our best", the "media" was reporting explosive stories on a daily basis from that country. Within a month El Salvador had disappeared from the US headlines, or even the front pages. For some reason or other this has happened wherever Pickering has gone. Some officers have a talent--if not actually the intention--of calling attention to their activities. Tom Pickering is the exact opposite.

SAMUEL S. REA
Education Program Officer, USAID
Dar es Salaam (1966-1968)

Mr. Rea was born in New York City and raised primarily in Pittsburgh, PA. He was educated in England and at Princeton University and SAIS. At an early age he became interested in Africa, where he subsequently served for many years of his career. After joining USAID in 1966, he was sent first to Tanzania, after which he returned to Washington, where he worked with State/AID matters concerning Nigeria, Botswana, the Sahel Development Program, Madagascar, and policy coordination. He also served in Paris, and from 1995-1997 was a member of the faculty of The Industrial College of the Armed Forces (ICAF). He was interviewed by W. Haven North in 1998.

REA: In the mid-Sixties, Tanzania seemed the most exciting African country to study. Remember the appeal of Nyerere's Arusha Declaration, with those who were calling him Africa's philosopher king?

Q: What were we doing?

REA: First, I'll say what we were not doing. In those days, AID stayed clear of direct involvement in primary education. I only discovered the reason for this a few years later, in 1972, when John Hannah visited us in Botswana. He had just left his post as the Administrator of AID and was traveling for the Rockefeller Foundation. Hannah told me that primary education was considered too sensitive politically in the post-Independence era for the U.S. to be directly influencing policy or content for primary schools. Instead, when I joined AID in 1966, the educators put prime emphasis on "human capital formation" and "training trainers". For us in Tanzania, this meant mostly constructing and equipping colleges at the post-secondary level to prepare Tanzanians for careers in agriculture, engineering, and teaching.

As a junior program officer for a major sector -- education -- I think I had the ideal "first job" in AID. It permitted me to get involved at first hand with all the basic AID operations at the time. These included such activities as procurement for equipping the technical college we had built on Zanzibar. Here, by the way, we came to know Tom Pickering, who was the U.S. Consul there at the time, before he became the Deputy Chief of Mission at the Embassy in Dar. Tom learned Swahili so well that he was able to give the memorial oration for Dr. Martin Luther King at the Anglican Church in Dar largely in that language, to an overflow congregation of Tanzanians. Today Tom is the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, our leading career diplomat. I have been unusually fortunate in the high caliber of State Department officers with whom I have served.

But to get back to what we were doing in Dar. Another one of our projects stocked the library at the University College of Dar es Salaam. Also, I got involved in loan negotiations, for building a teacher training college at Iringa, in the center of the country. I helped in the planning of capital projects, especially phase III of the University College construction. A big part of my job was managing contracts. At one point we had 49 contract Americans in the country. I dealt directly with the Chiefs of Party of big teams from several U.S. universities. West Virginia State was helping to create the national agriculture college at Morogoro, west of Dar es Salaam. A team from Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo was helping to establish a technical college in Dar itself. Teachers College Columbia was running a very large regional project for East Africa, from the project headquarters at Makerere College in Kampala, Uganda. That project had begun its second phase, training the trainers of primary school teachers. Not only was I just involved in all these operations, but the Mission gave me a great deal of responsibility, as well. For example, I served as acting Education Officer for five months shortly after I arrived, between the time that Niblo left and Noel Myers arrived to replace him. Dr. Myers also delegated a great deal to me.

Q: You were there for three years?

REA: Yes, we were in Tanzania for just over three years. In July 1968 I left the Mission, followed by a third year in-country gathering data for my dissertation. But in this regard things did not work out exactly as planned. The Government of Tanzania had soured a bit on the U.S. by then on account of Vietnam and a number of other events. The GOT did not want someone who was officially connected to our government roaming around Tanzania doing research. I'm quite certain that if I hadn't developed a relation of trust with my colleagues in the Ministry of Education, where I worked for a part of every day for over two years, the GOT would have denied me permission to do research of any kind.

As it was, we arrived at a compromise. I had to resign entirely from AID before the Tanzanian government would give me permission to stay, which I did as a Research Fellow at the University College, unpaid, of course. Most of this third year my wife and I spent in four separate education districts in various parts of the country: in an area south of Lake Victoria around Nzega; at Mwanza, a town on the shore of Lake Victoria; in Moshi, at the foot of Mt. Kilimanjaro; and in a very poor area, Handeni, north of Dar es Salaam. I had selected these four districts, with the cooperation of the Ministry of Education, to be representative of the different ways in which the government of Tanzania financed and controlled primary education.

Q: Did you find reasonable cooperation in getting all the information?

REA: Yes, especially at the district level. Once the central authorities had approved my topic and selection of districts, the District Education Officers cooperated fully. Initially, however, I ran into a big problem. The Tanzanian government refused me permission to pursue my original topic, the one which my thesis committee at Columbia had approved before I left in 1966. I quite naively had proposed to study "the politics of education planning" at the national level. Tanzania in 1968 was drawing up the new five year plan in education. As an aspiring political scientist, I thought that the study of this process would provide an important insight into how politics worked in a newly independent African country. It was a project, of course, which no country in the world at that stage (or probably any stage) would have permitted a student to undertake – much less an American in the late 1960's under the shadow of the Vietnam war.

So I was obliged to come up with another topic which would get me out of Dar es Salaam to do research. As it turned out when I was all finished, my associates in the Ministry of Education were quite interested in the tabular profile I provided of all the rural and urban education districts in the country, showing the discrepancies between them. These findings were also sensitive, and, to reiterate what I have said before, it was a measure of the trust which my Ministry colleagues, especially Augustine Mwingira, who had moved up to become Permanent Secretary, decided to give me that I was allowed to do what I did at all.

Q: Would you care to summarize what you found out, what you learned from that?

REA: I'll try. In a broad sense, my topic was the nature of the political relationships which existed between Tanzania's central and local governments in the post-Independence period, 1962-1969. My particular viewpoint was the issue of primary education, which became perhaps the most important bone of contention between the central government and the local authorities.

Central government began by trying to control the growth of primary education in order to allocate as much money as possible to expand the post-primary education sector. The government's aim was to train Tanzanian replacements for expatriate personnel and so to reduce dependence on the former colonial power as quickly as possible. The way that the central authorities thought the expansion of primary education could be contained was to require the local districts themselves to pay for teachers and other school expenses as much as they could.

This strategy did not work for long. District councils faced a rapidly growing demand for

primary schools, which soon became their leading financial concern. Primary school costs grew until they swamped the council budgets. Teachers, a key political group, were not getting paid and some councils were going bankrupt, or at best had insufficient funds for activities related more directly to income and development. Another political problem was that the richer councils could afford school systems which the poorer councils could not. Before long, the inequities became too great for the "nation builders" in the capital to accept.

What also became clear to President Nyerere and his party, TANU, was that they were missing a big opportunity: the reform of primary schools would be a necessary element in the "revolution" of the rural sector. They came to see primary education as a vital part in the creation of attitudes supporting long-term government programs. Evidence of this is Nyerere's famous tract, "Education for Self-Reliance," which he wrote in 1967. This was also the time of his interest in Mao's experience in reaching China's rural masses. It coincided with Tanzania's growing ties with Mainland China, as evidenced by China's building of the Tan-Zam railway. This new perspective on primary education, combined with the virtual breakdown of many district governments, all led to central government's virtual takeover of the primary school system in 1969.

What I took away from all this was an acute appreciation of primary education as a hot political issue and not just a major administrative and budgetary concern in the growth of a new nation.

STEPHEN PATERSON BELCHER
Public Affairs Officer, USIS
Dar es Salaam (1966-1970)

Stephen Patterson Belcher was born in 1916. He worked for the Civil Affairs Division of the Army and then the State Department before USIS was created. His assignments abroad included Cairo, Lagos, Paris, and Dar es Salaam. He was interviewed by Jack O'Brien in 1988.

BELCHER: Then I went to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, on a direct transfer. I was happy to go to Tanzania, to experience East Africa and compare it with West Africa. Our kids were also excited about East Africa and the opportunity to see some real game parks for the first time. In West Africa, there's not much of that sort of thing. Of all the countries in Africa to which they would have liked to go, they wanted Tanzania, I think because of Kilimanjaro. And yes, we did get to climb that.

It was one of the roughest assignments I've had just because it was very poor and the Chief of State, Julius Nyerere, attached a great deal of importance to principle. He was very idealistic. Even if it hurt the economy badly, he would cut off the aid if there were political strings attached.

Most of the southern African liberation movements were represented in Tanzania. Other countries gave them money, I guess, to travel around. But Nyerere gave them offices and homes.

And there were other difficult countries represented - Cuba, and North Vietnam, and the Viet Cong. My wife was secretary of the Diplomatic Wives Club and she had to have cordial relations with some ladies we weren't supposed to talk to. It was pretty funny that way. Once the Cubans' dog bit me -- I don't think they had him do it on purpose! We also had what was then called Red China and sometimes they were allowed to speak to us, and we could speak to them. On the beach, we'd get to know some of these types, out of uniform. It was easier and more relaxed.

President Nyerere wanted the Europeans to stick to their Oyster Bay reserve, the difference in living standards between them and the Tanzanians was so appalling. This was hard on the Americans who didn't like to be isolated this way. Morale was pretty low. This was the first time I thought USIS could also be used to do something about the American community. There would be better brush-off on the Tanzanians if their own morale were a little higher.

We had the best USIS house in Africa, fabulous! The place would never have done as an Ambassador's residence because the guest rooms were too small, but it had great entertaining areas, inside and out. Luckily we had a very understanding Ambassador who didn't want me to force Vietnam down their throat, they were so opposed. He urged me to have pamphlets at the library desk for those who might ask. If I was asked to give a talk on Vietnam, I would do so. But our windows didn't feature that kind of thing.

Q: Could you identify him?

BELCHER: Yes, he was John Burns, who later was Director General of the Foreign Service, just before retirement. He was very sympathetic to Julius Nyerere, and not every administration was. Maybe the CIA has always looked down its nose at Nyerere.

JAMES P. THURBER, JR.
Information Officer, USIS
Dar es Salaam (1967-1969)

James Thurber was born in Milton, Massachusetts. He graduated from Stanford University in 1950 and joined the USIS in 1967. He served in Tanzania, Malawi, Nigeria, Pakistan, Canada, and Washington, DC. Mr. Thurber was interviewed by Emily Thurber in 1990.

THURBER: I literally went out to Tanzania not knowing what went into a telegram, how to write a telegram, who to send it to, why you send a telegram, what the cultural programs were about, anything along those lines.

About the only training I had was in the information side, which was helpful since I was to be Information Officer, and a couple of weeks on the Tanzania desk with Bob Rockweiler, Bob being so busy with the other problems of running the desk, he had little time to really indoctrinate me into the mysteries of USIA and overseas life.

Q: I thought you might describe a little bit about Tanzania and what was going on at the time, what the post was like.

THURBER: We arrived in Tanzania at probably one of the best times we could have possibly gotten there. Most of the African countries were newly independent, as was Tanzania. It had a magnificent president, Julius Nyerere, who had just declared the Arusha Declaration, setting forth Nyerere's unique form of African socialism.

We went with stars in our eyes, believing that the future of Africa was on the way up and it would soon become a full-fledged partner in the western world. As we'll mention later, the stars were out of our eyes when we left six years later.

Nyerere had done, up to that point, a great job in Tanzania. The stores were full of goods. There was foreign exchange. We could buy what we wanted. To the best of our knowledge, very few Tanzanians were hungry and they were allowed to lead their lives pretty much as they had all along.

Nyerere was extremely skillful in playing major countries off against each other for his benefit. As an example, when they needed a highway of some type to Zambia to bring the Zambian copper out and take in oil to run the copper mines, Nyerere managed to get both the United States to build a road and the Chinese to bring a railroad, with very little expenditure on his part. This gave duplicate facilities and a lot of jobs to Tanzanians.

USIA in Dar es Salaam in 1967 was a three-American post and, if my memory is correct, about 12 to 15 local employees. We had an absolutely superb PAO. In fact, if it hadn't been for Pat Belcher and his wife, Louise, I'm not sure how long we would have stayed in USIA.

He was absolutely magnificent. Here he thought he was getting an experienced, mid-career person and he got somebody who didn't even know what our job was. He spent most of our two years in Tanzania teaching me how to be a USIA officer and a Foreign Service Officer.

I replaced Phil Cohan and, at the same time, Jack Eny came in to replace Dick Schoonover, so Pat actually had two new officers there at the same time.

The embassy was equally fortunate in having one of the best ambassadors Africa has been blessed in having, John Burns, who had been there about a year when we arrived, and stayed through our tour.

John's deputy, the DCM, was young Tom Pickering who today is doing such an outstanding job as the American Ambassador to the United Nations.

Dar, in spite of many of its advantages, was a somewhat difficult post. The weather was lousy. There was very little cultural activity there, at least as we know it. Schooling was difficult and so forth, and for these reasons, the American community was a very closely knit group. We did get to know the other members of the embassy extremely well.

As we proceeded in our career into other types of posts, we looked back fondly at Tanzania as the one place where all the Americans seemed to be really pulling together for a common goal and providing mutual support for everybody else.

I think it is important here, also, to note that USIA has undergone a tremendous change since we were in Tanzania. While there, we probably witnessed the end of the "old" USIS and the beginning or the birth of the new USIS, which today is marked by Worldnet, elite audiences and this type of thing.

In Tanzania, we took carryalls out into the bush, set up large screens, turned on the generator, and ran movies for the villagers. Heaven help you if something went wrong. One night, the generator broke down right in the middle of the movie and I thought I and the movie operator were going to be literally strung up by the local villagers if we didn't get that thing going. Thank goodness, we had a spare and within a few minutes, we had the natives quieted down so that we could proceed.

It was also the time, as my wife just mentioned, of the classic movies. We had such films as "Singing in the Rain," which we would play to standing room audiences over and over and over again, with the lines outside the USIS center almost tearing the grill work down trying to get in for each show, and all of us sitting there watching this movie until we never wanted to see it again. I think I saw "Singing in the Rain" 26 consecutive times.

Q: We also had people in at home, too.

THURBER: We also had people in at home. We showed the movie to ambassadors, DCMs and so forth, but they were great films.

Our library was open to the public and, sure, it was used by people who wanted to get in out of the rain or out of the heat but, at the same time, it introduced to a whole generation of Tanzanians, high school students, even grammar school students, the wonders of an American library, what a free and democratic library was, and how they could use it.

Unfortunately, this is very much the exception today and, again, we don't serve these people and I think we are the worse because of it.

Q: I thought I would talk a little bit about our life there. I remember in the beginning, we were just struck by how much socializing there was. Jim found this very difficult at first. I'm a social creature and I thought it was great to go to dances, and to be invited out almost every night, but he found it very, very difficult and, at one point, was almost ready to give it up and go home but, luckily, he stuck it out.

One thing that was kind of interesting, we both started out studying Swahili and I think we had lessons, I don't know, maybe every day or three times a week. I can't remember, but Jim found that it was too difficult to take a language and learn how to be an officer and do his work, so he eventually gave it up but I carried it on and became modestly conversant in Swahili.

It was very useful for women because, very often, at parties, I would be speaking to people's wives and they were much less apt to speak English than their husbands.

Housing was interesting because we first stayed in a hotel for -- what was it, nearly six weeks?

THURBER: Either a hotel or another officer's house.

Q: Or in someone's house. That was pretty hard with the children. Now at this stage in our life, it wouldn't be so difficult, but we finally were given a house right on the beach. It wasn't considered to be a desirable beach, and people were all saying, "Oh, that's too bad about your having to live near Selander Bridge," but in fact, it was a neat beach and we liked it.

Schooling was actually fine for the two little children. Mary was too young to go to school. It was perfect for Alex. Our 13-year-old was just delighted and thrown into a very, very active international school social life, on which she thrived. The oldest son, Jim, we were told there was no school for him; that the African schools were too full; and, the international school stopped at grade nine and he was in grade ten, so he started out doing correspondence course work, but he found that very lonely.

At a dance at the PAO's house, I met a man named Peter Palangyo, the first African headmaster of the H.H. Aga Khan Secondary School for Boys, a large school with about a thousand students. There were 500 Africans, about 500 Asians and ten so-called Europeans, no Americans.

Poor Jimmy, he finally agreed to go to that school and he just hated it in the beginning. He had to wear short pants and a white shirt, something he'd not done. He was so conscious of his white skin with these short shorts contrasted with all the other boys having these handsome, beautiful black or brown legs.

I remember that bothered him tremendously, but, after a few days, he adjusted. I think he taught them a lot of bad tricks like sailing paper airplanes in class and so forth and really got a lot out of his year in the school, in a cultural sense.

Eventually, we decided he wasn't working very hard and his aunt in Los Altos decided to also leave, so we sent him off to boarding school in Switzerland, to a wonderful British school -- I think his schooling was good, and he really benefited from it a lot.

Another difficulty was to have to deal with servants. Most Americans don't have to do that at home. We had a cook in the beginning and a nanny and a gardener. I had no trouble. I just slid right in to having people do my work for me, but I know a number of other Americans found that very difficult, to have to have other people in the house.

I kept myself busy with teaching English two or three times a week at the local YWCA. I had never taught before but had aspired to become a teacher and found that to be very, interesting.

The only other thing I might mention is medical care, which is always a worry. We'd come from wonderful doctors here in California, and we were uncertain about the doctors there.

We had some problem with our daughter, Harriette. The local pediatrician put her on the birth control pill to clear up acne, which actually helped the acne, but she gained about 30 pounds. We were all very frightened about that. Eventually, she and I were evacuated to Frankfurt and the Army medical facility there where they gave her every test under the sun and found, of course, nothing wrong. So, there was always the concern of being far away from good hospitals and doctors in whom you had inherent faith.

THURBER: My job at USIS Dar es Salaam was pretty much the standard Information Officer job, again, as performed by USIS officers 23 years ago. I learned some of the realities of life as an Information Officer, that I probably could repeat for any post that I served in after that.

One of them was the lack of current guidance from Washington on how to handle various issues facing the United States. This was particularly true in 1967, '68, '69, with the Vietnam War.

Tanzania and Tanzanians were very much opposed to the United States' role in Vietnam, and we were constantly being challenged, in my case, by the press and the radio -- there was no television in Tanzania at that point -- and I just didn't have the background information, many times, to answer their questions.

Having been head of Policy Guidance and head of fast Policy Guidance since then, I know the difficulties USIS has in providing quick, rapid guidance to the field, but they've got to solve this problem. They have yet to do so. It's a multi-problem, involving the White House and the State Department, but some Director has got to tackle it at some point and set up a decent guidance program.

The other thing that I sadly learned was that I couldn't trust my own people back in Washington all the time, and that I should use good judgment more than I did the first few years in the Agency.

For example, when the Pueblo was captured in North Korea, there was a great amount of debate in the local press as to whether or not they really were spying on North Korea and, if so, were they within the so-called 12 mile, I think it was, 12-mile or three-league limit.

Our Agency said they were outside the limit. Finally, one day, a pouch arrived and in it were some maps showing exactly where the Pueblo was at the time it was captured, well outside the limit. I took these maps to the local press, where they were received with a great deal of skepticism, but they were received.

When questioned as to their accuracy, I swore up one side and down the other that they were completely accurate and they had come from excellent sources, the USIA in Washington and so forth and so forth.

It turns out the maps were inaccurate. They just bluntly showed The Pueblo in the wrong position when it was captured and, eventually, the United States government admitted it. My credibility with the newspaper went down sharply over that incident.

Over the years in USIA, I have learned not to take at face value much of that type of material that comes from the government until I can back it up with further proof, or that my own experiences justifies that material. It always seems to have been the case, when involving military or similar type episodes, such as our activities in Central America, the Gulf War and so forth.

At the same time, we really had some wild events in Tanzania that should be mentioned because they are the history of USIS. The election party in those days was quite different than today with television and much rapid transmission of information.

We held an election party, let's see, in 1968. It was the '68 Presidential election, the Humphrey-Nixon election, when Humphrey just barely lost it. We decided to set up an Election Central at the library, which is not unusual for USIS, but this one, because of the time differential, meant that we opened our doors about 6:00 a.m. in the morning, which was just when the polls were closing in the West Coast of the United States.

The wives got together and made donuts and served coffee, and probably every street walker in Tanzania or in Dar es Salaam was in sampling our coffee and donuts, but it was appreciated. Utilizing all of the election know-how I had built up over the years, we decorated the center with posters, buttons, balloons and general election paraphernalia.

The party went on for almost 24 hours, it seems to me, before a winner was declared in that election. We did somewhat the same thing in July of 1969, just before I left Tanzania, when the moon landing took place.

Our library had a balcony around the top and we first got into the main library, moved all the bookcases to the side to give us an open space for a one-third scale model of the lunar landing craft, a smaller scale model of the Apollo rocket and a full-scale model of the spacesuit.

These were downstairs along with a booth for people to sign up for the first commercial trip to the moon, manned by our older daughter dressed in a Pan American uniform -- you can be sure this was going to be a Pan American flight, and they contributed other sorts of paraphernalia to that -- and other similar booths around the bottom.

Upstairs, on the balcony overlooking the bottom floor, we pulled together every piece of electronic equipment we could find to make it look like an impressive electronic center. Actually, what we had was the public address system and the Voice of America radio, which I was listening to with earphones, because the signal was usually so weak in Tanzania you couldn't possibly rebroadcast it, and then announcing over the public address system what was going on. To my side was the information assistant who would then give the same material in Swahili.

Around the edge of the balcony, we had a series of pictures which were back-lighted showing the various stages of the moon landing and, as each one took place, these came on. This show went on from the circling of the moon and the landing for, if I remember correctly, 72 hours straight.

It was jammed the entire time. It was interesting sociologically and psychologically in that many Tanzanians did not believe we had set foot on the moon or, if we had, we were invading consecrated ground. Their idea was that the human spirit went to the moon as a final resting place.

Others felt the moon was too small for us to stand on and, to prove it, they would point up to the sky and show us, "How can two men and a landing craft land on that little thing?" Some, in fact many, believed it was all a Disneyland stunt and that there was no truth behind it at all.

But, there were the believers, and they stuck around the entire time, until the Apollo capsule landed safely, I think it was, in the Atlantic Ocean. This whole event, however, probably did more for America than anything else that went on in that town for years.

It was remembered fondly whenever anybody talked about USIS in Tanzania and our center there for years afterwards and I heard about it when I was in my following African posts. People still referred back to it as one of the great events in USIS operations.

Once a year, the Tanzanians held their annual Saba-Saba Fair. "Saba" in Swahili is seventh and it took place on the seventh day of the seventh month, Saba-Saba. We had a pavilion there and it was USIS' responsibility to handle the pavilion completely.

The first year, Pat Belcher put on a wonderful agricultural exhibit with a great deal of help from the exhibit section in Washington. The second year, that was 1969, we put on a space show, utilizing the same units, the spacecraft and so forth, that were then used in the actual landing demonstration I just talked about.

The Saba Fair for the space landing involving a small building of around 2,000 square feet which was completely blacked out. There was no light getting in at all. As you entered and walked around a marked pathway, you encountered the various exhibits, in front of each was a Tanzanian, a college student whom we had hired, and briefed completely on the entire spaceflight, so that they could be there and describe their exhibit -- the landing craft, the spacesuit, the food the men ate en route to and from the moon and so forth.

The high point of the entire exhibit was when President Nyerere visited it, went through and came out, shaking his head in wonderment as to how much his own citizens -- i.e., the guides -- knew about the landing and what the United States wanted to do on the moon. He was impressed, it was obvious, and it made the Saba-Saba a real success that year.

Q: Why don't you talk a little bit about R&R and holiday travel or whatever we were able to do there?

THURBER: We did get around to see most of Tanzania. On business, I went down to the southwest part of the country, where the new road was being built, the so-called Tanzam Highway. On leave, we went up to the game parks and saw Lake Manyara, Ngorongoro Crater, Serengeti and, at one point, we went on up into Kenya and visited some of those game parks. We also visited Nairobi several times.

Then, on R&R, we went to Greece in December and found it so cold and unappealing that, after a week, we took a plane flight over to Israel and drove around Israel, our first experience there, and a wonderful vacation for a week visiting some of the ancient sites there.

Q: Do you think that the travel we did in the country was helpful in your job?

THURBER: It has been my feeling that the more I knew about the country of my assignment, the better job I could do in explaining the United States to the people of Malawi or Tanzania or wherever we were living.

Therefore, I did make a concerted effort to visit as much of each country I was assigned to as humanly possible within the time period I was there. It got progressively greater as I got further up the ladder until I was Public Affairs Officer and could pretty much write my own ticket.

I think it is very important, and I would like to see USIS promote this type of travel among all of our officers.

Q: One visit that was very important, I think, in your career, was when John Reinhardt, the Area Director, came. I remember meeting him and being so impressed to meet someone so high up in USIS. Maybe you should mention what effect that had on your career.

THURBER: It was our first meeting with John Reinhardt when he was Area Director. We, as you will see, came across him several times when he served as our Ambassador to Nigeria and then as head of the Agency when I was back in Washington.

John was doing a great job as Area Director, and I was particularly pleased that he came out, saw what I was doing, liked what I was doing, and when I told him that I wanted to stay in Africa, he arranged for my next assignment to be PAO in Malawi.

John's visit was towards the end of our tour in Tanzania. Those, again, were the good old days when we could travel on American ships and there were American ships going back and forth across the Atlantic. We all departed Tanzania in August, early August of 1969, for Paris, where we had to wait five days for our boat and then it was the boat train to Le Havre and then first class on the SS United States to New York.

It was a marvelous experience. I'm not sure the children enjoyed it as much as we did. It's really a shame that this type of trip and perks are no longer available to our officers.

They might seem unnecessary to the average citizen, but when you've lived for two years in a country like Tanzania or any developing country away from the United States, it is nice and it

does a tremendous amount for your morale, to be able to travel in relative luxury and to enjoy your trip back and forth to the post, arriving rested and ready to go to work.

CHARLES J. NELSON
Mission Director, USAID
Dar es Salaam (1968-1971)

Ambassador Nelson was born and raised in Michigan, educated at New York University and Boston University and served in the US Army in World War II. Prior to his appointment at Ambassador, Mr. Nelson served in senior positions with the State Department, AID, International Cooperation Administration (ICA), the Mutual Security Agency and the Peace Corps. These appointments took him to the Philippines, Egypt and Iran. In 1971 he was appointed Ambassador to the nations of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, where he served from 1971 to 1974. Ambassador Nelson was interviewed by Celestine Tutt in 1981.

Q: Then you went to Tanzania. You were there from 1968-71.

NELSON: Yes, when Nyerere was President.

Q: I was going to say that here was a man who took his socialist teachings and basically ran a country that could be relatively prosperous right to the ground. What is your impression at the time you served there of what the situation was?

NELSON: Nyerere was, and probably still is, a very influential person. He is also capable of changing. It was interesting that when I went to New York, [visited] by the banks and Newport Mining, the question was, "Oh, you are going to that communist country." This is how many people looked upon Tanzania. I did not look at it that way. I looked upon Tanzania as one of the more exciting and enlightening periods of my work, actually. When you juxtapose Kenya and Nigeria, Nyerere said, "We don't want to have the Mercedes tribe here." No one is to get out too far in front of the parade. Some people used to say that if half the people are going to be mired in poverty, then the whole country is going to be. The tea growers, which is a very profitable crop, and the coffee growers, etc. were not permitted to fully exploit their holdings. And I think Nyerere would say now that he recognizes that the cultivator, while he may not know the school of economics he is from, is an economic person. The government ignored basic economic principles when it went for this leveling effect. I can work hard, but I don't really get more than the person who is beside me but doesn't work at all. We both receive the same benefit. I think Nyerere would say that that was a mistake today.

In the long run maybe it was better not to have the sharp divisions of a small money elite, intellectual elite and a mass of people that has occurred in some countries which causes a great deal of difficulty. I think Tanzania, at least for the time I was there, was a more united country. It had a really dedicated civil service. I worked with some wonderful people there in the civil service. I heard Nyerere say that he gets a 25 gun salute, has a national anthem, a flag, etc., but

they are not free, they are not independent until all of Africa is free and independent. He looked beyond his immediate horizon.

I think Tanzania is coming back, from what I have heard. It had a very, very low period there, but it is coming back. It is coming back from a very, very poor economy but I think you can say that in Tanzania the people are coming back together. That wouldn't be true in Kenya, for example.

Q: No, we are looking at a real divisive society there now. What were the main developments in AID that you were involved in in Tanzania?

NELSON: The Tanzam Road. The Tanzam Railroad was built by the Chinese. We built the Tanzam Road. I went to Zambia to help inaugurate the beginning of actual construction. We had the Canadians, the British, and ourselves all building links of the road.

We worked with the Masai in terms of improvement of their herds.

Q: They were great cattle raisers.

NELSON: Not to pin them to the land. These are nomadic people; they travel. The thing was to deal with them within their own environment.

Q: One has heard the criticism launched at American programs that we tend to sink wells, etc. which tends to stop the migration which also means deforestation, wearing out of the soil because all the cattle stay by the wells. Was this a problem when you were dealing with this?

NELSON: We did not try to pin them to the land.

Q: Was there any policy division on this--it is cheaper to just sink a well, etc.? Was it fairly understood that the Masai should not be pinned to the land?

NELSON: It wasn't understood. It depends on the country and the people who are working there. The Masai were recognized in Tanzania, unlike other places. You deal with an individual where he is and in the circumstances where he finds himself.

No program that is worth its salt is going to stop at the end of four years. You go and somebody else comes in and may want to change it, but the government has to be committed because while you provide, the United States provides, some of the resources, the majority, come from the country itself. It may not be money. It is labor, policy direction, and all the rest, and you realize that you are very transitory. You are transient. But the government has to live with whatever you and they produce.

Q: We have talked about Kagnew Station driving our program in Ethiopia, how about in Tanzania? You had Nyerere taking a rather strong anti-American view and yet we had a program there. I recall interviewing one ambassador from Burundi or somewhere saying, "Here is a country that is friendly to us and we weren't doing anything. I go over to Tanzania and we

are building roads for them, etc. and they spit in our face all the time." How did you find the international aspect and American international interests and what you were doing, how did they interplay?

NELSON: Well, I think, to me Tanzania and Nyerere as the president of that country had certain views and expressed them. To me, that is his right. He really doesn't have to toady. In fact, I wouldn't have much admiration for a person, who to gain resources from an external donor would parrot a particular line. Nyerere did not. He was not antagonistic, but if the United States can't stand up to a difference of view on a particular subject against a country like Tanzania, then it shouldn't try to play a role in the world.

Q: But the realities of appropriations, Congress, and everything else must have played a role there.

NELSON: Let me say this. I had two wonderful ambassadors in Tanzania - Tony Ross, and John Burns. No one every said to me don't do this or don't do that. You develop your program through your own sweat really and you have to sell it back to Washington. And there were some good people in Washington in those days. If you could support your program in an economic sense, I won't say political sense, and could indicate that the government was behind it and put forth a very positive rationale, you could carry the day.

CHARLES O. CECIL
Political Officer
Zanzibar (1969-1971)

Ambassador Cecil was born in Kentucky into a US military family and was raised at several military bases in the US and abroad. He was educated at the University of California, Berkeley and the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). He entered the Foreign Service in 1966. A trained Arabic Language speaker, the Ambassador served abroad in Kuwait, Zanzibar, Beirut, Jeddah, Bamako, Muscat, Tunis and Abidjan. He was US Ambassador to Niger from 1996 to 1999. He also had several assignments at the State Department in Washington, DC. Ambassador Cecil was interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy in 2006

<u>Note:</u> Subsequently, Ambassador Cecil served as Chargé d'affaires of the US Interest Section of the Belgian Embassy in Tripoli, Libya from 2006 to 2009.

Q: But you weren't able to get any other language training?

CECIL: My wife attended the French class with me because that's what we knew would be needed in Lubumbashi, and we figured Swahili was an extra—an experiment—so she didn't study Swahili. Unfortunately, it turned out to be that the French was of no use in Zanzibar, and Swahili was absolutely essential. Once we got to post, she studied in the post language program and certainly did acquire enough knowledge to engage in social exchanges and do the shopping

and that sort of thing, but it is unfortunate that we hadn't known at the beginning or she would have taken the whole course. We arrived in Dar Es Salaam the night Apollo 11 landed on the moon. I forget what day that was in July of '69, but that's when it was. Our friend Charles Dawson had arrived in Dar a short time ahead of us as CAO, and so as soon as we left our bags in the hotel from the airport, we went immediately to the American library—maybe they called it the cultural center—and Charles was there with a radio link to the Voice of America, and we were listening to the commentary and the actual landing on the moon. The center was full of excited Tanzanians. It was a wonderful, exuberant atmosphere. We spent three days in Dar. Tom Pickering was the DCM at that point. He and Alice had us to lunch. Very nice of them to take the time to have a second- tour officer to lunch. He had served in Zanzibar immediately before and had done so well there that the ambassador had brought him over to Dar to be his DCM. We went over to Zanzibar, and at that point Jack Matlock was the principal officer in Zanzibar, and he was just getting ready to go relieve Tom as DCM in Dar Es-Salaam. We really had two stars of the Foreign Service passing through Zanzibar and Dar Es-Salaam. I was really fortunate to be able to have some contact and association with them which continued for many years, actually. They were wonderful examples to emulate.

That brings to mind a little story about Tom Pickering and his fantastic memory. Jack Matlock told a story about traveling up country in Tanzania with Tom. They drove across Tanzania, and this particular incident took place at Kigoma at the end of the road and also the end of the railroad from Dar es Salaam over on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. Jack just said that Tom during the day when they would call on people never took notes.

They had a meeting that day with the head of the Kigoma office of the Tanzanian railroad and asked him lots of questions about the freight that the railroad carried and the labor problems and economic issues and what did they bring up from Dar es Salaam, and what did they ship back to Dar es Salaam. Then what happened to lake boat traffic. How much of the freight went north to Burundi and how much went south to southern Tanzania or on to Zambia. They had a very nice conversation full of economic facts and figures, and Tom never took a note. Jack said that it was always this way. But in the evening when they went back to their hotel room Tom would then sit down at a desk and write it all down. He just had this incredible memory. He didn't take notes during meetings. It's probably Jack's story that convinced me to follow the same practice during my own career. If the official sees you writing furiously, he's less likely to talk freely. I've always believed that you should absolutely minimize your note-taking with a government official, especially when it's on a sensitive topic. Anyway, it's just one of the many stories I've heard about Tom's fabulous memory. Unfortunately I didn't have a memory as good as Tom's.

Jack probably moved over to Dar I'm guessing within a month of my arrival in Zanzibar, and his #2, Don Haught, who had been the Political Officer, moved up then to be the principal officer, and I came in to take his job as Political Officer. I guess Tom probably only spent a year as DCM in Dar, but I'm not positive, but Jack Matlock only spent a year as DCM. I'm sure of that because sometime near the middle of my tour, Paul Kreisberg came to Dar Es Salaam to be DCM. I know he was DCM for, I'm sure, a year. That made very good sense because at that time the Chinese were building the Tanzam Railway from Dar Es-Salaam to Lusaka, Zambia. Washington and the West were so concerned about the inroads being made in East Africa by the Chinese. We, of course, responded to the Tanzam Railway by building a highway almost parallel

to the railroad. Paul Kreisberg was a China expert, and so sending him to Dar Es-Salaam as DCM probably made some sense in Washington's eyes. As it happened, it was during his time in Dar Es-Salaam that Nixon made his trip to China. I remember arriving one day in Dar with the pouch. We carried the pouch from Zanzibar over once a week, and we took turns doing that. I remember walking into Paul's office and basically, his head was in his hands and he looked very despondent. He said to me, "I thought it was perfectly safe to leave Washington and come to Africa. I didn't think anything was going to happen in our relationship with China. Now look at this! Here I am in Dar Es-Salaam!" He obviously felt out of the action. I guess after Dar he probably went back to Washington. I don't know his assignment history.

We were very concerned about Communist in-roads, both Chinese and East German and Soviet in East Africa at the time. There were five consulates on Zanzibar when I arrived in July of '69. There was ours, there was the French because there was a large community of Comorians who had immigrated to Zanzibar mostly to look for work, and there were enough of them with some claim to French protection that the French felt the need to have a consulate there. Then the other three were the Soviet, the Communist Chinese, and the East Germans. Zanzibar was a real police state. I think it met all of the classical criteria of a Communist police state although, perhaps, they weren't genuinely Communist, but they certainly were very Leftist and following very Socialist policies. The East Germans had about 40 advisors in the Zanzibar Security Service, teaching and managing all of their security and surveillance activities. We were under constant surveillance. Our phones were tapped, and we knew that. After I left the post in the summer of '71, the consulate was replacing some furniture in our house, and when they took the sofa from our living room to the warehouse, they found a microphone planted under the base of the sofa. I think the opinion was—I'm not an expert on this—it was probably of East German manufacture. Who knows how it got there? We had a nanny, but she was an elderly South African lady, and I don't think she would have done that. We also had a cook. Or it could have been someone who broke into the house, perhaps, and placed it there. We don't know how it got there, but that was evidence of the kind of surveillance we were subjected to.

Q: The East German specialty all over the developed world was setting up police apparatus or apparati.

CECIL: They did that, certainly, in Zanzibar. That was their *forte*. The Chinese were into agricultural assistance projects. I think they provided some trainers for the Zanzibar military. We had no contact whatsoever with the Chinese. If the Zanzibari government hosted a function and we were all invited, it was what you read about in the books. The Chinese would just look right past us. They wouldn't see us. They wouldn't shake our hand. They wouldn't acknowledge our presence. So we pretty much responded in kind. We talked to the Soviets. No problem there, and while we might occasionally speak to an East German, really there wasn't much contact there, either. The East Germans had had a defector sometime prior to our arrival, one or two years, I think, before our arrival. Someone from Zanzibar had defected to the U. S., so they were extremely sensitive about any contact with us. The staff of the consulate consisted of the principal officer, myself as political officer, an agency representative who was there as the commercial officer. When I arrived, we had an administrative officer. After a year, in a staff reduction program, that position was eliminated, and I assumed the duties of Admin Officer as well as Political Officer, and I was also the vice-consul although we had almost no consular

work. Then we had a secretary to the Principal Officer who also handled the State Department communications, and the agency had the real communications there, so they had one of their people to staff that function. We, in fact, piggybacked on their communications facilities to transmit our own material out of Zanzibar. That was it. We were all married except for the principal officer's secretary. She was a single lady. The principal officer had five children. I'm talking about Don Haught. Jack Matlock before him I think had three or four children. I know in the case of Don Haught, those of his children who were of school age actually went to a Zanzibari school for at least a couple of hours a day. It was more for social reasons. The Haughts wanted their kids to have some contact with the local children, and they learned good Swahili doing that. The whole American community was just the consulate, and probably we were about...nine adults or eleven adults, something like that, and a handful of children. The other expatriate community consisted of two British fellows who worked for... In the Gulf it's called Gray & Mackenzie, and in East Africa I think it was called Smith Mackenzie, and they ran the port for the Zanzibaris. There was an East African community organization called EAMFRO: East African Marine Fisheries Research Organization. It had a small number of expatriates, maybe five professionals, one of whom was a Brit. I think his specialty was oceanography, or maybe he was a marine biologist, something like that. They were a young couple. He had a wife. They were a young couple our age. There was another British couple probably in their 50's that had been long-time residents, and that was basically the foreign community. The French consul was there with his Chinese wife, and he had a deputy, a young Frenchman. That was the Western community on Zanzibar.

Q: What was our interest in that time in Zanzibar?

CECIL: Washington was extremely interested in any evidence of Chinese military presence. Newsweek magazine reported that the Chinese were building a missile-launching facility on the site of the former Mercury tracking station, a vestige of our early space program. We could drive by the Mercury Tracking Station site. We knew there was nothing to the story. But that's the kind of rumor that kept Washington's attention focused on East Africa. People were very concerned, apparently, in the State Department about the state of the union between Zanzibar and Tanganyika, the mainland. The British gave Zanzibar its independence in December of 1963. The British were very short-sighted in what they did. When the British arrived in East Africa perhaps a hundred years earlier, they found an Arab government in control of Zanzibar. Those Arabs, of course, had come from Oman, and made Zanzibar a part of their empire. The population of Zanzibar and Pemba was about 250,000. Of those, about 50,000 were Arab, and 200,000 were African, but the British seemed to ignore that, and when they decided to leave Zanzibar, rather than handing power over to a government elected by the majority, they turned the power back to the Arabs that they had found in control when they arrived a hundred years earlier. So that government lasted one month, and in January of 1964 there was a bloody revolution. The Arab sultan fled, and a small group of basically uneducated Zanzibaris seized power. They captured the government armory which had a lot of rifles in it, and in the course of 24 hours or less, the Arabs were gone and the Africans were in charge. They were immediately recognized by several of the Communist powers, and they turned to them both for political and economic support. This was a great alarm to Washington. Three months later in April of '64, Zanzibar joined with Tanganyika to form the nation of Tanzania. Zanzibar maintained a tremendous amount of autonomy in many areas. They had their own military; they had their own

foreign affairs ministry; they controlled their own customs and immigration; they had their own budget. The government was a 32-member body called the Revolutionary Council. It was headed by Abeid Amani Karume, who had been a merchant marine seaman most of his life before he entered politics. He had a few years of education, possibly as many as six years of primary education, but was not a very well educated man. He would often give speeches on Saturday to the people. Our job in the consulate was to record those speeches and then translate them and see what he was saying about Zanzibar's intentions either to depart from the union or stick with the union, or whatever initiative he might be announcing. If we didn't have our report in to the embassy by noon on Monday, the embassy would be on the phone saying, "What happened Saturday? What did he say? What's he going to do now? What new threat?" We would record these things that were usually Saturday morning or Saturday afternoon. We would then spend some more hours on Saturday making sure we understood them. Sunday we would make sure we finished up the job, usually would write our cable summary over to Dar and get it out first thing Monday morning. Some years later, both Don Haught and I were in Washington at the same time when a new Principal Officer was getting ready to go out. I've forgotten his name, but I remember we had a drink with him at a hotel in town. We had a nice hour-long talk about the situation there, and his last question of Don was, "Well, if you were like me, and if you were going out next week, and if you knew everything at the beginning of your tour that you know now having finished your tour, is there anything you would do differently? Don said, "Yes. I'd spend a lot more time on the consulate boat." We were very serious about our work, and when you look back, you kind of wonder what made it seem so important.

Q: I was wondering. You can have someone making speeches, but did anything come out of these speeches?

CECIL: The people were certainly impressed. The Zanzibaris feared that we, the United States, in cooperation with Saudi Arabia and Oman, would overthrow the African government and restore the Arab Sultan to his rule. This is one reason we were always regarded with suspicion and why we were shadowed so assiduously by the Zanzibaris. They really feared that we were a threat to their continued existence. Why they left us there is maybe harder to understand, but we gave small amounts of assistance. AID built a vocational training school called the Mbweni Technical College which was dedicated during my first year there. They were playing both sides of the street, but we didn't put much into the game. There was that. There was a scandal which got some international attention. I think it probably was called The Persian Brides affair. At one point, there were a number of young ladies who were of Iranian or perhaps Pakistani descent. There was certainly a sizeable Ithnasheri Muslim community who traced their origins back to Pakistan. There was a smaller Zoroastrian community that traced their lines back to Iran. Members of the revolutionary council decided they would marry these young ladies. They wanted to take a step toward abolishing these ethnic communal lines. They wanted to integrate all the communities, and their contribution to this would be to marry about half a dozen of these young Persian girls as they were called. That sort of thing got some international attention. We, of course, were asked to state our abhorrence with this, but not that it had any effect. The real benefit of being there, I guess, was just to be as well informed as we could be about Communist activities in that part of the world. We were like Kremlinologists. There was very little public information available. There was a weekly newspaper published in Swahili which we read very carefully, and we would find a tiny little item. Maybe somebody was promoted, or maybe

somebody was transferred, or maybe somebody visited that we didn't know about, and we would glean little pieces of information from the weekly paper and from what meetings we could have, and try to put it into a meaningful picture. It was a wonderful intellectual challenge. So interesting! The paper was called *Ukweli Ukidhihiri Uwongo Hujitenga.* It means, "Truth prevails where lies must vanish." That was the weekly party paper. I got to know the editor of the paper. I got to know the director of the Zanzibar Broadcasting Company. One of my extra duties in addition to being Political Officer was to be the branch Public Affairs Officer. We had a USIS library, a separate facility in a different location from the consulate. It was the only public lending library on the island. The East Germans had a reading room, but they wouldn't let you borrow the books. USIA had had a branch PAO resident on Zanzibar, a fellow named—the last one—Barney Coleman, a Black American whom I understood spoke very good Swahili and was very sociable and made a lot of friends and made the Zanzibari government very uneasy, so they PNGed him. They kicked him out. When they did that, USIA decided not to staff the position again, so the political officer took over running the library and managing the small staff. I think we had five people—five staff members—counting the janitor. We had three librarians, a janitor, and a guard, I believe it was. I loved that. It was my first exposure to USIA materials, and I found how useful they could be to a Political Officer, especially in a hostile environment. Zanzibaris in general were afraid to receive us in their offices because the very fact of doing that might bring their loyalties into suspicion, or they would at least have to explain why did that American come and see you. Why did you give him an appointment? I found that USIS materials were very useful in creating reasons to ask for appointments to go see people. I gave them maps; I gave them new books that we received; I opened a music room in the library that we could invite Zanzibaris to come and listen to records. I think it was records in those days. I don't think we had gotten to audio tapes yet. I often went to see people to give them either copies of Topic magazine which was the Africa publication of USIA in those days. Whatever I could find to create a reason to go see someone. That's how I got to know some of the people in the media. We offered the director of the broadcasting station an international visitor grant. That was just about the time I was leaving. He accepted. I'm a little vague as to whether the government let him go. I can't recall because I think the actual trip, I believe, was after my departure. It showed me something that I think I benefited from throughout my career, and that was how useful USIA materials and resources can be to a Political Officer. I never forgot that. I always urged everyone to bring USIA as much into our work as possible wherever I was throughout the rest of my career. It was a great shame to see the agency closed.

Q: Absolutely. What was the influence, if any, of Julius Nyerere and the mainland portion of Tanzania?

CECIL: It's hard for me to say after all these years. Certainly Nyerere must have been very frustrated by the relationship because I think my impression is that he was basically an honest man with good motivation. Maybe, I think, he was unwise in the Socialist policies that he applied on the mainland. Certainly they did not benefit the economy or the average Tanzanian, but I think he probably wanted to do the right thing. Of course, he was a very well educated man. He had translated Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* into Swahili as well as *The Merchant of Venice.* I think Karume and the actions of the revolutionary council must have been a constant thorn in his side. I guess he thought that he was moderating their extremist behavior by trying to maintain the union, and, of course, the union did last. It's still there today. But I think you need an

academician to assess what his influence really was.

Q: Was there much backwards and forwards between the two places by the natives of Tanzania?

CECIL: You mean immigration, that sort of thing?

Q: No. Traveling back and forth.

CECIL: The Zanzibaris certainly controlled immigration in both directions very closely. I guess there was some commercial travel. Businessmen probably could go back and forth. I don't think I know any statistics on it. I think the general rule would be if you wanted to go to mainland, you had to get the approval of some official. Very carefully controlling that sort of thing, and vice versa. There was some boat traffic to the mainland, not much. Dhows could go. I guess there were probably some larger vessels that could go back and forth. Our link was East African Airways. We had a little plane called a Twin Otter, Canadian-built Twin Otter that held sixteen people: five rows of three and one seat in the tail sideways. So sixteen passengers plus the pilot and co-pilot. That flew twice a day. There was a morning flight and an evening flight, so we could fly over in the morning, go to the embassy with the pouch, or go shopping if we needed to, and fly back in the late afternoon. That plane had been put into service not too long before our arrival. I'm not sure whether it was in '69, maybe '68 or '67, but people still talked about its predecessor. Its predecessor was described to me... I never saw the plane, but it was described to me as a canvas-covered bi-plane which all the expatriates referred to as the "Bamboo Bomber," and it carried seven people. Seven passengers, I should say, plus the pilot and co-pilot. When you checked into the airport in Dar Es- Salaam, not only did they weigh your luggage, they weighed you, and if the passengers were a little heavier than average, it would only take six people. Everyone was still saying when we were there, "And if the Dutch consul went, it only took five." I'm glad we didn't have to rely on that! The local people, I think, usually went by boat. I'm not very well informed, actually, about those methods.

Q: Did you have Zanzibaris in for dinner or that sort of thing?

CECIL: It was very difficult for the same reason they didn't want to receive us in their office. If they came to our house, they were then subsequently questioned by the security service. They had to have reasons for coming. I made really serious efforts, exerted as much effort as I could. I used USIS movies, for instance, to have movie showings at our house, sometimes on the front lawn with a portable screen. Sometimes I could get people to come to those, but there were very few who would come. We probably never had what you would call a normal sit-down representational dinner or lunch with Zanzibaris present in the house. We had some of these movie showings. We would have snacks, hors d'oeuvres, outside, even little, it was called mishkaki, little shish kabobs on skewers, outside. To get them inside the house was very unusual. I learned something from our chief of station there, another lesson that I carried throughout my career. I argued at one point that we should make an effort to get to know the Zanzibari members of the security service, some of these people we recognized because we saw them so often where we happened to be. We knew they were following us or watching us. I said, "You know, we should get to know them personally, and maybe they'll be open to some new ideas or maybe they'll be less critical of the United States if they just get to know a little more about us." In

looking back, I suppose I was naive about that. The chief of station said to me, "You know, people in the security business and the intelligence business are paid to report. If they don't have anything to report, they'll fabricate it because they want that pay. They want that extra little dash, the little tip, the bonus, the payment they're going to get for turning in some report. If they do come to our houses, their reports will look and sound even more convincing just because they'll be able to describe their surroundings better or they'll know a little bit more about it. They'll say, 'Chuck Cecil doesn't drink gin, but he loves vodka," or something like that. Any little tidbit." I took that lesson to heart, and I certainly noticed throughout my career later that our own intelligence service seemed to be afflicted by some of these kinds of things. I've read reports later in my career that such-and-such a head of state is mortally ill and his days or weeks or months are limited and these people are still around today.

Q: I know.

CECIL: I think my friend was correct, and we didn't make a big effort. He convinced me it wasn't the right thing to do, and we probably wouldn't have had much success anyway.

Q: Were there any Soviet military ship visits to Zanzibar while you were there?

CECIL: No. Nothing of that nature. I don't recall any particular Soviet activity. I think the Soviets looked upon an assignment to Zanzibar as a real outpost that is almost vanishing from the real life of their foreign service. I don't think they enjoyed it very much. They had a pretty low profile. There were some other aspects of life there that are worth mentioning. For instance, we had a lovely house at the end of the road above a beach, but in those days many Foreign Service houses were not provided washing machines or clothes dryers. Zanzibar was provided with clothes driers because of the Tumbu fly which plants its eggs in damp clothing if you hang it up on a clothes line and then the larvae will bore into you and come out later as a tiny worm. That was supposedly the justification for our being allowed to have clothes dryers. Both the clothes dryer and the clothes washing machine were outside the house, though. They were in a covered area outside the kitchen. It was an old wringer washer. I remember my wife forcing the clothes through that wringer. I'm glad she was an Iowa farm girl and had some familiarity with those kinds of conditions. It was a different stage in Foreign Service support and amenities. In fact, that leads me to another thought about Foreign Service support. We had our first child during that assignment to Zanzibar. The only hospital on the island was the V. I. Lenin Hospital run and staffed by the Communist Chinese. Washington, first of all, would not allow us to use the hospital but, at the same time, the Chinese would not treat us. Jack Matlock told me of a case in which an American tourist riding a bicycle had been hit by a car. I'm not sure if it was Jack personally or another member of the consulate who took him to the hospital because he needed some treatment. The Chinese, according to Jack, measured the wound but wouldn't give him any stitches. Jack took him home to the principal officer's residence, and he spent a day or so there before he was able to travel back to the mainland to Dar Es-Salaam. It was a very minimal medical facility. The next alternative... Well, let me say, there was a private Indian lady doctor on the island, Dr. Talati was her name. Some time during our tour, the Zanzibar government forbade private medical practice. Dr. Talati wasn't the only doctor. There were a few others, mainly in the Asian community, but they put them all out of business saying they were exploiting the people by taking money for their services. So, Dr. Talati was not able to openly

practice medicine by the end of our tour. I remember going to her office once. It was a dark facility in an old, old building in Stone Town. Above the entrance was a sign that said, "Dr. Talati. Licensed to sell drugs and poisons." She was nice, but she couldn't help with the birth of a child. Dar Es-Salaam was the next recourse. The hospital there had no incubators, and if I recall correctly, no ability to do a blood transfusion for a baby. So that was not an option. We determined that my wife would have to go to Nairobi to have our first child. In those days giving birth was not accepted as a reason for medical evacuation. The law according to the department was that medevacs were for illness or injury, and pregnancy was not an illness or an injury. My wife went to Nairobi about a month before the due date—maybe it was three weeks—and it was explained to us that the embassy in Nairobi had two transit apartments that were at that time unoccupied and that my wife could have one of them at no charge. But if a real medevac should come to Nairobi from anywhere in East Africa and would need the apartment, then she would have to go to a hotel at our own expense. We were lucky, and she was able to spend the entire three weeks in that apartment without having to go to the hotel. Our first son Thomas was born in Nairobi in September 1970 on the day Gamal Abdel Nasser died. My wife went to a British hospital. I've forgotten the name of it, but it was up on the hill above the Hotel Africa somewhere not far from central Nairobi. Nice British and African nuns ran the hospital. A midwife assisted at the birth. I'm not sure if a doctor even showed up. I can't recall that. They wouldn't let me near the room where the birth was taking place. Their normal requirement was to keep the mother in the hospital for ten days before allowing her to go home. In our case they made a special exception because of airplane schedules. There was a plane back to Zanzibar on the ninth day after the birth, and they said, "Well, OK. We don't see any problems, so we'll let you go a day early. It's not our usual practice, but you can go home." We flew back to Zanzibar with our nine-day-old son.

There's another example of how a good Administrative Officer can help make up for a weakness in practice and regulation. The Admin Officer in Dad Es Salaam was Andrew Coe. Andy Coe. He sent the embassy nurse to Zanzibar to give our son and Jean the injections—the inoculations—that were required so my wife and nine-day old baby didn't have to fly over to Dar Es-Salaam. Even as the baby got a little bit older, Andy had the nurse come over and see us in Zanzibar. It was very nice of him. In fact, another example: One day not long after the birth, my wife's very good friend who had been teaching with her in Kuwait was taking advantage of our presence in Zanzibar to pay us a visit, and she came. One day my wife was taking her friend down through Stone Town, and they went into an Indian merchant's store room, and my wife stepped on a nail. And so, tetanus shot. The private doctors were out of practice at that point, and the island hospital was off limits. As it happened, the next day it was time to take the pouch to Dar Es-Salaam, and it was Don Haught's time. He went over in the morning. The nurse gave him lessons on a grapefruit on how to give a shot and then gave Don the serum. Don came back on the evening flight and came to our house and gave my wife the tetanus shot. We took a picture of it and sent it in to *State Magazine*, and they published it. I think the caption was, "All in a day's work for the principal officer of Zanzibar." It was a nice supportive community that we were in there. Dar Es-Salaam always was concerned about our welfare and did everything they could.

Q: Were you using your Swahili very much?

CECIL: Absolutely. It was essential. We had an excellent instructor, Sheik Ali Omar. He was a

retired headmaster in the Zanzibar school system, African, and a wonderful teacher. I can't remember now whether I had a lesson from him every day, but probably three days a week for an hour. We couldn't do our work without Swahili. Everything was in Swahili. Still to this day it's still the language I scored highest in at FSI. I got a 4 in Swahili in reading. Earl Stevick didn't give me a 4 for speaking; he gave me a 3+ plus and said I didn't quite have the variety of vocabulary that he would like to have seen to give me an S4, but we certainly used it every day.

Another point or two about the quality of life in Zanzibar about that time might be worth making. One was we had a consumables allowance to pay the shipment of consumables that were not available on the local economy. Our practice was to order through Peter Justesen in Denmark about twice a year. I think our allowance was about 2,000 pounds, if I recall. That was a one-time allowance, so we divided it up by, I think, two shipments, maybe possibly into three. That's where we got our processed foods—canned foods—that weren't available. In Zanzibar there were state-run shops where an extremely limited number of items could be bought. I remember one thing that was always on the shelf was canned pineapple. There was wonderful fresh pineapple on the market, but canned pineapple on the shelves. And processed canned cheese. I think it was Australian. And sometimes these would be the only two items you could find in a government store. One merchant in the market in Zanzibar in Stone Town had government permission to import potatoes from the mainland, and once a week, an airplane brought in a supply of potatoes, but if you weren't down there early enough, the East Germans would buy up all the potatoes before the other expatriates could get them. We had an arrangement with a farm on the mainland near the town of Iringa which is quite a ways inland in Tanzania. It was called the Iringa Basket. Every other week this farm would pack up a huge African basket made out of grass and bamboo or whatever the material was, tie it all up, fill it with whatever vegetables were current that week, and send it off to Zanzibar. We paid 70 shillings for the basket. I think in those days there were seven shillings to the dollar. That's incredible if you think what the shilling is worth today, or maybe they aren't even using them anymore. Anyway, about $10.00, and that included the air fare. So the principal officer's family and my wife and I shared an Iringa basket every two weeks, and that's how we got the variety in our diet in the way of vegetables. Zanzibar is very rich in fruits but very poor in vegetables. The staple there is manioc or cassava. That's the starch in the diet. For some reason they didn't take much to cultivating vegetables, but we had wonderful, wonderful fruits and many of them I had never seen before; things like mangosteens and what we called custard apples. I think these probably have other names depending on what part of the world you're from. And duriani. I guess it's called durian. I still call it by the Swahili name I first learned. That very spiked, huge thing about the size of a small football, and it smells to high heaven. It's regarded as an aphrodisiac in Southeast Asia. But that was available there. And jack fruit. And, of course, so many varieties of bananas. I had no idea there were so many different kinds of bananas. And mangoes. Many different kinds of mangoes. They had wonderful fruits but almost no vegetables. As far as quality of life, maybe that covers those high points. I did do some writing for the outside world while I was there. I published an article in the *Journal of Modern Africa Studies* shortly after leaving Zanzibar. It was called, "Zanzibar: The Politics of Revolutionary Inequality." It appeared in the *Journal of Modern Africa Studies* Volume 9, Number 4. That was sometime after June of '71 because that's when we left. June or July. I think it was probably early '72. It was kind of a George Orwellian type of thing showing that despite all the high sounding principals that this revolutionary council had said it was going to implement, in fact, it was like *Animal Farm.* The revolutionary council members had all the

privileges and the high lifestyle, and the people were being totally exploited and neglected. I published that article under the name George W. Triplett. I had an ancestor named George Washington Triplett, and basically I didn't want to delay publication by going through the formal procedures to get the Department's approval which we were supposed to do if I published it under my own name. So I published it under a pseudonym and tried to let the outside world know what was happening in Zanzibar in those days. I had done that earlier, actually, with another article called, "America's Stakes in the Middle East" which I published in *The SAIS Review* in 1969 after coming back from Kuwait. I also published that as George W. Triplett. Just a general review of our Middle East policy with which I did not agree at the time. I guess those are the only two cases, though, where I published things under pseudonyms.

I did write one other thing. As the assignment was coming to an end, I wrote a memo to the embassy in Dar recommending that we close the consulate and that we take those resources and open a consulate—or an embassy it would have been actually—in the Comoros. The argument was that we're having no influence here in Zanzibar on the course of events. We have very little access despite our best efforts, so why not transfer our resources and our people to the Comoros where we might influence the development of a nation that was just about to be given its independence by the French? We didn't do that, of course. We didn't open in the Comoros. We did eventually close in Zanzibar. I know there were, I believe, two, maybe three, other principal officers after Don Haught, before it closed in 1979. It was the first consulate opened in Africa. It had opened in 1837, so it had a long history. It wasn't open all those years. It was closed in 1915, when we transferred our representation to Mombasa, and then reopened in1961 as independence was approaching. I don't know what the embassy thought of my memo, but it's just one of those things. I always think about other possibilities, and certainly it was difficult to have influence on the island at that time. We had two CODELs (Congressional Delegation) while I was there. The first was a visit of a few hours by Congressman Charles Diggs. Then we had three senators visit for a total of five hours: Senator Moss, I think he was from Utah; Senator McGee, I think he might have been from Wyoming; and Senator Fong from Hawaii. They came with their wives and with a couple of staff members. We had a nice lunch for them and gave them a tour of Stone Town and maybe a couple of other things, and I guess they learned something about the complexity of the situation in East Africa. I did have a CODEL in Kuwait: Congressman Tunney, my congressman in California by coincidence, came to Kuwait during my time there, but the Zanzibar ones were probably the second and third CODELs I had in my career. It was very interesting to get to meet and talk to senators and try to educate them and influence their thinking a little bit. My favorite story about Senator Fong is that sometime after that visit, I noticed his name in the paper when he joined with two other senators, it was Senator Long from Louisiana, and Senator Spong, I think was from Virginia, I believe. The three of them decided that something had to be done about the unjustifiable pirating of musical intellectual property from American companies by Chinese publishers who were copying the lyrics and publishing them and then paying absolutely nothing to the American composers and writers and publishers. That bill when introduced was called the "Long Fong Spong Hong Kong Song Bill."

[laughter]

CECIL: But I don't think it ever passed.

CLAUDE G. ROSS
Ambassador
Tanzania (1969-1972)

Ambassador Claude G. Ross was born in Illinois in 1917. He received a B.A. from the University of Southern California and entered the Foreign Service in 1940. Subsequently, he served in Mexico, Ecuador, Greece, New Caledonia, Lebanon, Egypt, Guinea, the Central African Republic, Haiti, and Tanzania. Ambassador Ross was interviewed by Ambassador Horace G. Torbert in 1989.

ROSS: I went to Tanzania and President Nyerere. That was an interesting experience, I must say.

Q: He's always been a fascinating person.

ROSS: He was fascinating. There again, I had a very good personal relationship with him, although there were some issues on which we were on opposite sides of the fence. Vietnam was at its height then, and we were on opposite sides of that. He didn't think we were moving fast enough or firmly enough in Southern Africa to work changes in South Africa or in the Portuguese territories. Then, of course, as you know, he was a Fabian Socialist and had his own ideas about how the Tanzanian economy should develop. That didn't keep him from accepting a substantial amount of aid from us, and that aid being used fairly well. On the fiscal side, there was very good accountability, because they had a Tanzanian, an Indian who had been born in Tanzania, as their Minister of Finance. He was very good and had very good standing in the international financial community, which helped them out over a long period, when otherwise they might not have had as much.

Q: Did the Indians have the same trouble there that they had in other parts?

ROSS: It came before I left. It started coming in 1971, I guess. Yes, they changed a lot of the local laws. You couldn't own rental property after a while. If you lived in it, okay. But you couldn't have apartment houses or apartments for rent, etc. Also they clamped down on foreign exchange available for Tanzanian children to go abroad for study. Lots of the Indians, the ones who could afford it, had sent theirs to Britain or elsewhere.

Q: Ambassador Ross, we were talking about the problem of the Indians, particularly in Tanzania.

ROSS: As I say, there were a number of measures that were, on the face of them, not discriminatory, but in the practical effect, only affected the Indian element of the population. So these people began pulling up and going out, and in the process, the Tanzanians lost a very productive element of their population--doctors, for example, merchants of one kind or another--because most of the merchants were Indian.

Q: In fact, it was <u>the</u> middle class, almost.

ROSS: That's right. There were some relatively well-to-do Tanzanians, particularly up in the north in the coffee areas.

Q: Probably more in Tanzania than Uganda?

ROSS: I don't know. I really don't know. There were a few Africans, but not very many. Of course, the whole thrust of Nyerere's policies was to make a kind of classless society, and he used this device of Ujama villages, where he hoped he was going to be able to develop centers of productivity throughout the country, establishing villages where, in effect, everybody worked for the common cause, and at the end of the harvest season, you all shared and shared alike, that kind of thing. Well, that didn't go very well, because, as you might suppose, there were those who worked very hard and those who sat around. Obviously, they weren't about to share equally when that kind of thing existed. He tried, too, to convert to Ujama some things like coffee-producing areas, which would have been a real disaster.

He decided he wanted to move the capital out of Dar es Salaam to a place called Dodoma, in the middle of the country. He wanted to have a more centrally located place, and I think to get the government away from whatever foreign influence that came from being on the coast. They still haven't achieved this, although I gather technically the move is still on the books. It was obvious that there were going to be all kinds of problems.

I went up to Dodoma and there wasn't any water there. I mean, it was a very dry part of the country, and one wondered how you were going to support any kind of a population or put the capital there with all that entailed. That was just one overriding problem. But he was full of good intentions and personally the epitome of integrity. I don't think any kind of financial scandal was ever attached to him.

Q: And a man you could talk to.

ROSS: Oh, yes, yes.

Q: You might not reach any conclusion, but you could talk.

ROSS: That's right. But he was a very interesting man, very articulate, you know, and had a better education. He'd gone to Edinburgh and had advanced training, not a doctorate, but advanced training, and I think it during his British sojourn that he came under the influence of Fabian socialists and took a turn in that direction.

Q: Was his advanced training in economics?

ROSS: I can't remember whether it was that or in the education field. Because he was a teacher. The Tanzanians all called him, in Swahili, Mwalimu, which means "teacher." That's what he was early on.

Q: What did we have there basically in the way of programs? Did we have a Peace Corps there?

ROSS: We did not have a Peace Corps there.

Q: At no time?

ROSS: No. We had had a Peace Corps, and it had been pulled out at the request of the Tanzanian Government the year before I was posted there. I think it was late 1968 or early 1969. It was not reinstated in my day. There again, you know, the idea being, I guess, that there was too much American influence out in the countryside.

Q: Corruption?

ROSS: That's right. I was there at the time when, back here in the States, Afro hairdos were in style and things like that. Nyerere wouldn't have any of it. No Afro hairdos in Tanzania. There were several other things which he just didn't want.

Q: He was a conservative?

ROSS: Yes. He wanted to keep his people free from this. But it was a fascinating place, and the relationship between Tanganyika and Zanzibar was an interesting one, because we had two vice presidents one from Zanzibar and one from Tanganyika. The vice president from Zanzibar who was assassinated shortly before I left, a man named Karume, was, in effect, the dictator of Zanzibar. Zanzibar was a big foreign exchange earner for Tanzania, because it is an island that grows cloves.

Q: And other spices.

ROSS: Other spices, too, but cloves are the big crop, both on Zanzibar proper and on Pemba, which is part of the Zanzibar geographical entity. However, under Karume those revenues were kept by the Zanzibaris for their own use. They didn't come over as part of the total Tanzanian revenue. I think eventually this may have changed, but in my day it didn't.

Q: In other words, they ran their own foreign exchange.

ROSS: Yes, and they had, as a carryover from the time they were independent before the union with Tanzania, consular posts there that Nyerere might not have authorized. The East Germans were there, the Czechs were there, etc. They gave assistance directly to the Zanzibaris without going through the Tanzanian apparatus. I don't think that sat terribly well, but I guess there were limits on what Nyerere could do.

Q: You said that he might not otherwise have authorized these things. Was he that strong a leader?

ROSS: I think he would want to keep control of this, you see. We had a consulate there, a holdover from the old days, too. The Brits no longer had a resident consul there but the British

High Commissioner used to visit periodically. I don't recall that otherwise there was much in the way of a Western presence there on Zanzibar.

Q: I never got into Tanzania at all when I was there, because there was always friction between Kenya and Tanzania.

ROSS: Yes. They broke up their common market.

Q: Common services.

ROSS: Yes. East African common services.

Q: That happened while I was there, and it was a great loss, I think.

ROSS: It was. That happened while I was there, too, the termination of one common service and then another.

Q: The Ugandans got out very early, I think.

ROSS: Yes.

Q: That was a great loss, because that was a good operating thing.

ROSS: It was. Yes, they had a lot of good things.

Q: Of course, it was something installed by the British.

ROSS: It was. It did tend to work much more efficiently than three separate entities would and probably less costly.

Q: The currency was an important thing, too.

ROSS: That's right, as we've had occasion to note in other places, the various vested interests in a country.

Q: I think it was each one with national pride.

ROSS: That's it.

Q: And the fact that Kenya was going well economically.

ROSS: Yes. It was always a point of great resentment and dissatisfaction among the Tanzanians that all of the safaris from Europe and America and elsewhere came into Nairobi and then fanned out from there.

Q: They collected much of the foreign exchange.

ROSS: That's right. Even to the point, you see, that the people on safari didn't know when they were in Tanzania. As you say, most of it was collected by the tour groups that were either headquartered abroad or in Nairobi. So that was another reason for the dissatisfaction. But I must say, when the Tanzanians were handling it themselves, they never succeeded in really accomplishing a great improvement in the situation, at least during the time I was there. They would get tour groups, but they were all pre-paid, pre-packaged tour groups, so that the individuals who came would go to one of the beach resorts near Dar es Salaam. They might come into town once or twice, but for the most part, they were out there. It was all pre-paid. They spent very little money in the country.

Q: The hotel bills and so on, which were group rates.

ROSS: Exactly. So one wonders. They had a few souvenirs that they may have bought, but one wonders how much the Tanzanians did get out of it.

Q: What were their principal sources of revenue and foreign exchange besides the spices?

ROSS: There were the spices, there was tourism, and there were some gemstones. Just before I went out there, as a matter of fact, a stone called Tanzanite came on the market, a blue stone, semi-precious, really, which Tiffany's had the lock on. As I remember, when I went out through New York, I went to Tiffany's to see this. But Tanzania didn't have alluvial diamond fields as they did in the Central African Republic. That was one of the American interests there. In Tanzania, diamonds were found in "pipes" as they are in South Africa. In Tanzania they weren't all that extensive or important. Sisal and cotton had been important, but the markets for these had slumped as I knew from Haiti. For a little while, it looked like sisal might come back. Remember paper dresses? We had a period for things like that. But that never really developed. Coffee and tea were other foreign-exchange earners. The tea was in British hands on southern highlands, British companies.

Q: Was there any great American commercial penetration?

ROSS: No, not a great deal.

Q: My experience is that eastern Africa is just too darn far away.

ROSS: That's right. Then you ran into all kinds of difficulties. For a time the Lykes Lines used to come in, you know, and then they stopped, because the port was so congested that you'd have to stand off maybe for two weeks. What American freighter could do that? I think they were figuring it might be something like $30,000 a day. They weren't about to stand for that. So we stopped having American bottoms turn up there. I only got one American naval vessel there, and that was near the end of my tour. We got one of them from the force in the Persian gulf, a destroyer. That took a lot of doing. It went off all right, no harm done. The U.S. Navy were very keen on doing it. They were always looking for ports of call.

Q: I had a very dichotomous attitude on that where we were, but I had them come in, and it worked all right.

ROSS: Tanzania, as you know, has Mozambique on its southern border, and Dar es Salaam was the center from which Eduardo Mondlane, the head of Frelimo the Mozambican independence movement, operated. He was married to an American. He was assassinated shortly before I got there, but the Mozambicans were a presence there, as were, of course, groups from Rhodesia and South Africa.

Q: What was the relationship with Malawi? Was that significant?

ROSS: Not really. I think the Tanzanians all thought that Banda was a bit of an Uncle Tom. Relationships were all right. They shared the lake together, you know.

Q: And the transportation came through, I suppose, to Dar es Salaam, didn't it?

ROSS: Not really, no. A lot of things from Zambia came through, yes, but not from Malawi. That was one reason that the Tanzanians got the Chinese in there to build that railroad to Zambia. They were hoping to eliminate Zambia's having to use the railroad that ran through Rhodesia and Mozambique. The Chinese came and built the railroad. There was great suspicion and fear in Washington that the Chinese would never leave, having come in. I was at considerable pains to try to get some sense of balance on that question in my reporting, because we could find no evidence of this, or that the Chinese were having much of an impact on the Tanzanians. I'm sure they were grateful for the assistance, yes, but the Chinese weren't imparting any particular political philosophy, and certainly not any work habits, on the Tanzanians. The Tanzanians were quite prepared to sit there and watch the Chinese work, but they weren't about to work the way these coolies were working on the railroad.

Q: You couldn't say that we did anything except have the Chinese build our railroads across the country anyway.

ROSS: Yes. We were engaged in road building. That is to say, we had an American Company called Nello Teer, building a road from Dar es Salaam to Morogoro.

Q: Was this an actual paved road?

ROSS: It was to be.

Q: Our road building in Somalia was mostly what they called "stabilized earth," which you mixed a little cement in with the soil.

ROSS: Yes. They weren't finished by the time I left, so I don't know how it all turned out. But the first stages were paved. Incidentally, it might interest you to know that one of the other road-building outfits in Tanzania, particularly in the north of Tanzania, was the Frederics Company, owned by in-laws of Henry Tasea. They were also involved in building the international airport that was put up between Arusha and Moshi in the north, presumably for travelers to come in and

go directly into the game areas of Tanzania. Whether that ever worked out or not, I don't know. Shortly before I left Tanzania, I went to the inauguration of the airport. But up to the time I left, there was very little traffic in and out, and I don't know if there were any scheduled flights.

LAMBERT HEYNIGER
Political Officer
Dar es Salaam (1969-1972)

Lambert Heyniger was born in New York in 1930. He graduated from Princeton University in 1953 and served overseas in the U.S. Army from 1953-1955. He entered the Foreign Service in 1956 and served in numerous posts abroad, including Jordan, Netherlands, Congo, Tanzania, and Algeria. He was interviewed on May 19, 1996 by Charles Stuart Kennedy.

HEYNIGER: Of course I will talk about him when I get assigned to Tanzania where I had an opportunity to observe and read about Nyerere every day. Julius Nyerere will forever stand as one of the most interesting and, I'm struggling as to how to phrase this, I was going to say democratic, but Tanzania under Nyerere was not a democracy. It was a "one party democracy." Here was an African leader who had been educated and was very thoughtful. He was trying to use a great many ideas and approaches to economic and social development, but not in a strong-arm way. Nyerere was one of the few leaders of the time who held elections and even announced that he was not going to stand for election, that he was going to step down.

Q: Well in '69, you were reassigned. Where?

HEYNIGER: This time I was assigned as Chief of the Political Section in Dar es Salaam. I served in Tanzania from 1969 to 1972. It was without a doubt the most interesting and enjoyable and rewarding assignment of my career. I was the Political Officer for a small American Embassy. There were very interesting things going on. We talked a little bit about Nyerere; we should talk some more. The focus on the political side was on self determination for Africa and for Southern Africa. Many of the liberation movements were in Dar Es Salaam.

On the economic side it was fascinating because Tanzania is an extremely poor and backward country. It has one of the lowest per capita incomes in the world. It was sort of a laboratory for development. Everybody was there. The Americans were there with AID, with Peace Corps. The British were there. The Germans were there. The Scandinavians had a huge operation going. The Soviets were there. The Chinese were there. The North Koreans were there. Everybody was involved in their own approach to development.

Beyond that, I had the good fortune to work for two or three of the real stars of the Foreign Service. When I arrived in Dar es Salaam, the number two, the DCM was Tom Pickering, who three years before had gone to Zanzibar to be Consul as an FSO-5, and three years later was going back into the Department as an FSO-2 to be a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State. He had been promoted every year. I also worked for Paul Kreisberg, who was a Chinese specialist who

was being broadened, but who was very much involved in developing US-Chinese relations, but we didn't have any relations with China at the time although there were many thousands of Chinese living and working in Tanzania. My third DCM was Jack Matlock who also had been American Consul in Zanzibar and then had come over to Dar es Salaam to be DCM and as you know, went on to be Reagan's Soviet expert in the National Security Council and a distinguished Ambassador in Moscow.

Q: When you arrived in '69...

HEYNIGER: One of the reasons I liked it was it was a small Embassy. There was plenty to do. The previous Ambassador, whose next assignment was Director General of the Foreign Service, was John Burns. I never had the opportunity to serve with Ambassador Burns, but most of the people that were serving under him in this little obscure African country went on to have very distinguished careers.

He wanted to have somebody out traveling around through the country all the time. That practice continued, and we officers in the Embassy took turns making trips around Tanzania by Land Rover. Our drivers were former Sergeant Majors in the Tanganyika Rifles. We would load the Land Rover up with C-rations, gasoline, two or three spare tires because the paved roads ended about 30 miles outside of Dar es Salaam. We would go off for a week and visit outlying towns, see what was going on in terms of rural development. We went all over the country. The Tanzanians did not want us down in the southern part of the country; it was close to the developing insurgency in Mozambique, but we were out everywhere else.

This is where I really used my training in Swahili, not so much in Elisabethville but in Dar es Salaam. We were out in country where nobody spoke any English. It was just the driver and you day after day going through what the British called MMBA, "miles and miles of bloody Africa". We would sometimes be out 500 miles west or northwest up toward Lake Tanganyika from Dar Es Salaam. This is really the way to find out what is going on. The Tanzanians were a little nervous about this. They didn't want American Embassy Officers traveling around too freely, but they were usually willing to give us clearance to go anywhere but the southern part of the country. We were close to Zambia, we were close to Rwanda and Burundi, we were close to Zaire, and close to Kenya again and again on these trips.

Q: As you saw it when you arrived there as the political officer, in a way the politics was Nyerere wasn't it? I mean was there a political system to deal with?

HEYNIGER: The situation was pretty much Nyerere and his political party which was called TANU for Tanganyikan African National Union. TANU was the only political party which was permitted. Tanzania was practicing what a British professor at the University of Dar es Salaam called in a book, "One Party Democracy." In other words there was only one political party, and if you wanted to get anywhere in Tanzanian politics, you had to be a member of that party.

On the other hand, the party was ostensibly open to anyone who wanted to join. Don't forget that at that time at least, Africa was still very much involved with tribes and tribal politics, but Tanzania did not have the difficulties, for example, that Kenya had and has. In Kenya there are

several really large important tribes like the Kikuyu, the Luo and others each of whom wants to have its own political party. Things can get very difficult between these big tribal groupings. But tribalism is not nearly so much a factor in Tanzanian politics.

The country was desperately poor and desperately in need of everything, but there were trained teachers, skilled workers. When I got there, a great deal of the middle class, particularly the commercial middle class, were all East Asians. They were Indians who were in the process of leaving Tanzania in droves because they didn't see that they had any real future there, and the Africans were just beginning to come in and take over the stores and businesses and that kind of thing. Tanzania was also struggling with the fact that Zanzibar, with its very particular political background, and Tanganyika were trying to work together, and there certainly was a great deal of lack of agreement between the Zanzibaris and the Tanganyikans as to what the policy should be. Tanzania was very self consciously trying to be an independent, non-aligned, socialistic third world country.

Q: In a way the economics played a larger role than the politics wouldn't you say? It is somehow a thing that comes through in a good number of my interviews dealing with the third world that Fabian Socialism has probably had a more pernicious effect than Marxism or anything else. This is something I've heard. Now, please refute me, Tanzania is shown as an example of where a well meaning person destroyed a country. But I'm trying to capture the period. We are talking about '69-'72. How did we view this? We view it never to talk about the British and the Scandinavians.

HEYNIGER: Yes. First as a political officer, I learned fairly soon there wasn't much point in following discussions in Parliament because there weren't that many with a one party government. We made our usual representations to the Foreign Ministry and to other ministries in terms of bilateral politics as well as multi-lateral politics, UN votes, all that kind of stuff. You couldn't really do very much. I mean the Foreign Ministry was going to do basically what Julius Nyerere wanted and the senior officials in the party. You went there and did your work and did your job, but that was it. Also, the newspapers, both the English language and the Swahili language newspapers, and I was trying to read both, did not have a great deal of discussion or debate about domestic or foreign policies.

One thing that I did find out, and younger officers might keep an eye out for this, is I learned after I had been there for awhile, that every day on the Swahili radio, after the news, there was a story. Swahili speakers all over Tanzania listened to this story very carefully because while it was ostensibly about life in African villages and animals, a great deal about the giraffe talking to the elephant and the hyena talking to the lion etc. there were things being said through these stories about the outlook on issues and problems. You had to be able to not only get it in Swahili, but you had to be able to decode it. That was one of the main ways to get information, and then again as I say, a good way to do political work in a country like Tanzania is to get out of the capital, to talk to regional commissioners, to talk to regional party officials, to talk to regional business people and tribal leaders. When you are 250-400 miles away from the capital, they will talk to you about their concerns and what is going on.

But, you are absolutely right, the country was much more interesting economically than politically. What Nyerere and Tanu and the Government were trying to pursue was called

"Ujamaa." This is a Swahili word; roughly it means "working together." It was an economic and social experiment in taking people who were living in small villages and bringing them together in new, artificially created villages.

Now by doing this, you can accomplish a number of things. It is easier to set up a good school in this more centrally located village. It is easier to deliver health services. It is easier to deliver social services. What everybody was supposed to do was they were supposed to work on common "shambas." A shamba is a farm. So the village, let's say they had 25 hectares planted in peanuts and 15 hectares planted in cassava, etc. All the villagers were supposed to go out and work these plots of land together. The Swahili word for this is “Kujitegamaya” which means doing things together.

The idea was to see if you could take people who had been living in very small, very isolated villages, and bring them together so you could provide services to them. In effect, what you were doing was transforming the agriculture of the country, and you are getting people to work together.

It was very interesting to go out and look at these villages and see how they were doing. Of course, the government wanted you to go and visit the "Potemkin villages" where special attention had been made toward setting up services, and everybody was having a nice time. What we were trying to do was go to the villages that were having a bad time and see how and why this very interesting experiment in rural development was not working. Tanzania was a vast laboratory of rural development.

The things that came out were, for example, that it was hard to get people to work on the collective plots because everybody wanted to work on their own plots. And as usual, the women did most of the work and yet the men claimed most of the money because when all the crops were harvested and taken away and the money received through these cooperative marketing schemes that the Scandinavians were particularly interested in, then the village got the money. Here were all these women who had been out sweating in the sun for months, but the money went to their husbands. The women were really not happy about this, so there was a lot of tension and dissension about that.

Then there were a couple of really difficult situations while I was there. There was one very bright and very ambitious but rather dictatorial government official who was a Regional Commissioner. He came around and was pushing people to do what he wanted them to do in terms of this "Ujamaa" villaging. The tribal leaders told him to back off, and he didn't, and he was assassinated. That's very rare in a country like Tanzania. Most likely it was just that in a number of these villages, in the first place rural people in developing countries do not want to be relocated whether they like it or not. They don't. Different men and women have different ideas about what crops to raise and not to raise. There is tension about this all the time.

I think that the net result over a period of 10 or 15 years that this experiment went on, with great interest from other developing countries and developing nations, not so much the United States, but other countries that are really interested in rural development like the Scandinavians and perhaps some of the Eastern Europeans, was that it wasn't working.

Q: Nyerere was really the golden headed boy of particularly the socialist parties in Germany and Scandinavia. Vast amounts of money were going in. Looking at this which in many ways it is right back to what happened in the Soviet Union. The collectivization at one point there was done with maybe not completely benign, but I mean this was a very good way, and you had people who looked at planning and thought this was wonderful, but it was absolute disaster.

HEYNIGER: Not just that but there were also UN people there. A lot of UN people who had their own ideas and own agendas, and they were trying to boost these.

Q: In fact there was sort of, I don't want to be nasty about it, but it seemed to be a little bit like a socialist playground. Did you have that feeling while you were there, or was this something that when you are involved, you don't really see that force that is developing?

HEYNIGER: Well, yes, I think we certainly did see that. It is helpful to put it into context. In the first place, Nyerere was not a dictator as perhaps was the case in the Soviet Union. Nyerere, I believe he is still alive, is a person of great charm and great sympatico, he is very low key.

Q: A great intellectual too.

HEYNIGER: Right. But he was not a driver. He was not someone who knocked heads together. He was not a very controversial and contentious figure. His nickname was “mwalimu” which means "the teacher." He was trying to lead his country by teaching them how to do things. Now, when you get out in the field, then what you begin to see is that what you are told in Dar es Salaam is that this is all voluntary and that it is all consensual, and that all the decisions are made by the villagers collectively, and that everything is peace and happiness and joy.

The way it really worked out on the ground is that sometimes people were pulling together voluntarily, and sometimes they were pushed. Sometimes the Tanzanian police and the public officials went around and told the people to put their stuff on the truck because the village was going to be burned down in the afternoon, and they were just forcibly relocated. Sometimes the villagers genuinely got together and decided what they were going to plant and who was going to do what, and it was really an effort at trying to live in a cooperative, harmonious, understanding way, and in other instances, it was a much more authoritarian approach where village elders plus Tanu people plus government officials came in and said okay, this is what you are going to do, and this is how you are going to do it.

I think that is what ultimately, long after I left Tanzania, led to the failure of the "Ujamaa" movement. In the first place rural people want to grow the crops they want to grow, and secondly, this was an attempt which required a great deal of patience and understanding and flexibility in terms of people's willingness to get along with each other, in terms of cultural change, social change, your whole approach to life, and it doesn't happen that fast.

It was hard to get access to Nyerere. He didn't particularly want to see us. It was tough to get access to the Foreign Ministry people, who didn't want to be seen talking to American Government officials. Our access and the availability of people to deal with was really difficult.

Of course, all this in the context of Vietnam and local demonstrations against American policy in Vietnam. People were shouting at us all the time. All of the liberal professors at the university when you'd go out there for a dinner party, if they found out you were working at the Embassy, they would come and shout at you at the dinner party and all of this stuff. So, that was hard. We were trying, I think, all of us, to pursue classical diplomatic work in terms of advancing American interests either on the economic or the political or the public affairs fronts with a people and a society that had very big problems they were facing of their own domestically, and they just weren't particularly interested.

You'd go over there and urge the Foreign Ministry to vote a certain way on a UN vote or on another international issue, and they were going to make up their minds about that not so much by what you said but by what the non-aligned world, of which Nyerere and Tanzania were leaders, felt, by what the OAU, the Organization of African Unity, wanted to do. It was a very self consciously and self righteously socialistic government.

Q: Who were your Ambassadors while you were there?

HEYNIGER: John Burns had left. Incidentally, I learned after I got to Dar es Salaam, and I recounted this unfortunate experience with the Inspector at the Pentagon, I was told that a year before, that Inspector had announced that he was coming to Dar es Salaam to visit the post. Ambassador Burns said "Oh terribly sorry, won't be convenient. I won't be here."

Q: Burns having been an Inspector and he really knew the system. He was my Consul General in Frankfurt when I first came in. He knew the inspection service up and down.

HEYNIGER: The first telegram that went out to Washington said "I'm awfully sorry, it is not a convenient time. I won't be here." The next telegram that went out from the Embassy went to the post in Lusaka saying "I need to come and visit you right away. I hope that's all right." It was marvelous. Well, back to who were the Ambassadors. Most of the time. I served under Tony Ross who was and is a distinguished career officer and an excellent example of coming up through the service by getting your ticket punched all over the place. Ambassador Ross had been a consular officer, a political officer, and administrative officer, an economic officer. He knew every classical function that an Embassy does. So, he was interesting to serve for because he had a great deal of experience. Dar es Salaam was not his first Embassy. I think he had been Ambassador somewhere else. He was there most of the time. You know his son who has been Ambassador to Damascus for the past five years was a USIA officer.

Q: How were your relations, you speak about the rather dismal official relations, what about the relations of the Soviets, the Chinese, etc. Were they at some distance to?

HEYNIGER: I think we all were. I think that the general atmosphere was that everybody was welcome to come, set up an Embassy, set up an AID program, and get involved in helping in whatever way they wanted -- which became a nightmare for the UNDP people because here was a Nigerian who was head of the United Nations Development Program office in Dar es Salaam supposedly trying to coordinate the development activities of 25 different countries with a startling lack of success. The Chinese when they arrived, since they were building the Tazara

Railroad from Dar to the Lusaka, they were there on the ground. As I say, 15,000 People's Liberation Army soldiers working on the railroad. They had terrific access to the government. Other socialistic countries probably had more than us, the British because of their previous position, I mean Tanzania had first been a German and then a British colony. None of us had very good access.

Q: 15,000 People's Liberation Army Chinese wandering around. Did that cause unrest with you all?

HEYNIGER: With us Americans? No. In the first place the Chinese were not in Dar es Salaam. Oftentimes when Britain or France or the US comes in with an enormous presence, you see them everywhere. The Chinese came in and they moved their people from the port right out to the railhead. They were in mufti with their conical straw hats, but they were all Chinese Army engineering people. They were out 200-300 miles from Dar.

Q: You didn't see them as a political problem.

HEYNIGER: No. They were doing their job. Obviously the Chinese had a lot of clout. To the extent that Tanzania had a navy, it was a navy supplied by the Chinese. The Tanzanians were always very nervous about other people going down to the port or looking too closely. I remember at the time I loved to play squash. I climbed Mt. Kilimanjaro with a team led by the commanding general of the Tanzanian Army, who was a wonderful guy, a number of years younger than me, who had gone to Sandhurst and had been a captain when Tanzania became independent. Now, he was a two star general. He led a team up Kilimanjaro every year. That was a wonderful privilege to be able to climb Mt. Kilimanjaro with them. I started playing squash with him once a week. We kept it very low key. I drove out to the military headquarters and base. The guards knew me. I went directly to the squash courts; we played and chatted for a bit and went our separate ways. Eventually the security people and the political people heard about this, the fact that the political officer of the American Embassy was seeing the commanding general of the Tanzanian Army, they weren't too happy about that.

Q: Were there any tensions between the core of the Embassy, the political and economic seeing all of this aid coming in. Your reports from the field that this really wasn't. I assume by this time, you were somewhat dubious about the effectiveness of much of the program and with an AID program which tends to go running out and off in its own directions. Was there a tension there?

HEYNIGER: Let me put that in a bit of context for you. You will probably recall that Tanzania was one of the first countries to get Peace Corps volunteers. In the early '60s we had a large and hard working AID mission in the country, but again because of the concern by the Tanzanian Government, Tanu, about American imperialism, by the time I got to Dar es Salaam in 1969, the Tanzanian Government had asked the Peace Corps and AID to leave. It was very sad, but personally the mistake I think we made was we started off with about 50 secondary school teachers who went out into the boondocks and taught Tanzanian kids. Things were going so well that with typical American exuberance, at one time I think we had 350 Americans teaching secondary school. That was such a presence that the socialistic people in the government said the Americans are beginning to indoctrinate our youth. It was too big, so shortly after I arrived, the

Peace Corps ceased to operate, and also there was not much of an AID presence either. There was some, but it was really minor. The United States had been relegated to a fairly small player. Our activities and general thrust had been taken over by the West Germans, by the Canadians who were there in massive numbers. The Canadian Embassy was bigger than ours. The Scandinavians. I think that a lot of the basic policy interests of the United States were being advanced; they just weren't being advanced by us.

Q: Well, was there anything else that happened during that time?

HEYNIGER: Yes. As the political officer, I was the contact between Washington and the Southern African liberation groups. The ANC, African National Congress, was in Dar es Salaam. The PAN African Congress, I think that they were in Nairobi. The Mozambican independence movement, FRELIMO, which was by then conducting an insurgency, was in Dar es Salaam. The head of the Mozambican liberation movement, a man named Eduardo Mondlane, had been assassinated in Dar es Salaam about a year before I got there with a package bomb probably sent to him by South African security forces.

That was interesting; that was a lot of fun. You had to keep it fairly low key because these liberation groups didn't want to be seen talking to you too much, and they didn't want the Tanzanian Government to become concerned, so it had to be handled rather discreetly. For example, you would organize a dinner party for 8:00 PM and they'd come along about 10:00 P.M. and chat with you for an hour or two.

Q: So this was really more or less for you to keep abreast of what they were thinking.

HEYNIGER: Well, I was doing a lot of reporting to Washington on what was going on with these independence movements because that's the only contact there was. I don't mean to claim that I was Mr. Liberation Movement. There were probably things going on in Lusaka but I think it is fair to say the greatest single focus of Southern African liberation presence and activities at that time was in Dar, and that was part of my beat.

Other things though, we had a first child born in Jordan, a second child just after we came back from the Netherlands, and a third child born in the Congo. My kids just loved it in Dar es Salaam. It was summertime all year round. We had a large attractive house on the beach. My kids went swimming in the Indian Ocean every day year round. They all went toa great international school. There was enough going on so that my wife could get involved in volunteer activities. She went out a number of times with visiting nurses who would go out in a Land Rover, set up in a village, and give out medicines and injections and stuff like that. We did a great deal of traveling. We visited all the game parks; it was marvelous. I kept saying to the kids please pay attention and please look at this because when you grow up, this may not be here, it may be gone. Here is a pride of 12 lions only five yards away. We had a Volkswagen Microbus, and we'd be sitting in one of these game parks with all of these lions snoozing within five yards of us. It was lots of fun.

LARRY C. WILLIAMSON
Economic Officer
Dar es Salaam (1970-1973)

Mr. Williamson was born and raised in Arkansas. After graduating from the University of California and serving a tour of duty with the US Marine Corps, he entered the Foreign Service in 1958. His foreign assignments took him to a number of African posts, including Sierra Leone, Northern Rhodesia, Tanzania, Kenya and Gabon, where he served as Ambassador, and in England. He had a number of assignments in Washington, several dealing with African Affairs. He also served in the Department's Executive Secretariat and as Assistant to the Counselor.

Q: You went to Dar es Salaam. You were in the capital of Tanzania. You were there from when to when?

WILLIAMSON: '70. No '78 I was still... I came back from Zambia in '74.

Q: We got you going to Dar es Salaam in 1970. You were there for how long?

WILLIAMSON: Three years.

Q: What was your job?

WILLIAMSON: I was the economic officer on paper. Basically, I was third guy in the embassy.

Q: Who was the ambassador?

WILLIAMSON: Tony Ross for the most part and then Bev Carter came in. Paul Kreisberg was my first DCM, and Gordie Beyer was my second one.

Q: Talk about the situation in 1970 in Tanzania.

WILLIAMSON: As my son says, I have the rare experience of seeing a country commit economic suicide and living through it. We got there just after Nyerere had issued his then infamous Arusha Declaration which was calling for the nationalization of almost everything: farms, everything. It turned out later he wanted to do it all the way down to collectivizing the rental housing. It was a catastrophe. Tanzania was a very fragile East African economy, hardly any economic assets.

Q: They have tea plantations?

WILLIAMSON: They have tea plantations. Big, sizeable plantations in those days.

Q: That's where they make rum from.

WILLIAMSON: Yes. That's where they make rum from, and sisal was replaced even while we were there by plastic. Sisal was then and still is used for bailing hay because it's edible. That was about it. Some big tea plantations up country, various exotic spices and things like that. Zanzibar was cloves. And a hell of a tourism industry. Big game hunting, big game parks, a reef. The East African reef goes all the way down to Madagascar and comes all the way up to Mogadishu. It's one of the great wonders of the world. It's fairly shallow, great fishing, great snorkeling. The major result of the program that Nyerere announced was to collectivize and nationalize industry and farms. What actually it turned out to do was to ruin the livelihood of the largely East Asian Indian population—professional population—of Tanzania. It wasn't directed toward them, but what happened, everybody left.

All kinds of people packed up and shoved off. The economy was just left exposed without any confidence of replacements in view. You couldn't turn to an AID program to turn up that number of people. We had thousands of them. A bunch of them were followers of the Aga Khan, and the Aga Khan sent three or four major ships to take up these people, take them back to India where he resettled them. There went bang almost all of your small merchants—well, medium size markets, let's say—left. Most all of the professional class just picked up and left: doctors, lawyers, Indian chiefs.

Q: This happened while you were there?

WILLIAMSON: Yes.

Q: Nyerere was running things. He had this eminent advisor,, Lady Barbara somebody?

WILLIAMSON: Yes, Barbara or whatever her name was. She was an old-line Fabian Socialist.

Q: Nyerere was extremely complex...

WILLIAMSON: Oh, yes.

Q: Did he understand what he was doing?

WILLIAMSON: I think so. The question which I still can't answer today is was it as much a desire to get rid of the Asian population as it was to nationalize things? Nyerere, just to summarize briefly, was educated by Jesuits in western Tanzania, was picked up by the British Labor Party as an up and coming young man, and sent up to St. Andrew's where he went to... There's a college up there which was organized by the Labor Party and was run by them. It was named after a famous British Socialist. He was educated in the British social model, Fabian social model, picked a bunch of Fabian associates and advisors then went down to Tanzania, was a teacher and well thought of, very articulate, very much a liberal man. Most everybody's favorite African leader.

Q: He was particularly the darling of the Scandinavian Socialist Movement.

WILLIAMSON: Scandinavian Socialists. They just swear by him.

Q: They got a lot of money for him.

WILLIAMSON: A lot of money. He had no problem attracting AID money. His problem was that the AID money that he attracted -- which was quite substantial -- was earmarked for things that they didn't need because they were starving to death. He went on, and he did nationalize all that stuff. He nationalized the sisal plantations, nationalized the tea industry, nationalized housing eventually. A landlord couldn't own more than one house. That's all there was to it. Everybody who was renting was in a house owned by the state, and the state was supposed to take care of it and do all the things owners do. The state had nobody—nobody—above the rank of a bricklayer to handled that kind of stuff. This was a massive thing. Later on they tried to establish collective farms but it became a real problem because the farmers just didn't want to become collectivized. There was some serious brutality. There were attempts to use troops to nationalize them. Troops didn't like that. The police didn't like it. A couple of district commissioners were killed. One regional commissioner was killed. Some areas, the Masai, for example, the famous cattle herders in northern Tanzania, opted out of the economy. They wouldn't sell their cattle to the government abattoirs in Dar es Salaam. They got nothing but worthless shillings for the cattle. They'd drive them up to Kenya and sell them to commercial firms up there. Smuggling of crops was a huge problem.

The tourist industry didn't disappear, but it certainly fell on bad times. The government did not honor contracts with expatriate firms, tried to renegotiate them with their own people in charge. Poaching picked up a lot. All the things you would expect from this ill-advised broad sweep change of direction. Nyerere kept hoping that somehow or other this would all sort itself out. Well, it didn't. When I'd take visitors up to see him, he'd say, "My development plan is to pray for rain," because they'd had three years of drought. The plus side with Nyerere is he insisted upon improving his educational system. Tanzania has one of the highest literacy rates overall in Africa. Really. He did insist upon doing what you could in a country like that to improve the health system, and he had the Chinese--remember the old days, the Chinese had barefoot doctors? Nyerere had the same thing.

Q: They were worthless.

WILLIAMSON: Worthless. The idea was that this guy would specialize in broken arms. If you had a broken arm, you would go and see this guy. If you had a broken skull, you'd go see that guy and all that sort of stuff. The whole public health system disappeared and was never reestablished. Still isn't.

Q: How was the African bureau looking at this? Were they seeing this as the disaster it was or were they caught up with the myth of Nyerere?

WILLIAMSON: I think the working stiffs saw it as exactly what it was, and God knows we didn't pull any punches. But Nyerere was greatly admired in the West and got a lot of newspaper coverage. You simply couldn't overcome the Nyerere charisma and the reputation he built up over the last 30 years before independence of being moderate, responsible, a little eccentric on social questions, but otherwise quite a decent guy and he was expected to run a model place. He

ran a model place, and he discovered he wasn't getting anywhere, so he thought he'd have to shake it up and turn to other development models, and the Chinese did come in and put a fair amount of money into special projects. The Russians, oddly enough, didn't, but the Chinese built sports stadiums and roads. They limped along. They looked pretty good in places and by African standards they still have a very good school system and a good literacy program. Public health is still no better or no worse than Kenya's. The army just isn't there. The army was shot to hell. They're starting to rebuild their tourist industry.

Q: How were relations, and how did you operate with Zanzibar?

WILLIAMSON: We had a post on Zanzibar all the time I was there, but it was a one-man operation, and it was really hampered by the vicissitudes of life there. Zanzibar was a really beat up place. Getting food was a problem: a major problem. We did get visas to go over and see our own consular folks. There wasn't much to do there. The consuls became rather client oriented. Things that appeared to be a great problem on Zanzibar scarcely rippled the newspapers in Dar es Salaam and never reached the western press, and yet our consuls would keep reporting the stuff. What else were they supposed to do? They had no contacts, a lot of people sneaking around talking to them, but no official contacts. Not that ours were all that good. The president was okay, and I got along real well with the central bank and the economic advisors they had (though some of them were very strange), and with the Minister of Finance, a guy named Jamal. The central national bank was pretty incompetent. I knew a lot of newspaper guys. I found my relationship with the foreign ministry was rigid. Vietnam was there all the time, and the Cold War.

Q: You had a lot of embassies there because of Nyerere. The British and the Scandinavians and the Germans of the Socialist party were pouring this money...

WILLIAMSON: They were, yes.

Q: Was the official representative saying...

WILLIAMSON: The official representatives, the ones I knew, the Germans and the Brits, thought this was just a crock, but they realized the Scandinavians, I guess were self-selected for the jobs. They were great enthusiasts about Nyerere. The professionals were all rather cynical, but the development side—not ours so much but the bulk of it—was very sympathetic.

Q: What were we doing development wise?

WILLIAMSON: It was like this, and this ties into Zambia: The Zambians finally came to us and said, look, we can no longer be depending on the Rhodesians or the Portuguese to move exports abroad. They wanted to build a railroad from the Dar es Salaam side of East Africa through Tanzania and down through Zambia to connect with the existing rail system so the copper could be shipped back out to be exported through Dar es Salaam, a simple enough scheme but fraught with difficulty -- like money for one thing! The Tanzanians came to us and asked for the port. Our people decided for better or worse, reportedly at the presidential level, that we were not going to get involved in doing the railroad. We would, however, look at building the road. We

got a couple of American firms and started building an all-weather road from Dar es Salaam following an existing highway, but really improving it, down to and including Zambia. This looked pretty good, and they could export by truck, perhaps. Then the Chinese jumped in and said, "We'll build you a railroad," and by God, they did.

Q: So the famous Tanzam Railroad...

WILLIAMSON: The Tanzam Railroad, yes. They did a very good job of it, thank you. They could do it. They had thousands of PLA (People Liberation Army) engineers. They would disappear into the bushes and surface several months later, laying track through jungle and swamp.

Q: The interesting thing is the Chinese put so much into this. What was in it for the Chinese?

WILLIAMSON: The Chinese didn't have that many places they were friendly with at that stage in the game. They were just embarking on this huge "we don't like the Soviets" campaign. In fact, it paid off for us because every so often the Chinese would be nice to us. Shook up the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) station, but we liked it. To this day I can't tell you what made them decide to dump that kind of money into it, but they did build them a great huge sports complex, and the railroad which is still going pretty well. Our road's still going too. It wasn't too badly done. It wasn't well done, but it wasn't too badly done. Until the great Cultural Revolution, the Chinese had been quite friendly with the Tanzanians. Did a lot of military stuff for them, did a lot of support for the refugee groups from Rhodesia and guerilla groups who trained and rested, and trained and recreated, in southern Tanzania to a great extent.

Q: Do you have any reflections on the problems of Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda?

WILLIAMSON: Lots. This was Idi Amin's day. They went through at least two massacres in Rwanda and Burundi while I was there. There was Idi Amin, and there were missing Americans, and we had all kinds of stuff going on which we and Nairobi reported quite fully. The Tanzanians really hoped that we would issue some sort of blanket protection for them against Idi Amin. That was never to be. Amin, however, was largely concerned until later on with cementing his own position inside of Uganda. We got into it because so many Ugandan refugees came down to us. There were three or four missing Americans, two of them, Stroh and Seidel. Stroh was the son of the guy who owned Stroh beer, a man who could bring some pressure in Washington. The best we could find out, they were doing free-lance—very dangerous—reporting and got caught up in some sort of refugee hassle and got killed, but we don't know where. We were always getting into refugee camps and talking to people trying to find out what the hell was going on. It was a nasty business up there.

Q: What was your impression of the relationship of ambassadors Ross and Carter? We have a little tape problem here, so we'll pick this up before you left Dar es Salaam in 1973, and I'm asking what was your impression of Tony Ross and Beverly Carter, and then about social contact with the Tanzanians when you go off to London.

Today is the 29th of November 2006. Larry, Tony Ross and Bev Carter. What was your

impression of how they operated?

WILLIAMSON: Tony was very much the old school, very proper. He had been raised on European and Middle Eastern problems and was very effective with that type of stuff. He was good with the staff. He really ran a good embassy. He also was very well connected with the senior levels of the Tanzanian hierarchy whatever that might be. He was a little less pleasant and less well connected with what you would call the "sub-ministerial" levels. Maybe he shouldn't have been, but Tanzania's a small country, and in such a place, like most African countries in those days and these days, personal relationships matter a hell of a lot. I think Tony came away with a stand off. His favorite group was the Chilean ambassador and the German ambassador. Did I tell you on this tape someplace that the German ambassador was one of the survivors of the Bismarck?

Q: No!

WILLIAMSON: A funny old guy. Not so funny, not so old. A big hulk of a guy. He'd been an officer on the Bismarck, and he was on as it went down. He had some amazing tales about all of that. As for Bev, Bev was very good about the personal things.

Q: He was one of our first black ambassadors, wasn't he?

WILLIAMSON: Cliff Wharton was the first, but...

Q: Early on.

WILLIAMSON: Early on, yes. Bev, of course, came out of USIA, and he always had one eye on public relations. I'm saying that in a nice way. He knew what the hell he was doing. Bev, I think, had gone in with some hopes that with a change of pace and ambassadorial style and with himself being a black fellow who got along very well in African circles here and his other posts, he had a leg up. The Tanzanians were having none of that and gave him... They told him just flat bluntly, John Malachella told him that, "We like you, you're a nice guy, but you're the American ambassador. That's the only thing about it. In essence, it gives you no cut with us." This was back in the days when Tanzania was going through its real, real Marxist kind of reorganization and destruction of its economy. You had anomalies for an American diplomat. The Cuban Ambassador was the doyen of the Diplomatic Corps and stuff like that. We got a lot of static in the press and in parties about Vietnam. Somehow or another—I can't think that we really did it deliberately—we had leased the top two stories of the National Bank building of our embassy. Therefore, there could be no demonstrations. The National Bank wouldn't hold still for it. They had the troops out there to shoot them down if they tried anything, so we were spared all that which I found was quite a change in Britain when I got there. That was good. Tony had the feeling he was getting close to the end of his career, I think. He'd been ambassador at what, three posts? He was a little more relaxed about it. Bev still had hopes of going upward and onward, so he spent a lot of time on mending his fences as many political ambassadors have to do. Both of them were very good to work for. I learned a lesson about being an econ (economic) officer in a political officer's world, and that was that most political officers (Ambassadors included) can't add or subtract without taking their shoes off, and their wives all balance their checkbooks. Once

you got it clear in everybody's mind that you knew what you were talking about, they would let you go. They would leave you alone pretty much. I kept them abreast of what we were doing. In truth, in those days the commercial job was almost malfunctioning. There was no commerce to be talked about, at least in Tanzania. That wasn't what stood me in good stead. I was out there by myself.

Q: I found this as a consular officer. I felt like I was sitting on the top of a garbage can, and as long as it didn't get too smelly coming up, you do your thing, don't bother me, which is a great feeling.

WILLIAMSON: Oh, it is! Yes. I had a number of standard reports to get out. It was quite clear they got a very, very cursory perusal at the top levels. Okay, and away we went.

Q: I may have asked you this before, but Tanzania was almost a prime example of the influence of the London School of Economics destroying a country. Were we reporting it at the time, or was it considered so sexy that we held back a bit?

WILLIAMSON: We were reporting it. We had no choice. I don't think we could have not reported it or even played it down because the World Press got a hold of it. BBC had a full-time correspondent. Well, he wasn't full time. He was a stringer for BBC. He was a stringer for a couple of British newspapers, so all this stuff was turning up in the European press. It hit the American press. Nyerere was well known and well liked in African circles in the United States, and it was a great disappointment how he was doing all this. I don't think we had any reason to pull punches, and we didn't. It was a mess. As I said earlier in this tape someplace, my son says he was always grateful for that tour because if nothing else, he had a chance to see a nation commit economic suicide.

Q: Having been in the trade in the Foreign Service, there's nothing like getting out there and writing reports on disasters. Did you find yourself walking down the street and seeing the fruit market or whatever it is and almost panting to get at it and show how it was destroyed? Was this happening to you?

WILLIAMSON: I had two advantages: One, I had pretty good Swahili, so I could go out in the countryside without too much trouble although it bothered the police no end. Two, we had an extra green jeep, so I could get the jeep pretty easily and go tearing off. I did a lot of voluntary reporting, going out and seeing what was happening on the sisal plantations, what was happening in the coffee areas, and this sort of thing. It got to be a lot of fun. Then, of course, I always arranged to spend my drafting days on the annual reports up in the shadow of the Kilimanjaro checking on the tourist trade up there.

Q: When I was in Yugoslavia when I would do a field trip, I'd always end up on the weekend on the Adriatic coast. I don't know why that happened. A big asset!

WILLIAMSON: Exactly the same syndrome. I've got to stay someplace, why not in the game park and Kilimanjaro area which is pretty impressive, I must say.

DAVID HAMILTON SHINN
Political Officer
Dar es Salaam (1972-1974)

Ambassador David Hamilton Shinn was born in Washington in 1940. He received three degrees from George Washington University. During his career he had positions in Kenya, Washington DC, Tanzania, Mauritania, Cameroon, Chad, Sudan, and ambassadorships to Burkina Faso and Ethiopia. Ambassador Shinn was interviewed in July 2002 by Charles Stuart Kennedy.

Q: *What was going on in Tanzania?*

SHINN: It was quiet and peaceful. It was following a socialist course under President Nyerere. Our relations were not particularly warm; in fact there were obvious ideological tensions between us. Nyerere was a firm adherent of socialism. We had a correct relationship, but nothing of great import occurred in the 1971-72 period. There were some interesting developments in Zanzibar that did not much policy interest.

Q: *Was it yet apparent that Tanzania's socialist path was to be a disastrous one?*

SHINN: Not at this time. I will discuss this when we get to my tour in Tanzania. There may have been some expression of concern from the embassy, but I don't believe that anyone foresaw the dire consequences that Nyerere's policies would have. At least I don't remember any major warning flags being waved.

Q: *Then in 1972, you were assigned to Tanzania.*

SHINN: Correct; we went to Dar es Salaam. I was assigned to the political section. We were there for two years until mid-1974.

Q: *Who was the ambassador?*

SHINN: Beverly Carter. He had been a Deputy Assistant Secretary in the African Bureau and asked me to join his staff. I got to know him while he was working in Washington. I jumped at the opportunity because I wanted to return to East Africa. I also wanted to use my Swahili again and Tanzania was the place for that.

It was a fascinating tour. The embassy was not very large. The political section consisted of one Foreign Service officer, which gave me considerable freedom to pursue matters that I thought were of interest. My supervisor was the DCM, Gordon Beyer. It was an interesting time to be in Dar because so many African liberation groups either had their headquarters there or had some form of representation. It was part of my responsibility to keep in contact with them. That was not easy since we were perceived by these groups as the "enemy." The U.S. supported the white ruled colonial regimes. Portugal was still holding on to Mozambique and Angola. FRELIMO had

its headquarters in Dar. At least two of the Angola "liberation" fronts had representation there. There were also liberation groups in Dar from Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and South Africa.

Q: *What was Tanzania like?*

SHINN: Economically it was still doing reasonably well in this period. The stores were well stocked and food was plentiful. There were a few indicators that suggested there was stormy economical weather ahead. The storm did not come, however, until after the completion of my tour.

Tanzanians were very suspicious of Americans because of heavy anti-American propaganda from the government. It was very hard to develop close contacts with Tanzanians. They were concerned that if they became too well acquainted with Americans, they might come under suspicion themselves. In fact, there were some instances when that happened.

Tanzania was a beautiful country to travel in. During my tour, I spent a lot of time trying to understand the policy of *ujamaa,* familyhood or cooperative action. There is not an exact English translation. It was essentially Nyerere's national policy for restructuring Tanzanian society. He hoped to bring peasant farmers, who were scattered throughout the country, into a structured village life. There were some examples of success; in those cases, life for these farmers probably improved. On the other hand, there were far more examples of unmitigated disasters, either through bad planning or because of ill conceived decisions about resettlement. In some cases, the farmers were moved at the point of a gun, put into military trucks and carted off to a new location that was to be their home and farm. In some cases, there weren't adequate water supplies; in other cases the soil was poor. In those situations, the settlers stayed for a short time and then disappeared and moved to where they could survive. Any evaluation of *ujamaa* has to be done carefully. By and large, I concluded that it was a failed policy, but there were some successes. I visited some villages that clearly provided better living conditions than those previously experienced by those farmers. Nevertheless, the failures were far more numerous than the successes.

I spent a lot of time traveling around Tanzania examining this *ujamaa* policy. It was a relatively easy country to get around. It gave me an opportunity to visit some of the most spectacular game parks in East Africa. I also visited the northern border area, near Lake Tanganyika, where refugees from the civil war between the Hutu and the Tutsi in Burundi had fled. I met with some of them and reported on their situation. I made the occasional obligatory trip to Zanzibar which was a nice diversion. We had a consulate in Zanzibar that handled the reporting. I found Zanzibar a very pleasant place to visit.

Q: *What made Nyerere so suspicious of the United States?*

SHINN: There were several factors. One was the educational experience of most of the Tanzanian leadership, most of whom shared Nyerere's suspicions. In fact, I think it was a predominant feeling in Africa in the early 1970s. Tanzania was a strong supporter of African liberation groups and there was a belief that we were propping up some of the colonial powers,

especially the Portuguese and to a lesser extent, the white regimes in northern and southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa. Tanzania viewed the U.S. as the "enemy," i.e. we were standing in the way of independence for some countries that Nyerere strongly supported. We found ourselves in a very difficult position.

Nyerere had economic policies which were clearly not "free market." While we did not push this economic policy reform agenda then as we do today, Nyerere understood that his view of managing an economy was radically different from ours. We didn't have much in common with the Tanzanian leadership.

Q: *Were we trying to bring any influence to bear through some of our programs like Peace Corps or AID?*

SHINN: We had a Peace Corps program in the 1960s, which had been stopped before I arrived. We had AID projects and a few of them were significant. One was a typical Cold War project. The Chinese had built the famous Tanzania-Zambia railway from the port of Dar es Salaam to Zambia. We had said this railroad could not be built and would have nothing to do with its construction. We did not believe that it was economically viable. Instead, we built a road that essentially ran parallel to the railroad. Both projects were successes in their own right. Both were finished and both carried traffic. I don't know the economic benefits and costs of each, but the Chinese got more attention and credit for their efforts than we did for ours. The decision to build the road was in part, I believe, to take the spotlight away from the Chinese. It was part of our Cold War strategy. There were other AID projects as well.

Q: *Many people who served in Africa in this period have commented that the Chinese did not mingle at all with the local population. They did their work and then retreated to their dwellings not to be seen again until the next day at work. Is that your recollection as well?*

SHINN: I recall very distinctly that the Chinese kept entirely to themselves. First of all, there was a language problem; very few Chinese spoke either Swahili or English. Furthermore, the Chinese *modus operandi* was to work hard all day and then return to the separate Chinese barracks and do the same thing the next day. There was virtually no contact between Chinese and Tanzanians and certainly none with Americans. My guess is that this created a certain amount of suspicion, if not resentment, of the Chinese. The bottom line was that they did get the job done. The Tanzanians appreciated that. The Chinese did stay on after completion of the laying of the tracks to help the Tanzanians manage the railroad for an extended period of time. They got high marks from the Tanzanian government for that project, but they did not win any Tanzanian hearts on the basis of personal relationships.

Q: *Were the Soviets at all active in Tanzania?*

SHINN: I don't recall any significant Soviet activity in Tanzania. The Chinese represented the communist world.

Q: *How about the British?*

SHINN: They were visible. They had some assistance projects, but I don't recall any of them being particularly significant. They tended to focus more on Kenya and Uganda. In the period we are discussing, the East African Community broke up, i.e. Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya. The common railroad, shipping organization, universities, airlines, etc. all came apart and each service broke up into three national components.

Q: *What kind of assignments did the ambassador give you?*

SHINN: For the most part, I was doing the normal work of a political reporting officer. I wrote the vast majority of the political reports, which I found very rewarding. We did not have the situation where the ambassador or DCM was effectively the political reporting officer. They did report their meetings, but rarely went beyond that. The DCM did some additional reporting, but it was not extensive. So I was responsible for the bulk of the political reporting. That was fine with me. When the Ambassador and DCM were absent from post, I served as charge' on a couple of occasions even though there were more senior officers at post. I had been at post longer than they and perhaps that explained the ambassador's choice. In any event, I felt that Ambassador Carter used me effectively. Carter was a very good ambassador. Morale was high in the embassy.

Q: *How did the embassy view Nyerere?*

SHINN: We had a lot of respect for Nyerere, in part because he was honest and modest. He lived austerely. As far as anyone could tell, he was totally uncorrupt. He was intelligent and well educated. For his master's degree, he had translated one of Shakespeare's plays - *Julius Caesar,* I believe - into Swahili. We had a high personal opinion of Nyerere. Our problem was with his political and economic philosophy.

Q: *Nyerere was the darling of the European left. Was it a presence in Tanzania?*

SHINN: Absolutely. The Nordics had some of the largest assistance programs in the country. Some of their programs surpassed ours. They were visible; their presence was surprisingly large for small countries.

Q: *Did we have contacts with the Nordics?*

SHINN: Yes. They were enthusiastic about Tanzania. Some were realistic enough to recognize that the economic directions in Tanzania might not be successful. They were willing to give it a try, even though they might have had some skepticism. Embassy relations with the Nordics were fine.

Q: *How difficult was it for you have access for your reporting?*

SHINN: It was not easy. Contacts were difficult. I could travel freely throughout the country, except for that part that borders Mozambique. That was off-limits to foreign diplomats; I never visited there. But the rest of the country was open. When I made a trip, I was probably watched carefully by Tanzanian security. There were a couple of instances when I knew I was being

followed. It was not easy to contact Tanzanians. You had to work at getting appointments. Tanzanians were not anxious to be seen with Americans. It was a difficult assignment for a political officer in terms of contacts.

Q: *What about the media?*

SHINN: Most of it was government controlled. There was a party paper; there was a government paper. I don't remember whether there was an independent paper.

Q: *Tell us a little about Zanzibar during this period.*

SHINN: It was still a pleasant place to visit, but economically it was not doing well. It was dependant on the clove trade for its economic well being; that was already showing signs of decline because of competition from countries like Indonesia. The real deterioration had not yet set in; Zanzibar was muddling through. It was a quaint place, not visited much by tourists. It had a tense relationship with the mainland.

Q: *I think a number of American officials were declared "persona non grata" - e.g. Frank Carlucci. Were you careful when you were in Zanzibar?*

SHINN: Not really; that phase had passed in Zanzibar. As I mentioned, we had a small consulate there. Our consul felt that he had reasonable access; I think the consulate functioned normally.

Q: *Did the problems in Burundi and Rwanda have any effect on our standing in Tanzania?*

SHINN: I mentioned earlier the problems created by the Burundi refugees. The fighting there in 1972 created a significant refugee problem for Tanzania. They were not as large a group as the Rwandan refugees who crossed into Tanzania in 1994 during the genocide in Rwanda. Nevertheless, the Burundi refugees were a burden on Tanzania. As I mentioned, I visited the refugee camps.

Tanzania was a pleasant assignment. From the family optic, it was our favorite assignment. We had time to take advantage of the Indian Ocean - sailing, swimming, shelling and water skiing. The job requirements did not take all of my time; the working hours were reasonable, leaving time for recreational activities.

GORDON R. BEYER
Deputy Chief of Mission
Dar es Salaam (1972-1975)

Ambassador Gordon R. Beyer received a bachelor's degree from Harvard University and a master's degree from Northwestern before entering the U.S. Marine Corps during the Korean War. After his term of service in the Marines, Ambassador Beyer joined the Foreign Service and was posted in Thailand,

Japan, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda, and Washington, DC. He was interviewed by Horace G. Torbert in 1989.

Q: We can get into that later when we get to the time that you were there in the management thereof. You then went back to northeast Africa in 1972 as DCM in Dar es Salaam.

BEYER: That's right. Bev Carter, who was named ambassador--one of the black officers in the Foreign Service, who had come up through the United States Information Service, USIA, and was then a deputy in AF under Ambassador Newsom. He was assigned to Tanzania and asked if I'd like to go as his deputy. I agreed to do so.

That was an interesting assignment but, in fact, Tanzania was a difficult country for me. It was the greatest disappointment of any of the countries I think I've served in in the Foreign Service in the sense that--the intellectuals in the academic community of both America and Europe considered Julius Nyerere something of a philosopher king, and I felt like I was going to the philosopher king's kingdom. In fact, of course, as I was to find out, Julius Nyerere was a ruthless, autocratic ruler, who stayed in power by being very tough, indeed. Indeed, I found that the term "disappeared" was a verb--such as, "Mohammad was disappeared yesterday." This happened often to those who got too close to Americans. We began to realize that, the only way we could have Tanzanian friends, or see Tanzanians, was in large groups so that they could not be identified as being particularly close to us Americans. This made it very hard.

The first year and a half was a very disillusioning experience. It was really like living behind the Iron Curtain, from everything that I've talked to of folks who have lived behind the Iron Curtain.

The country was not doing well. For example, they had a policy called "Villagization"--Ujamaa was the term in Swahili, and the effort was to move people into government villages. The advantages from the government's point of view would be that they could provide a modicum of health care, a modicum of education, and clean water. In fact, what it did is it broke the identification of a family or family unit to a particular piece of land and forced them into these villages. Then they would have to walk to these pieces of land, and slowly the identification of that particular piece of property, private property with a private individual, was broken.

This Ujamaa was not going as fast as it was hoped. Therefore, they decided to speed it up, and they used the Army to transport people and to knock down villages and move people, sometimes as little as five miles, to this new village.

We found out that this moving of people was going on because I went with the family down to the Selous, which is a game park down in the southern part of the country. As we drove down there, we saw this happening. We saw people--it looked like a picture from the Second World War, with people streaming along the sides of the road, carrying their belongings on their head or their back, and carrying long poles to build new houses in the new village sites.

I got back to Mogadishu and I said, "We've got to report this. This is just terrible, and we also ought to get some newspaper guy--

Q: You got back to Dar es Salaam.

BEYER: Dar es Salaam. I'm sorry. Dar es Salaam. And we ought to get some newspaper folks down from Nairobi to report on this. We told reporters in Nairobi about what we thought was happening and that this was really quite a major story.

They came down to Dar es Salaam, drove down towards the Selous, got about 50 miles outside of town, were picked up by the government, returned to the airport in Dar es Salaam, and told they could never come into Tanzania again.

This was a very efficient way to control the news. As the newsmen said to us, "You know, Tanzania is kind of important in East African political affairs, and to be barred for life from a country is rather severe. It really does restrict our reporting on this country."

Nevertheless, the story eventually did get out. There was an article in Time, and so on, and we estimate that six million people were moved in this villagization process. It was really quite harsh.

The thing my wife remembers the best is going past a village that had been knocked down and burned, and a woman--and the smoke slowly going up--was poking through the rubble, looking for her favorite utensil to take with her to the new Ujamaa village or the villagization policy, the new village.

Q: What was the total population?

BEYER: The total population at that time was about 20 million, so it was an enormous amount of people, just an enormous amount of people--couldn't believe it. All over the country, apparently, this was happening, and we wouldn't have known about it in the embassy except--because we didn't travel that much in the country.

Q: Were you restricted in travel?

BEYER: No, we were not. We were permitted to go and see this business. The officials didn't like it too much, and we were often questioned rather closely--where we were going, what we were doing. But, since we were going down to the Selous for a holiday, they could hardly keep us from going there. It is a fine game park area. Indeed, Tanzania has, I think, the best game parks in East Africa, but the facilities today are--they were going downhill then, and they are even worse today, I am told by those who have visited. On the other hand, the facilities and the parks in Kenya continue to be quite impressive.

Q: What kinds of programs did we have going in Tanzania at that time? Were there AID programs of one sort or another?

BEYER: Yes. We had a large AID program. It was about $10 million a year.

Another interesting story to me is, at this time--now this was the last years, this was during the Nixon Administration, Nixon-Ford. An official came out, an AID inspector came out, and he spent a couple of weeks in Dar, talking to folks, and so on. Then he spent another week, traveling around the country.

He came back, and he said, "I don't think our economic assistance is going to help this country, and I don't think we should be here at all."

Because of the socialist nature of the government, he felt that our aid would not be helpful, and he said--Tanzania in those days was getting more assistance per capita from countries around the world, particularly northern Europe, than any other country.

He said, "If the countries of northern Europe think that they can help Tanzania, fine. But I don't think we can. I don't think we should."

That particular report was buried by AID, but I kept a copy for years because I found it so fascinating. Also, the Tanzanians would tell you, "Well, we're doing this in health, and we're building these many schools, and so on and so forth."

Then he would go out and look and, of course, the statistics that the Tanzanians would hand out in Dar es Salaam, and the reality out in the field, was not comparable at all. These were just misstatements. They were just errors. They were lies, in fact.

So the cooked figures of the government departments in Dar es Salaam were just a scandal, and he discovered this. In its own way, it is kind of unfortunate, I think, that we didn't recognize the lesson right there--that there are some countries we can help, and there are some that we cannot. Perhaps Tanzania was one of those countries that we really can't help.

Q: Well, perhaps our own bureaucracy has something to do with this.

BEYER: Yes, indeed. Actually, Ambassador Thurston was opposed to this policy. He used to call it "the policy of 'pays choisis'," the chosen countries. He said that there were some in Washington who didn't want to help Somalia but wanted to help Ethiopia. He felt that this was wrong, and that there were many reasons to help Somalia, let alone that it was an operating democracy in those days. I agreed with him.

But now, in retrospect, I really think that there are countries that we can help in the developing world. But there are also countries we can't help.

Q: Was there any change in the political situation in Tanzania while you were there? That's when they began to have border difficulties with Uganda, wasn't it?

BEYER: That's right.

Q: Did you get involved in that at all at that time--as a forecast of your future operations?

BEYER: There was the abortive effort in the southern part of Uganda by Tanzanian troops, and Nyerere pulled back from that. But there wasn't much political change because Nyerere had an iron fist on things in Tanzania and ran a very tight organization. So there was no political change in the three years that we were there, really--except, as I say, that, if anything, things got a little bit worse.

Q: I have sort of lost track of things there. When did Nyerere finally disappear as a factor?

BEYER: I don't know whether he's disappeared yet--in the sense that he has given up the presidency a couple of years ago and he's no longer president of Tanzania. But he is still head of the party.

BEVERLY CARTER, JR.
Ambassador
Tanzania (1972-1975)

Ambassador Carter was born and raised in Pennsylvania, and was educated at Lincoln University. After a career in journalism, he joined the Foreign Service in 1965, serving first in Nairobi as Public Affairs Officer and then as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. In 1972 he was appointed United States Ambassador to Tanzania, serving there until late 1975, at which time he was named Ambassador to Liberia, where he served until 1979. Ambassador Carter subsequently served as Ambassador at Large from 1979 to 1981. Ambassador Carter was interviewed by Celestine Tutt in 1981.

Q: What were your first impressions of Tanzania?

CARTER: Well, I had known it because when I served in Kenya, I used to go down to ... the best game parks in East Africa were in Tanzania. And Julius Nyerere was, of course, also one of the early heroes, political heroes, of mine and of many other Africanists. And so I looked forward very much to the, to the challenge -- the intellectual challenge of working with him and with his Government, albeit that some of his economic, political philosophies were somewhat different from those that I had come to know.

But Tanzania is a huge country, very diverse; mountains and with tropical coastline; with over two hundred tribes, but with no tribe being so large that it was a dominant tribe as you had and as you have, for instance, in Kenya where you have the Kikuyu and the Luo, who are the two dominant tribes. And then, as a consequence, there is a great deal of vying between the two. Julius Nyerere, for instance, comes from the very smallest of tribes in Tanzania: about 6,000 people. So you know that he has become leader because of the confidence that the people have in him rather than the fact he simply has more of a constituency than someone else has.

But Tanzania is also a poor country -- without many of the resources that Nigeria had in rubber and oil and timber; and, without a large infrastructure such as Kenya had from the tourist

industry. And yet it also was a headquarters at that time of most of the liberation movements in Africa. The insurgencies that were developing and coming to fruition in Mozambique and Angola, and now in Zimbabwe, were all headquartered in Dar es Salaam. The capital was the beehive of revolution and liberation, and that was both an opportunity and also a difficulty. Because at that point in time, one of our major NATO allies was Portugal, and the Portuguese did not want us to develop relations with insurgents who were attempting to dispossess them in Angola and Mozambique. So it presented a very delicate political balance.

I'm saying all of this in terms of responding to your question on my impressions, because all of these contributed to the impression that I had, what I was going to. I knew I wasn't going to an easy task (laughs).

Q: How would you describe U. S. policy towards Tanzania at that time?

CARTER: Very ambivalent. We, as I said, had this difficulty with Tanzania because it was encouraging a liberation movement by simply giving them a place to ... from which to develop their organization and spread the propaganda.

The Cubans were active in Tanzania; the doyen of the diplomatic corps was a Cuban. Nyerere was an admitted, an avowed and a practicing and proselytizing socialist. We weren't sure what we wanted to do about Tanzania ... we, the United States Government. At that particular time the United States Government was headed by a Republican Administration which added to this, which compounded this problem of confusion. Because while Julius Nyerere was an extremely popular person personally, what he espoused and what his country stood for was just difficult for orthodox and Republican conservatism, and so we did not have a very clearly defined policy.

At the same time, we didn't have a fair policy. Many other countries regarded Tanzania as one of the most important of the developing countries in the world, for instance, the Scandinavian countries. Scandinavian countries -- Sweden, for instance, Sweden's largest economic assistance packages were sent to Tanzania and to India. Great Britain was very supportive economically of Tanzania. So many people that we knew and respected and had associations with -- political associations with -- regarded Tanzania highly. We just at that point in time had, as I say, great ambivalence about what we should be doing. I suspect that ambivalence has not been altogether cleared since then, either, unfortunately.

Q: How did that compare with U.S. policy towards Africa in general, would you say?

CARTER: Well, I think that represented a part of the dilemma we had toward Africa. I think that the Tanzanian example most clearly described the horns of the dilemma we found ourselves on in Africa. There were certain countries like Zaire and Liberia and Kenya where we felt more comfortable, and Ethiopia, even at that time, before the revolution. But those countries where we felt more comfortable were in the minority. Tanzania, Ghana, Zambia, caused us problems, because not only did they do things differently, but they were also in the vanguard of other progressives. They were the bellwether for other progressive African countries. So those countries tended to look to Tanzania for leadership, and Nyerere was never hesitant about offering it and giving it and doing it well.

Q: What were some of the kinds of problems you just referred to?

CARTER: Well, I think in fact that Tanzania was supportive of change in southern Africa, in Southern Rhodesia, in Mozambique, in Angola. They kept making us face up to the contradiction of our saying we, I think the phrase is, "abhor apartheid," but we don't do a Goddamn thing about it. And the Tanzanians kept our feet to the fire on that, both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, and in our bilateral relations. And so there were no really material things to which one could refer, but there were on the world stage of public opinion. It was just that Tanzania was making it difficult for us.

Q: Could you talk a little about the relations between Tanzania and neighboring Burundi?

CARTER: I could talk a little about it. Tanzania, Nyerere himself, was very embarrassed about the massacres, about tribalcide that was taking place in Burundi. Tanzania also suffered very much from the refugees who were leaving Burundi because of not only persecution but also because of the slaying of thousands and thousands of Burundis.
But Burundi was a very ... is a very small country. I don't mean to denigrate it because of its size, but the major problem was one of the refugee problem and the one of genocide and tribal conflict. And Nyerere was never a person to turn his back on bad things that other blacks did to other blacks. He did not only point the finger at whites who were exploitive and destructive of blacks, he would also call a spade a spade, as he did in the Burundi case as well as in Uganda, where he ultimately had to do something which I know very much went against his grain and that was to mount a force to go in to overthrow Amin. But Nyerere is probably one of the most principled men I ever met in my life. When I say principled, I mean doing things he regards as being right and which, generally speaking, are right by other, by humanitarian, standards.

Q: Could you cite some other concrete examples of it?

CARTER: Well, I would say that probably he felt very uncomfortable with General Mobutu in Zaire, because I don't think he felt that Mobutu represented the finest in leadership in that huge country. I think he felt that Mobutu permitted an exploitation and corruption with which Nyerere had difficulty. I think he looked at Kenya as being the worst of what people talk about when they talk about the excesses of capitalism, and that the capitalist sources were in the hands of a few, and that the people in Kenya did not ... the people, the masses of people in Kenya did not ... the standard of living did not go across the board. It was maintained by a few of the Kikuyu elite.

And I'm not a practicing socialist, but I think that an effective capital experience can spread riches up and down the line. I think Nyerere really felt that he didn't see that in Kenya and he didn't see that in Zaire, and he said that. And it's one of the reasons why I think that he and Kenyatta were never the fastest of friends, though Nyerere respected what Kenyatta had done during the fight for independence. But then I think he felt that he became satisfied too quickly with too little for the people of Kenya.

Q: What kinds of problems, if any, did you face, particular problems you faced as Ambassador to Tanzania?

CARTER: Well, there are several. I think the first one was with my own country. If an ambassador attempts to, with objectivity, talk about the country into which he is assigned, he runs two risks: one of either being identified as being extremely perceptive and a bright guy who'd really gotten to know the picture well, or having been overcome with what we call provincialism, having become an ambassador for that country back to your own country rather than the reverse.

I talked earlier about my Government's ambivalence about Tanzania. I don't think I made them any more comfortable about this because I described in almost all of my reporting what I saw and the way I analyzed it, and that was not necessarily always what my Government wanted to hear. I thought that Nyerere should have been treated more like the world leader that he is and that everyone recognized him to be. But you could not even discuss the possibility of a State visit by Nyerere to the United States in 1972, 1973, 1974, because to have done that would have labeled you as being a complete softy or that you'd been taken over by the man and that sort of thing. When in point of fact, Nyerere had not even been in America since President Kennedy had invited him in 1961, I think. Just unheard of for a man of his... Nyerere's worldwide leadership being treated, I felt, as, not as well as other people who didn't come nearly up to his size. It's sort of symptomatic of the problem I had in dealing with my own Government.

And, of course, I suspect the second problem, and perhaps the one that was most difficult, involved the policy we had about American diplomats not having any association with the insurgent leaders, the liberation leaders like Samora Michel, who became the President of Mozambique and Agostinho Neto, who became eventually the President of Angola, and Joshua Nkomo, and the others from Zimbabwe. We were prohibited from having any association with them, and that didn't cause problems with my colleagues in Nouakchott or in Rabat or in Cairo or some other places because the leaders weren't headquartered there, but they were in Dar es Salaam and so I was... everything I went to, or almost everything I went to, there would be someone from Frelimo or the MPLA or from one or the other, or from ANC, African National Congress, who'd be there. Not only was I the American Ambassador, but I was also, I think, without attempting to suggest any arrogance on my part, I was also very well liked in Tanzania. I think my blackness did not hurt me. It was known that I'd been active in the civil rights movement before I came into the Foreign Service. I had a track record which people knew. They knew that I had certain attitudes because I was a sincere student of African Affairs and had been for a number of years. And so, I had access and entree. And I was never then, nor would I now, buckle under to instructions to a point where I would, say, if I went into a room and there was the Cuban Ambassador and Samora Michel, ignore them (laughs). Well, I'm just not going to do that (laughs again).

Well, I was there somewhat vindicated because... And this attitude, see, stemmed from our association with the Portuguese and the Portuguese had the same kind of lobby in Washington that the South Africans and the Rhodesians have and some other groups have. They had certain senators, certain congressmen that they knew well. They had access and entree to the NSC, the National Security Council. And I can tell you that if I, in fact, saw someone, it was pretty much known as quickly back in Washington because of these other sources as from my own reporting it. Because I made it always a point of saying that I had done this so that no one would say that I

was trying to do it sub rosa. Well, this put me in a kind of a special ... made me an enigma (laughs) and I didn't, frankly, give a damn. I thought I had a job to do and one of the jobs I had to was to know the country of my assignment and know what was going on in it, so therefore I didn't tend to stay on one side of the street. That was the second problem.

Third problem, of course, is the one which gained much more notoriety, and that was my involvement in the case of the four Stanford University students who were kidnapped while I was there and with a release, safe release I was able to have some responsibility in negotiating. And at that time we had a policy that we did not negotiate with terrorists. That policy conflicted with another policy which said, one of the first things you do faced with Americans who are in jeopardy is to ascertain their health and well being. So I had to juggle the concern that we have for the health and well being and safety of our citizens with another policy which said you can't do anything about trying to, to rescue them and to save them. I was eventually sacked as a consequence of my action. I was assigned to Copenhagen and that assignment was cancelled as a consequence of my behavior in that situation. But fortunately a better informed leadership in Washington and certainly the press, almost to a man, or to a publication, and most politicians in Washington recognized what I was trying to do and I was, I guess you might call, rehabilitated and eventually given another assignment. But mine has not been the kind of routine, pedestrian ambassadorial responsibility (laughs).

Q: Could you give us the full story of that Stanford incident, please?

CARTER: Well, I don't know the full story. I suppose when I say... Well, let me think about it, what I could talk about it. The reason I hesitate is that there are some aspects of it over which I have no responsibility, which involved the United States Government and which I would have to respect the security aspects of it.

Q: Of course.

CARTER: But, it essentially was that Stanford University operated a primate study station in Gombe, G-O-M-B-E, just off Lake Tanganyika and that station was headed by a gal by the name of Jane Goodall. And on the other side of the lake, for a territory about roughly the size of New Jersey, there was a group of, and it still exists, a dissident group in Zaire that opposes Mobutu and they, one night in May of 1975, came across the lake and kidnapped four of the students, took them back across the lake. And they did this essentially to gain publicity for their movement, and gain arms and ammunition to help in their fight against Mobutu.

Their original request for publicity of money and arms and ammunition was addressed to the Tanzanian Government. The Tanzanian Government was obviously not in a position to be responsive, or not so obviously, they didn't ... they were not going to be responsive. Because the students were Americans, we obviously were much concerned and the first thing we are obliged to do in our book of instructions on how to deal with a situation like this is to find out whether the people are alive and well and what can be done to get them out of that dilemma. The dissident group gave 60 days, I think, in which to ... or gave a declaration of 60 days in which these things were supposed to be done, thirty days passed and we were not able to establish any communication with the dissident group about the Americans. And we were

using every device in our power, including sending messages by missionaries, or using the Voice of America, BBC, and other international radio networks. And then we became ... and meanwhile several of the parents of these kids had come out. The University sent its own representative and newsmen began to come into the country obviously because at that time it was a big story.

One day two of the representatives of the dissident movement got on a train and came down from Kigoma, one of the major towns on the lake. Came down on the train from the town on the lake to Dar and walked into our Embassy and had letters from the remaining detainees. One of the detainees had been released first, at the end of the first week. She was released so she could bring the (initial) information about what they (the kidnappers) wanted and then we heard nothing more, until a month later. And while I was, while we were at home having lunch one day with the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, whose name was Nathaniel Davis and who was much concerned about how this was progressing. Again, because of a great deal of Congressional interest and general interest. He was visiting our country and leaving Tanzania that afternoon to go to Kenya (when these fellows walked in).

And while we were having lunch, my deputy phoned me, or my secretary phoned me, yes, my secretary phoned me from the Embassy to say that two men who were French-speaking had come to see me and that they said that they represented the PRP -- People's Revolutionary Party -- and that they had information about the kidnapped students and they were there waiting to talk to me. I asked to speak to my deputy, who speaks some French, and I asked him to get the administrative officer who had served in Zaire and for them to have a quick chat and attempt to verify the credentials ...their credentials, and to see that they were bona fide. And he came back on the phone about five minutes later and said yes, it appeared that they were bona fide representatives, that they not only seemed to be what they said they were, but they also had letters from several of the students, and that one of the parents had been sent for to see if that parent could identify the handwriting of the student.

I then relayed this information to my colleague who was the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. He was elated that we had finally made some contact with the dissidents that we'd been wanting all this time, and it appeared that the three kids were okay. And I said, "Well, Nat, shall we go down and conduct interviews?" He said, no, you're on top of this, go right ahead and see what you can learn, and send me a cable to Nairobi to keep me informed.

That was the first of a whole series of, first, discussions and then negotiations. And in the negotiations we said what we could not do: The United States Government could not, one, provide arms and ammunition; it could not pay money; and it could not carry on The Voice of America any publicity that they wanted us to carry on, but that obviously there were a lot of newsmen in town who were following this and they would certainly be available to even talk to anyone they wanted to on their own, but that we could not have anything to do with it.

The negotiations went on, I suppose, what, for ten days, two weeks in Dar. We went out to the lake for a couple of meetings. One of the parents got involved on the ransom side of it, again, outside of our U.S. Government activity, and completely outside of my involvement and the Embassy's involvement. But again in all honesty, a sum of money was paid, and I'm not trying

to extricate myself from any responsibility about this. I'm telling you as it is. I had nothing to do with the ransom or the transmission of the ransom, or the paying of it or anything else. It was done with the knowledge and complicity of others. I don't think that that was necessarily the whole quid. I'm pretty certain it was not the whole quid, but it was ultimately released that, in fact that happened. Meanwhile there were a number of starts and stops in terms of getting ... there were three girls and one fellow. Barbara Smuts, one girl had been released within one week. We got two girls released later and then the final lad was released in August and that was a very James Bond kind of episode experience again which I can't really talk too much about. Nonetheless, he was gotten out of Zaire across the lake.

Now, in the course of all of this, there were telephone calls and telegrams being sent, not weekly or daily, but three and four, and five times a day, through the night, because of the time change. At four o'clock in the morning I was reading telegrams and sending telegrams just as I would be doing in the morning at ten or twelve o'clock because that's when the State Department was functioning. No one in the State Department was unaware of anything that we were ... everyone in the State Department was aware of everything we were doing. And we had approval up to and including the Undersecretary of Political Affairs, Joseph Sisco.

One of the things that was critical in this whole episode about which not only were we not informed in Tanzania, but most people in Washington were not informed, was that Secretary Kissinger and President Mobutu were going through an exercise regarding adventure with UNITA and Jonas Savimbi in Angola. And you recall that what we had proposed to do with support of Savimbi in Angola was what led to the Clark Amendment, which now prohibits the U.S. from interfering in, particularly in Angola, or specifically in Angola, because there had come to power MPLA headed by Agostinho Neto. But he was a socialist; he's now dead. And we were ... Henry Kissinger was interested in giving support to Savimbi and he was using Mobutu as his contact person with Savimbi. Zaire and Mobutu were going to be the conduit to Savimbi in Angola.

Now, Mobutu is very sensitive about any dissident movement in his country. He said to the Secretary of State that the American Ambassador ...in Tanzania ... was not only unfriendly but that I was negotiating with the People's Revolutionary Party, which was the party that had kidnapped these four students, and that I had met with them and that I was encouraging them. And since no one knew of Kissinger's conversations with Mobutu or about the Savimbi connection, they did not understand why Kissinger was so disturbed that we were making life difficult for him on one side when he was trying to make it go so well for himself on the other side. I was making Mobutu unhappy because it was alleged that I was doing business with this dissident movement. So Kissinger said to Mobutu, apparently, that he would show this was not only against U.S. Government policy, but that he would have this Ambassador put on the raft.

And so that's when I was ... told that my assignment -- remember I mentioned about this luncheon when we got the phone call, about these two fellows walking into my Embassy? At that luncheon the Assistant Secretary had come to tell me that the nomination had been put forward, my agrément had been requested of the Danish Government but that the (State) Department would like me to stay in Dar es Salaam until the kidnapping (situation) was completed so it would not appear that I was leaving in the midst of this thing, while we were making

arrangements about my forward assignment on to Copenhagen.

So the reason that I eventually got a rapping on the wrist was because I was interfering with one of Secretary Kissinger's plans which no one else knew about. Well, it turns out that there ... that I was called back in, I guess, August of '75, and everyone assumed I was being called back to be congratulated and applauded and all that stuff after everybody got out. And that's when I got the word that I was not being applauded but was given my marching orders. But Larry [Eagleburger], who was Kissinger's special deputy, was very friendly and very supportive and attempted to put all this in perspective for the Secretary and I think was as responsible as any one person in the Department for, for as I said, for my rehabilitation in a matter of months and getting another assignment. It turns out that Monrovia, the Monrovia Embassy is a much larger embassy than our Copenhagen Embassy and has much bigger responsibility, and I enjoyed it thoroughly. But, in any event, that is as much of the story as I think I can tell right now because so many of the players are still alive.

I think also in just, in sort of completing the story and giving credit to people who were helpful, it would be unfair not to mention the leadership that the Black (Congressional) Caucus took in this whole episode. They seized it; they met with the Secretary about it; and they did not let the issue die. They talked to the members of the press and to other people on the Hill. There was just a tremendous amount of public support, public and political support. I would guess that it would be a great mistake to try to identify everyone. My wife most certainly was at the focal point of this, because she was back here kind of controlling all the things that were happening. David Hamburg, who was the Stanford University representative in Tanzania at that time, did yeoman work in trying to contact people and put the story ... cast the story more correctly.

One of the parents of one of the students was a vice president of a major motorcar company and had resources available (laughs). So there are a lot of people who were helpful and. ..I... it's one of the things that I have done in my career, Foreign Service career, that I am ... I don't want to say proudest of -- but I have better feelings about -- than almost anything else I can really cite, because what else have you to remember but what you may have done maybe in saving someone's life? And it was that kind of --those were the kinds of issues involved.

VERNON C. JOHNSON
Mission Director, USAID
Dar es Salaam (1974-1977)

Dr. Vernon C. Johnson was born in Mississippi in 1918. He received a bachelor's degree from Southern University in 1948 and a master's degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1954. He served overseas in the U.S. Army from 1942-1946. His Foreign Service career included positions in India, Nigeria, Uganda, and Tanzania. Dr. Johnson was interviewed April 12, 1994 by W. Haven North.

JOHNSON: We came back to Washington and I was reassigned to Tanzania; just two countries removed from Uganda so I was still in East Africa. It was another tough experience in the sense that Tanzania was considered by most Americans to have a socialistic approach to development. Julius Nyerere, the President, was highly thought of and very intellectually alert. He could hold a conversation and negotiate with almost anybody, but his approach to development disturbed some Americans.

Q: Did you meet with him?

JOHNSON: Yes, twice. I met him once at our Ambassador Carter's house- a social event; and I met with him once with our Ambassador where the discussion was mainly an AID discussion. We were talking about village assistance, the whole business of different approaches to development. We never did quite work this out fully.

As explained in all of Nyerere"s writings, Ujamaa means "familyhood"-a socialization process that is distinctly African. His idea was to upgrade existing rural villages and to relocate villages if areas were overpopulated. It implied improvement in social amenities and economic well-being at the village level. However, the unit of progress was to be the group and mutual assistance within the group-family, extended family, village, clan, tribe, nation. This idea contrasts with Western emphasis on the "individual" and individual incentive in pursuit of profit.

Q: You didn't accept the Ujamaa policy?

JOHNSON: No, as we saw it, villagization suggested force to relocate people. Therefore, we did not accept it, but we tried to be diplomatic. Our projects, as conceived, (training, poultry and livestock production, crop production, development of seed farms, agricultural research, assistance to the university, health care, general infrastructure improvement, etc.) would be helpful notwithstanding ideological preferences.

Q: Generally, you were opposed to the Ujamaa?

JOHNSON: Yes, however, some U.S. press persons took issue with the U.S. having any kind of AID program in Tanzania. After all, the cold war was in full bloom and Tanzania touted its own brand of socialism. Many Americans took exception.

Q: Did you and the Ambassador try to suggest that Ujamaa was not a good idea, that you had some problems with it?

JOHNSON: Well, we didn't say, "Mr. President you're nuts." From Tanzania's development plan, we simply selected suitable projects. Our projects in Tanzania would have been acceptable to AID Missions anywhere and, of course, all of them were approved by Washington.

Q: What specifically was the Mission's objection to Ujamaa?

JOHNSON: As I indicated, we did not see how the singular concept "people helping people" was a sufficient incentive for development. And, of course, if force was involved, we would not

support that. Moreover, the scale of the Ujamaa approach was far beyond the reach of Tanzania's available resources considering that village numbers are in the thousands. On the other hand, if any of us had been president of Tanzania at the time, we can only ponder what we would have done to move the country forward.

Q: If you had been president, what kinds of things might you have done for the development of Tanzania?

JOHNSON: First, I probably would have reorganized the government and the economy along more market-oriented lines, and I would have provided for economic incentives, accordingly. However, I do not want to suggest that misguided policies totally explain lack of development in African countries. My opposition to Ujamaa should not imply that African countries can easily follow steps such as we have taken in the U.S. Liberia, for example, which has laid no claim to Ujamaa or socialism is worse off than Tanzania.

Q: But wasn't there an element of forced settlement?

JOHNSON: Yes, I recall once when the military was involved in forcing villagers to relocate. Because of its nature this action made news. I do not recall another such happening because villages ordinarily remained where the inhabitants (or the Chief) had chosen to locate them. The prime issue under Ujamaa was how to improve upon basic human needs in villages.

Q: Why then was there opposition to Ujamaa?

JOHNSON: Well, as an instrument of development one could question the approach itself. But beyond this, Nyerere talked about development along a socialist path. The ideology itself became the measure of acceptance. Foreigners discarded the concept on its face rather than on objective examination. Maybe, it was just as well to do so.

Q: But I understood that some villages resisted being villagized? Was that true?

JOHNSON: Partly. Those that resisted were being asked to abandon old village sites where, for example, their ancestors were buried, etc. They resisted being moved. It was somewhat analogous to our placing Indians on reservations away form the ancestral lands.

Q: Have you returned to Tanzania since leaving there in 1977?

JOHNSON: Several times.

Q: What was left of the projects that you assisted?

JOHNSON: Almost everywhere the lesson is the same. Technical projects-seed farms, hatcheries, developed cattle ranches, research laboratories, transport vehicles, paved highways-were all in a state of disrepair, sometimes totally. On the other hand, Morogoro agricultural college had become a full university and, at least in appearance, it had progressed. I am

convinced that U.S. institutional projects designed, for example, to improve the structure of education, health, and government itself will be more lasting than other projects.

Q: Well let's come back to that.

Q: (This is April 19th continuing the interview with Dr. Vernon Johnson) You were talking about your work in Tanzania and other development prospects in Africa.

JOHNSON: The main point to be made, I believe, is that Africa, as a development entity, is unique. Nyerere saw this and his central point was that Tanzania, unlike Western economies, was group focused (e.g. the extended family concept) in contrast to having an individual focus. But how does one use this knowledge? Nyerere said we should accept it, assist it, and turn it into a force for development-the base unit of which would be the Ujamaa village. He saw Western capitalism as being exploitive and European socialism as based on class conflict. He argues that neither was suitable for Africa.

One of the main problems with Nyerere's thinking is that it was devoid of economic content in spite of his dealing with economic issues. Most classical economic principals to him rested on exploitation and, therefore, should be ruled out. Now for AID, our intent was to be neutral to ideological concepts. We thought that regardless of the ideology a country would need good seed if it was going to have good crops; that it would need good training if it was going to do the things that needed to be done; that good chickens were useful in a socialistic as well as a capitalistic country; that health was a benefit. And therefore we stayed with those project and those ideas that would be useful regardless.

In fact, before the war with Uganda, there was a surplus in the Tanzania treasury. Julius Nyerere was the first head of state invited to the United States under the Carter Administration and therefore the country was not looked upon as a basket case. Although it proclaimed socialism, it was not looked upon at all in the same sense as we looked upon European socialism and European communism. It was unique from an ideological perspective which permitted us to go along with our projects. We increased our input to the country. Our projects were thought to be reasonably well done; they were judged to be good; we had excellent seed farms, for example, and we were building a seed distribution apparatus that was spread across the country. We were assisting the university; we had agricultural training centers spread throughout the country; we had poultry projects. And therefore we were doing as well there as AID was doing in many other countries at that point. The development problem with Tanzania as well as many other African countries is that the scale of needs overwhelms available resources. That situation exists even until now.

Q: What was there about Tanzania, at that time, that encouraged the donors; the Scandinavians, the World Bank, AID thought that Tanzania was the model at the top of the list for major assistance. Why was that?

JOHNSON: At least it had a leader who was articulate, an excellent writer, an excellent speaker who could engage a person in almost any range of discussion. Our Ambassador there at that time, Ambassador Spain, a devoted Catholic- Nyerere, was also a devoted Catholic-would

engage Nyerere in discussions on principles of Catholicism. Nyerere was good in making his case. When the Secretary of State Kissinger came out to East Africa, his first stop was in Kenya and the President there, Kenyatta, entertained him with Kikuyu dances with the headdress and the bells on the feet and all the rest. I think maybe the Secretary thought that this was the nature of things in Africa. Then, he came down and sat with Nyerere. We had not developed a clear policy for Africa at all because we had depended mainly on the British and the French in the traditional way. Apparently, the Secretary found Nyerere to be a different kind of African leader. We were told that the Secretary altered his Africa policy speech on the basis of these discussions. Now for your question. The Tanzanian leader was respected, he could penetrate Western thought, and Tanzanian socialism was not taken in the sense that we took European socialism and communism. In terms of Western thinking, Tanzania was devoid of tribal discord. The country was stable and some thought that this might lead to development.

Q: Nyerere was critical of the West; wasn't he?

JOHNSON: Yes, he was critical because capitalism to him represented what he had learned from colonial powers. It, he said, was simply not the approach Africa should be taking and in this sense he was critical. He was not critical of individual people who came; he liked to engage them in intellectual discussion.

Q: You said before that you had met with him several times; what kind of a dialogue did you have?

JOHNSON: It wasn't much of a dialogue; I just went along with the Ambassador to discuss development issues and development problems. And I said a minute ago, our idea was to make sure that we were doing things that would be conducive to development in the country and yet not get involved in making a better Ujamaa village and the kinds of things that were foremost in the ideology. Nyerere completely accepted our points. It was well understood that there had to be increases in productivity and output as there had to be improvements in health and education and all the rest ,if the country was going to develop. So he took no issue with this; he probably would have liked for us to give stronger support to his ideas and find a way to promote them; but we were well accepted in the country despite these differences in viewpoint.

Q: What was the situation in Tanzania that made Ujamaa particularly important?

JOHNSON: It was simply an articulation of the President's; it was not different from most African countries. He simply expressed his concept of African history and laid out an historical treatise on things that were African and things that were not African; and he made the point over and over again that colonialism was an implant that was not in the tradition of Africa and that African traditions could be up-dated into a modern developmental frame of reference and promoted it on the basis of group welfare rather than on the basis of individual welfare. So I think it was just one of the few countries that had a person who could articulate ideas that had an appendage in history, culture, and tradition; and very few of the other Presidents made an attempt to do this; were not probably sufficiently endowed to do it.

Q: You don't get the impression the ethnic issues that you saw in other parts of Africa were very evident in Tanzania; is that true?

JOHNSON: Yes, the tribal conflict, in particular. One thing that Tanzania did not have was the dominant tribe. In most of the countries that have had exploitive and explosive tribal conflicts, there has usually been a tradition of the dominant tribe; this was certainly true in Uganda; it was true in Kenya; it was true in Nigeria. Tanzania, on the other hand, was a culture of small tribes. The land space had been such that they had not had the kind of conflict which stems from the distribution of land resources. Religion never became a strong basis for conflict in the country as it did in Nigeria, for example. And with the strength that Nyerere had as a leader, all elements of the population supported him. Thus, Tanzania did not have the basis for conflict that was evident in some of the other African countries. And therefore this contributed to the possibility that this might be a place that could be developed in a more peaceful way.

Q: How did Nyerere articulate the question of how one generates the resources necessary to maintain development processes: the lack of revenue generation, the lack of incentives?

JOHNSON: Hard work on the land. Nyerere's idea was that industry was not critical to commence development. So you start with people on the land. Hard work, gradual accumulation of surpluses, emphasis on marketing and distribution. And from this base a long run approach, at best; nothing was going to happened in a year or two. In the long run these villages would develop; there would be some of the welfare benefits like health, education, and recreation. The villages would develop. Each would have a village government and would develop within a regional or provincial structure. Each village would have its own development plan; this would be articulated within the village. Everybody in the village would be equal in their participation in the affairs of the village. Gradually resources would be developed; surpluses would be developed. Money could be collected for resources like fertilizer; training would be a dominant element of his vision. In time the people would be better off the country would become better off; surpluses would continue to develop and in this way there would be national development. Actually, very little of this makes economic sense.

Q: Prices didn't have a role in this?

JOHNSON: Market prices were rarely discussed. I don't remember at any time hearing an intellectual discussion of pricing and market mechanisms as a development force. This was one of the blind spots. The force of capitalism was as an ideology and its exploitive aspects were emphasized. The benefits of markets were seldom brought into Nyerere's range of discussion and articulation.

Q: What about exports and imports?

JOHNSON: Analytical economics just doesn't stand out in Nyerere's point of view; to the extent he talked about it, it was usually with reference to exploitation. For example, when he made a speech here at Howard University, he asked rhetorically: how does it happen that a young woman in New York who works in a department store selling twine can live well with an apartment and a car; while the producer in Tanzania who sells sisal, according to Nyerere, can't

even afford a bicycle. He related that 20 years before, 50 bales of sisal would buy a tractor; 20 years later it took a hundred bales to buy the same tractor. It was not the market but rather control of the market that kept Africa backward. He had trouble seeing how Africa could develop in competition with Western economies that were so far ahead and where all economic market decisions were made outside of Africa.

Q: Do you have any sense of the impact of the program?

JOHNSON: Yes; the war with Uganda denuded the treasury, although it led to the ousting of Idi Amin. From that perspective, the country began going further backward; there were no internal resources to maintain the projects we left. Nyerere finally reached the point of retirement; new presidents came in with different ideas. The AID supported projects with an institutional structure have better prospects of permanence than projects that depended on the imports of tools, equipment, technology, vehicles. they are projects that could not be sustained. The seed farms, for example, were tractor operated; beautiful farms like those that you would see in Iowa. The crop geneticist had worked on this and developed new varieties. I went there in 1988-15 years later-nothing was left; equipment gone; seed farm was just a shadow of its old self. Nothing that you could point to. The Masai cattle project with water development had reverted back to the traditional cattle tending that the Masai had always been accustomed to.

Q: What was the reason for this?

JOHNSON: There are several reasons: one is a lack of a continuing resource flow: the resources that were coming in to sustain these developments were suddenly cut off-AID resources for the main part. Government resources are much more reliable if there is a complement of outside resources. African government with limited resources simply cannot support these projects. This always presents a problem, particularly when you consider the poverty of most of these countries. If, indeed, we have good projects, we should limit the number and provide support however long it takes them to generate output and income.

Q: There was no institutional structure to carry them on?

JOHNSON: No, not when we view the situation realistically. For example, we had excellent people trained for the seed farms; and as matter of fact they were put in charge before our phase out. But we were running it with AID support and AID surveillance. When we left and our complement of resources left, the farm manager's access to the Treasury came to an end. He could not sustain the seed farms which requires timely inputs such as gasoline, replacement of farm equipment, etc.

Q: The government didn't see it as a priority?

JOHNSON: Our concept of "priority" must be seen in Tanzanian terms. Host country support for projects depends on the finance ministry priorities and the availability of funds. The Minister in Tanzania was knowledgeable about finance but ignorant about agricultural needs. For example, if crop inputs are delayed (e.g., sprays) an entire crop may be lost . After AID's phaseout, the Tanzanian farm manager being a technician had no clout at the Treasury. So long as AID was

associated with a project, we could go to the Minister and if necessary threaten to cut-off assistance.

AID should select a few good projects in these low income countries and we should not phaseout such projects until they are firmly integrated-technically and budget-wise- into the development fabric of the host country. "Project phaseout" should be deleted from AID jargon.

Q: Didn't we attempt to make a big push in the Arusha Region?

JOHNSON: The idea of associating donors with particular regions of Tanzania came near the end of my tenure. I think AID did later concentrate more resources in that region.

Q: Were you involved in the Zanzibar relationship?

JOHNSON: When I was in Tanzania, our work in Zanzibar was very limited. I think we had only one agricultural technician posted there.

Q: Did you attempt any kind of economic policy dialogue?

JOHNSON: My assignment in Tanzania preceded AID's pointed emphasis on policy dialogue. I agree, however, that price incentives and market forces are crucial to development. The primary issue, it would seem, is not simply discussing price policy but rather installing it as an on-going guide for decision-making. Tanzania had economists trained in the U.S. and other Western countries. They were not ignorant of price effects. Bringing a host government to effectively adopt such policies, this is the trick.

RICHARD PODOL
Assistant Director, USAID
Dar es Salaam (1974-1978)

Richard Podol was born in Chicago in 1928. He attended the University of Iowa, where he received his B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. He became involved in the Foreign Service in 1954. Mr. Podol has worked in India, Tanzania, Bangladesh, Zaire, and Uganda. He was interviewed by W. Haven North in September 1996.

PODOL: Tanzania. I wanted to go to Africa.

Q: Why did you want to go to Africa?

PODOL: I knew you were going to ask me that. For several reasons. I'd spent all my career up to now on Asia, including Turkey, and I wanted to go to a different part of the world. I did not want to go to Latin America, because I felt the political and social systems were so corrupt that you really couldn't do much that I was interested in doing. Africa offered an opportunity, almost starting from scratch, in development at this particular point in time. So, I wanted to go to Africa.

I went to see the Assistant Administrator, Sam Adams. We talked about several jobs that were open at the time. There were three: Ethiopia, Tanzania and Kenya, for the number two position in each. And I was offered Tanzania, so I went in January of '74.

Q: As the Deputy Mission Director?

PODOL: The title was Assistant Director, but, in effect, Deputy, yes.

Q: *And who was the Director at that time?*

PODOL: Vernon Johnson, which has some significance later on, as we'll discuss. So, I went to Tanzania. Shortly after I got there, we had a two man team come out from Washington to examine the program. I remember one of them saying, "Why are we providing assistance to this Communist country?" That gives you an idea of the attitude of some circles in Washington about Tanzania. It certainly was true that the government program was socialistic, which made development as we would want it very difficult, because the President wanted institutions, corporations, whatever, to be government run. After I'd been there a couple of years, about 1977, came the Villagization Program. In Tanzania, people did not live in villages. They lived scattered along the countryside in individual houses on individual plots. The president felt that the only way you could provide social services - health and education - would be to bring people together in a village, so as to have a critical mass where you could provide services. Unfortunately, this was done on a forced basis. They'd uproot people, chop down their trees and houses, and herded them into these village sites. The program didn't work, because the government didn't have the resources to provide the health and education. They also created horrendous environmental problems, health problems. People brought their cattle with them and, living close together, diseases spread. One thing I did learn is that the farmer, when he wanted to, could beat the system. So, at this time, in kind of an intermediate stage in Tanzania, there were communal plots, which was not uncommon in the country, and individual plots. The government provided fertilizer only for the communal plot. So, the farmer beat the system, diverted the fertilizer to his plots and juggled the books; the village kept books so this would be covered up. So, there was kind of a lesson learned there.

Things changed, because Nyerere became the head of the front line states at the time of the Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, independence movement and war. Henry Kissinger came to Tanzania 2-3 times to talk to Nyerere about the situation. So, that calmed Washington down. Our budget went up a little, but not dramatically. It took the pressure off of why we were working in Tanzania.

Q: *At that time, Tanzania was getting an extraordinary amount of assistance from all the donors. Given what you describe as the socialist, Communist orientation, why was it so popular?*

PODOL: Socialist, yes; communist, not really. The people you're talking about are the Scandinavians, the Norwegians in particular. They also believed in the socialist system. The Swedes and Norwegians believed that socialism was the way to go. The Swedish economy in particular was very heavily government run, with social services and welfare benefits and so on. Nyerere himself was a very appealing individual. He was, I think, the first Tanzanian to graduate

from a foreign university, and was a very bright, articulate person, and very persuasive. So the Scandinavians really loved Nyerere because they saw that what he was doing was right. And, in a sense, if you look at what he wanted to do, yes, he was interested in what we call the poor majority. He wanted to do something to uplift the lives of people in rural areas and that was the focus of his program. You never heard about Swiss bank accounts on his part, things like that. So, yes, his goals in that sense were admirable and he received a lot of support. It's the methods that didn't work particularly well.

Q: That goal was consistent with what our development policy had moved to?

PODOL: Yes, basic human needs. And our program was in agriculture and health - rural health.

Q: What was our approach in trying to deal with a situation where they were trying to-?

PODOL: We started to pull away at that time. This was just shortly before I left when we really knew what was going on. Then we started to pull away.

Q: What was our program focus?

PODOL: Remember, this was a small program - you could fit it in one division of the Indian Mission or the Turkish Mission.

Q: What scale are we talking about?

PODOL: I don't know if we had $10 million for the whole program. We did have a PL 480 Title I program also. Believe it or not, it was cheaper to import corn from the United States than to bring it from Western Tanzania to Dar es Salaam. That tells you something, doesn't it? Our program in agriculture was based on manpower development. They had the rudiments of an agriculture school west of Dar es Salaam and we were working with it - this was leading toward an agriculture university - training staff that would go out and do agriculture research and extension. That was our agriculture program.

Q: Did we have a university contract with that?

PODOL: West Virginia.

Q: And did it evolve into a university at some time?

PODOL: I don't know. Not for a number of years, but whether it is today I don't know.

Q: At that time, it was-?

PODOL: It was the center for agriculture research and training and education. It wasn't called a "university" at that time.

Q: Were you trying to do other things in agriculture?

PODOL: No, that was really the focus. We tried to work a little bit on seed, but really manpower was the focus of the program. In health, it was rural health: trying to set up and train people to operate rural clinics.

Q: How did you find that worked?

PODOL: I found that Tanzanians were very interested in development. They wanted to develop their country. It was good to work with them.

Q: The program in health, did that work well?

PODOL: It was working well when I left. The real issue was: would the government find the funds to continue supporting these programs, and that was doubtful. I don't know what happened. But as long as we were in there providing some of the support, yes, the clinics were functioning, the staff was at work and had been trained.

Q: It was effective as long as we were funding it?

PODOL: Well, not all of it, but partially funding it, yes. I really don't know how it finally came out, what it's like today. There was a small, modest program.

Q: What does your experience in Tanzania tell you about development functions and so on?

PODOL: Again, you have to understand the limitations of the societies in which you're working. Within those limitations, you have to look for the openings that are available to you. We had another piece of the program: livestock development, which was two things. One was trying to set up buying centers for livestock so the farmers would get a decent price. They'd bring their livestock into a central holding pen and the buyers would come in and they'd have some chance to negotiate, instead of a buyer just going out to a village and no competition. So that was a piece of the program, with Texas A&M University, working on setting up these centers.

Q: *Did that work?*

PODOL: Yes, they were working, but in the local way. The herders would bring in the cattle but keep them <u>outside</u> the pens so that they didn't have to pay any fees. The program aim of competitive buying was achieved, but there was little honest collection for holding pen upkeep! The other was with the Masai. Masai are very interesting people because cattle are the basis of not just their economy, but their social structure, social system. We worked with the Masai in doing several things: drilling wells for cattle, in building cattle dips, and in range management. Here's where you learned your lessons. The range was open to everybody. I would meet with the tribal leaders and say, "You know, you've overgrazing. You have to do this and this to preserve your range land." And they'd say, "We know it, but there's nothing we can do about it at this time because this land is communal. Everybody can use it. We cannot tell Person A, 'You can only have 30 cows' and this one '40 cows.' It just won't work in our system. We know it. Give us time.

It's a problem we have to work on." So, it's a lesson that you learn. You have to take it in the context of the social, political situation in which you're working and go with it.

Q: *Were we involved with any regional development within Tanzania? Was there any particular effort to concentrate on a geographic region?*

PODOL: No. We were not. Where the institutions were, it happened to be that the agriculture facility was about 30-40 miles west of Dar es Salaam. The rural clinics were on a planned basis, where they were reachable and the Masai homeland was in the north.

Q: *Any particular problems in this technical assistance operation, providing American expertise to these projects?*

PODOL: Not really. You could work quite well with the Tanzanians. You could make friends with them. Some of our people in the field might have had a few problems. Remember, Tanzania is one big game park. No matter where you go, there are animals. We had a small road building project in the north, in the Masai area. I don't mean paved roads. I mean dirt roads. I remember, the people out there who were living in trailers on the site saying that at night the lions would come in and bump up against the trailer. An engineer said that, one morning, he went out and there was the guard sitting on top of their road building machine. What was he doing up there? Well, there was a lion sleeping under the grader

Q: What kind of problems were you as the Deputy mainly concerned with?

PODOL: Day to day operations. I set up there, as I did in every Mission, a management information system. Initially, I would meet every week with each Project Officer and go over a list of things that were to be done that week and get a status report. When this was well in place, then it might be every two weeks or every month, depending on the project and the problems. That's what I set out-

Q: What were the other components of your information system?

PODOL: You broke it down into participant training, if there was such a thing, commodity input, if you had that, and then technical assistance - what was the advisor working on, what was he trying to do, what steps was he trying to implement? That was all down on paper, in chart form. You charted the progress against- Participant training was a series of selection steps you go through. Buying commodities, a series of steps. So, you had this all charted out. As management, you could see if things were on track.

Q: Did you experience some particular implementation problems?

PODOL: Not common, but often, yes. We're talking about the 1970s. Africa did not attract the best staff in AID. That's not where you wanted to go if you wanted to make a reputation. You went to the big Missions. So, some of the people that we had in Tanzania were mediocre, and you had to hold their hand all the way. So, this is what I had to do - just lead them step by step.

Q: Were these direct hire people or contract people?

PODOL: Direct hire people.

Q: They were very green-

PODOL: Not necessarily green, but just not too effective. You had to put a lot of hands-on effort in because of this. Not everybody, but some people. This is what I spent my time doing, working on the program. Vern **J**ohnson was "handing the care and feeding" of the Ambassador. He was an agriculture economist, so he was thinking about broader economic issues in the field of agriculture.

Q: Do you think we were having an impact in that country?

PODOL: Modest. I think, if what we were doing in agriculture was successful in terms of trained manpower, that should have had an effect in the years that went by.

Q: Did you ever meet with Nyerere?

PODOL: No, I didn't. Met with the Prime Minister at that level, and with the Ministers, but not with Nyerere..

Q: *What was your reaction to their view of the development, of the cooperation?*

PODOL: They were, I'd say without exception, very friendly to the U.S. They weren't volatile like the Indians. They were kind of low-key people, the Tanzanians, and very pleasant. You could sit and have a discussion without-

Q: *Were there any problems in follow through?*

PODOL: Sometimes. You might think your approach is right, but that doesn't mean it is. They may have problems implementing something that you want to have done. The percentage of implementation was reasonable. It's the same here: not everything you recommend here goes through. It was reasonable. It was good working with the Tanzanians. I enjoyed it.

Q: *Any other particular view about your Tanzanian time, the projects, or what you were trying to do?*

PODOL: I would mention a couple of other things that we were not maybe directly involved in that did effect what we were doing. There had been regional institutions with Kenya and Uganda set up at the time of independence and those had fallen apart. So, this was causing Tanzania a lot of problems. The regional airline was gone, the regional shipping line. And Tanzania had to make up for it, and some of the other institutions also. So, that was a handicap. I mentioned that, in the front line states, the anti-colonial movements were headquartered in Tanzania. And a lot of refugees were in Tanzania that had to be taken care of by government. Obote from Uganda, since

he was exiled, was living in Dar es Salaam under government protection and care. This was another kind of political issue.

Q: *Were we involved in refugee relief operations?*

PODOL: No, not at all.

Q: *Not at that time?*

PODOL: No, not in Tanzania anyway. Later, after I left, things with Uganda got so bad - the Tanzanians invaded Uganda. That cost them financially. It was a major hole in their budget. And their tanks ripped up their roads going there, so it hurt.

Q: *At the time you were there, how did you see the development evolving in Tanzania? Was it generally making real progress?*

PODOL: It depends on whose glasses you were looking through. The Scandinavians were still with their rose colored glasses, thinking everything was going along swimmingly. The British were very skeptical. In fact, they said, "Nothing here is going to work." And we were somewhere in the middle, I'd say. The British were more right than the Scandinavians. And Tanzania has changed now. They've broken that old mold and they are going more with the free market principles that we espouse today, some of which are fine, some of which aren't, but okay. When my tour was up in 1978, I wanted to stay in Africa, but I was told that the Bureau had no place for white males in senior positions, and therefore they were not going to give me another job. So, I went on to Bangladesh, as Deputy.

HERBERT LEVIN
Deputy Chief of Mission
Dar es Salaam (1975-1977)

Herbert Levin was born in New York in 1930. He entered the Foreign Service in 1956. His career included posts in Hong Kong, Japan, Tanzania, Sri Lanka, and India. Mr. Levin was interviewed by Mike Springmann in 1994.

Q: *And where did you go after that?*

LEVIN: Then I went to Dar es Salaam. My assignments had been in East Asia and I was asked to go someplace else. I said, "Sure." Tanzania at that time had 20 or 30,000 Chinese building a railroad. The President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, was one of the more reasonable and durable African leaders. He heavily influenced the ideology of the Nonaligned Movement. There was therefore an enormous diplomatic corps in this objectively unimportant place. In Dar-es-Salaam, everybody from Albania to Zambia had embassies.

Q: You were Political Counselor there?

LEVIN: No, I was DCM there. The biggest American AID program in Africa was in Tanzania. It was the Carter administration and there was a buildup of assistance to African countries. I think there were over 100 Americans in the AID mission alone.

Q: You kept your hand in with the Chinese, even though you were DCM.

LEVIN: We had no diplomatic relations with the PRC which meant that I could not invite the Chinese to lunch and they could not invite me to lunch. But shortly after I arrived in Dar-es-Salaam, I think it was at the Pakistanis, there was a party and I was introduced to the Chinese Ambassador. As soon as I started to talk with him, he said, "Oh yes, I heard there was somebody in the American embassy who spoke Chinese." This man didn't speak a word of English and did not read English.

In China the railways are run by the Chinese army. They really are railway workers who are in the army for historical reasons. They are a kind of elite. They build and operate the railways and are highly respected in China.

This man was assigned as the Chinese Ambassador in Dar-es-Salaam because the Chinese were building a railway to Zambia. He had no international experience of any kind. He was a railway builder, a frank guy. He pulled me off in a corner and said, "Listen, I can't communicate with anybody in this country except my own staff. And that's bad, one should not be a prisoner of one's staff. We have to meet and talk." I said, "Fine, at your disposal."

I got a phone call one day from the Canadian High Commissioner saying, "I've received a very strange message through the assistant to the Chinese Ambassador. The Chinese Ambassador says he would be grateful if I would invite you to lunch and him to lunch and I don't have to be there. What am I to make of this?" "Well," I said, "it sounds as if he wants to talk to me."

He was a very helpful Canadian. He invited the Chinese Ambassador and me to lunch at his house, looked at his watch and said he had to leave.

Q: *Very diplomatic.*

LEVIN: The Chinese Ambassador was having difficulty getting the Chinese railroad builders out of Tanzania on time, in terms of completing training of Tanzanians to run the railroad. On the one hand, the Chinese wanted to leave, they were almost done. On the other hand, they didn't want the railroad to stop operating a few months after they left. The Tanzanians ran another existing railroad themselves, not very efficiently. The Chinese were having terrible problems getting Tanzanians trained to take over the new railroad.

We discussed how we ran training courses for Tanzanians in our AID mission. The Chinese, reflecting their own cultural experience, considered that when you got someone selected into a training program to be a diesel locomotive mechanic, this was so prestigious that he would be highly motivated to complete the course. In China, if you wanted to have 100 diesel locomotive mechanics, you would start the course with 125. Maybe 25 would flunk or have to withdraw for

health or personal reasons but at the end of the year, you'd have the 100 mechanics that you needed.

Our experience in Tanzania was that due to bad nutrition, poor previous academic training, a desire for desk jobs, etc. it was difficult to put Tanzanians through a course of this kind. The fallout rate was enormous. If you need 100, you should probably start out with 250. You were working in a society where academic excellence and a desire for training were not embedded and you had to give many more people the opportunity to start in order to end up with the number needed.

We had unclassified AID training evaluation reports, which the AID Director got for me quickly, and I gave them to the Chinese. The Ambassador told me some weeks later that he couldn't read these reports but he had people on staff who could. They were amazed at the numbers but grateful. He said there were other people who said, "This is obviously a CIA trick to make us look bad with the Tanzanians, by assuming such a high rate of failure, and we shouldn't fall for this."

Using some very rich Chinese curse words, the Ambassador said to me, "You see how stupid these people are in my organization. I told them I asked the American for this on Tuesday and on Thursday morning he sent these over. He had the CIA concoct these reports in 48 hours just to make fools out of us?" He said, "You see the mentality of some of the people I have to work with?" He had a job to do to complete the railway project and he wanted it done and he was not at all shy to discuss the fact that there are stupid Chinese, just as there are stupid people anywhere, in order to get the job done.

If you can find them, and if they can develop sufficient authority, these are individuals who seek practical results in most countries behind the confrontationalists and the ideologues, and you can work with them.

Q: *Did you do reports back to Washington or memorandums of conversation?*

LEVIN: Oh yes, all of this went back. I think that the American decision not to build that railroad was a smart decision. The railroad was being built because the Zambians had to get their copper to the sea. They had previously always sent the copper out through the South African and Mozambique railroads. There was no direct rail to Zambia from the sea. The Zambians didn't want to send their copper out through apartheid South Africa and they were boycotting the Portuguese in Mozambique. The Americans took the attitude if you believe that Mozambique is going to be liberated some day--anti-Portuguese fighting was going on there--then why build a railroad when it will be useless and uneconomic when Mozambique becomes liberated?

And also the route was wrong. This cheap route to build a railroad to Zambia, was not a route which would open up areas of Tanzania to economic transportation and therefore generate economic development along the way in Tanzania. The more productive route was longer and more expensive to build. You cannot pay for this railroad on the basis of just the freight from one end to the other. You have to generate local freight, so the Americans, and I think the World Bank, said they weren't going to build the cheap route.

The Chinese, because they wanted to back the freedom fighters and what-have-you in Africa, went ahead and built it. I have no idea what's happened to the railroad now.

Q: This is Saturday, March 12. We had talked the last time about your career from when you entered the State Department on up to Dar es Salaam, is there anything you want to add or subtract or modify?

LEVIN: Back to Dar es Salaam. In Dar es Salaam, we had a huge AID mission. I think it was the largest American aid program in Black Africa at the time, with over 100 Americans in the AID mission. The head of that mission was a distinguished senior professional AID person, who was a Ph.D. in Development Economics, who happened to be black.

The AID inspectors uncovered some classic wrongdoing, the black-marketing of tires, batteries and spare parts, out of the big AID motor pool and an assistant AID-GSO was brought up on charges by the AID inspectors. I was aware of this, to the extent that I should have been officially, because I was Chargé at the time, but this was an AID investigation. It was quite amazing to me that most of the AID mission's black officers protectively closed ranks around this fellow. The GSO himself didn't argue about the facts. He confessed to the thefts and said he would make restitution. Because he had been a Supply Sergeant in the U.S. army in Vietnam and everybody black-marketed there, and a lot of white boys had gotten away with the same sort of thing that he had done, he shouldn't be punished, argued his black AID colleagues. The small number of black officers who did not agree with this approach suffered social ostracism. I observed and was shocked.

Q: *The guy who was actually involved in the black market, it didn't happen to the people under his control.*

LEVIN: No, he did it. The AID inspectors had discovered that the tires, batteries, and other components of the AID vehicles required replacement after mileage which was about one-fifth of the mileage of State and USIA motor pool vehicles. Even making some allowances for the fact that more AID vehicles spent more time in rough country than the State and USIA vehicles did, it was inexplicable to the AID inspectors.

When they followed this through, they found a Tanzanian employee who told them exactly where the stuff was. They found it in a warehouse downtown where it was being black-marketed and confronted the GSO. He confessed and he said that he was doing this because he had to pay the tuition of his kid in college or some such excuse. The facts of the case were not argued. The reaction was: let him pay restitution and go on, this kind of thing happened in Vietnam and that's where he came in, and white guys had done this there and gotten away with this.

The black State Department Embassy FSO's were appalled at this. But this was the institutional environment in a very good, very effective AID mission headed by a senior professional who happened to be black.

A separate, more conceptual problem was the desire of some AID personnel "to keep away from the Embassy." They were reluctant to view themselves as an instrument of U.S. foreign policy. Sometimes it was necessary to remind them that their boss was Uncle Sam, not the Ford Foundation.

Q: You mentioned that he had the initial advantage.

LEVIN: He was a unique man, former newspaper editor, Republican candidate for Congress, etc. It showed that with good leadership like Beverly Carter or his successor Jim Spain, though working in difficult circumstances, the Embassy ran well. Nobody was starving in the Mission but we had food shortages, transportation shortages, and medical care shortages. The population was friendly, the Tanzanians are nice people, but the government was ideologically African socialist. Every day in the newspaper you read an attack on the U.S.--not the best atmosphere.

But where there was good leadership in the Embassy, people were highly motivated, they extended their assignments. The country had two newspapers, one government, one party--one Swahili, one English--both attacking the United States every day. We had press officers who were working away, trying to get the Tanzanian editors to be more reasonable. Serious, professional leadership of a U.S. Embassy is very important.

A. ELLEN SHIPPY
Kenya-Tanzania Desk Officer
Washington, DC (1975-1977)

Ambassador Shippy was born in Colorado and raised in New Mexico. She was educated at the University of New Mexico and the George Washington School of Law. After a tour with the Peace Corps in El Salvador, Ms. Shippy joined the Foreign Service, where she served first in positions dealing with Latin America and later in with those concerning Asian and African affairs. She served as Political Counselor in Bangladesh, Deputy Chief of Mission in Uganda and she served as Ambassador to Malawi from 1998 to 2000. Ambassador Shippy was interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy in 2001.

Q: Well, then you left about 1974ish?

SHIPPY: Right. So then I went to, so I must have been there longer. In 1975 a job came open as Kenya and Tanzania desk officer. I had been bugging my CDO and learned about this job opening, bid on it and got that job.

Q: Was this a little bit out of line? I mean you were already well ensconced in ARA and all of a sudden you are off to a job in African Affairs in the Department.

SHIPPY: Well this was Secretary of State Kissinger's GLOP program. It appeared that if ARA got you, it had you forever. Although I liked Latin America, I didn't particularly want to do only

Latin America. I joined the Foreign Service to see the world. So with Kissinger's GLOP program and this other opportunity I decided to try something else.

Q: There you were at the right time. Actually as I recall, GLOP was essentially aimed at Latin America. It encompassed the whole Foreign Service, but I think Kissinger had gone down on a trip or had a meeting of Chiefs of Mission of ARA and found they really almost didn't know what NATO was. He came out of there storming and said we have got to mix them up and get everybody out and around.

SHIPPY: That is certainly believable. Anyway, I took the opportunity to move to the African Bureau and became Desk Officer for Kenya and Tanzania in AF/E in the spring of 1975.

Q: So that would be through 1977.

SHIPPY: Not really, because I had Swahili language training for six months. Shortly after I came on the desk, four students (three Americans and one Dutch) were kidnapped from Jane Goodall's Chimpanzee Research Station in Tanzania by, coincidentally, the group that Kabila led at the time.

Q: Who is now the president of…

SHIPPY: Well, he was President of the Congo until he died.

Q: Now he is dead.

SHIPPY: Yes. So these four students were kidnapped, three American and one Dutch, and that was what I did for about five months. That was a period, for example, when I didn't go to law school.

Q: At the point when these four students were captured, kidnapped, what was our reading, what was this about? Was this simply money or was this political overtones or what?

SHIPPY: It had political overtones. They were asking for money, the kidnappers were asking for money, but it was Zaire rebels trying to make a splash. We thought, we went over all sorts of ideas about how to resolve the situation and never did come up with anything. There were various interesting little incidents that happened along the way.

Q: For example.

SHIPPY: For example, one time another young officer and I and lots of senior people went up to the Seventh Floor for a briefing, a special briefing, and afterwards somebody, and I can't remember who, came up to the other young officer and myself, and asked in a horrified tone, "Do you have "X" clearance?" "No, we didn't think we had it." So we got an immediate briefing, and a back-dated clearance to resolve that issue.

Q: How was the student kidnapping resolved?

SHIPPY: One of the parents paid.

Q: What were we doing? Were we…

SHIPPY: We were trying negotiations and trying to get the Government of Tanzania to put pressure on them. Obviously the Government of Zaire couldn't do much with those rebels. It was not feasible to mount a military operation.

Q: You know the idea of paying is always a bit tricky. We have enough of cases of paying bribes in a country where somebody is up on trial and all where our official stand is absolutely no. But when we know in reality that this is probably the best way to resolve a problem if the demands aren't outrageous.

SHIPPY: I don't know the truth of the matter. Beverly Carter, an African-American USIA officer, was U.S. Ambassador in Tanzania at the time, and he was reported to have been present at the money exchange along with the parent who paid. Carter had apparently been in line, although I don't believe there had been an official nomination, but he was expected to be nominated Ambassador to Denmark. The word we had was that Kissinger had been so upset that Carter had been present at the money exchange that he was not nominated to be Ambassador to Denmark. He became Ambassador to Liberia next. I think Ambassador Carter did what he thought was right.

Q: *What was our reading on Kabila at that time?*

SHIPPY: There were various rebel groups around, and he led one of them. I don't know that he stood out because he had done the kidnapping. I don't know that Kabila himself got much publicity at that time. It was a fairly anonymous rebel group. Many years later, when it looked like Kabila was going to become President of the Congo (and he did), two or three of the students who had been kidnapped by his group had an article in "The Washington Post," reminding people of his past actions. It didn't change anything, but I thought it was a good thing for them to have done.

Q: What was the government like in Kenya?

SHIPPY: President Kenyatta was still alive. We were doing the preparations if he were to die, and he didn't. He lived on several more years. Corruption was an issue.

Q: Did we see his daughter being a major player?

SHIPPY: Not at that time. I don't recall that she was particularly prominent, or at least we didn't talk about her. Nyerere was still president in Tanzania.

Q: Nyerere had mixed reviews. He was really the darling of sort of the socialist camp in Europe.

SHIPPY: And of many academics here in the U.S.

Q: Yes, and I was wondering were we at that point looking at what he had done to Tanzania and was doing to Tanzania and saying hey wait a minute?

SHIPPY: Nyerere was either hugely loved and admired or hugely criticized. The U.S. government at that time was leery of the benefits of everything he was trying to do. I don't know that we were as harshly critical as we were later.

Q: Did we see that eastern part of Africa as being a place where we could have, do we have interests there as say opposed to western Africa, the Franco and Anglophone countries there?

SHIPPY: I haven't worked in West Africa, but neither Tanzania nor Kenya have the kind of natural resources that West Africa has, oil, diamonds, gold, whatever. Kenya and Tanzania have mostly things like coffee and tea. Their political stability and their importance in the region make them of interest to the U.S., and are two of the reasons we have put significant amounts of USAID money into them.

Q: Did you find any sort of division, because Nyerere as you said, either you loved him or had very serious questions about him. Did you find that division ran within the African bureau at all, or was the African bureau skeptical of him at that point?
This is tape two, side one with Ellen Shippy. As you were saying.

SHIPPY: I was saying that Nyerere had great charisma and personal charms. Many people who met him personally were influenced by that.

Q: Yes. Well at some point you did have the feeling that, I have talked to people American ambassadors around used to get mad, annoyed because the area would get all this money, particularly from Norway, Sweden, you know, and it was essentially destroying the economies where they were trying to help get aid money to help their countries where they represented, and were not getting much because it was going to Nyerere, and his various schemes which you know even looking at it at the time was destroying what there was of the economy.

SHIPPY: Right. The two countries that I know about, Kenya and Tanzania, were both getting fair amounts of U.S. aid. Certainly the Scandinavians were putting huge amounts into Tanzania because they did think Nyerere was a good leader and had good ideas. The destruction of the economy was more clearly seen later. The damage to individual rights where he made villagers move into villages was of less importance to the Scandinavians, perhaps because of their own social structure, I don't know. In defense of Nyerere, in fact, it is easier to provide education and health if you have a populace living in smaller concentrated areas. Whether it would have been more successful if he had gone about it in a different way, I don't know. But since the villagers were forcibly moved into the villages, it didn't work.

Q: How about in Kenya? Kenyatta had gone from being the great enemy during the Mau Mau times to being considered the great democratic leader. Was there a halo around Kenyatta at that time or was that beginning to fade or had it faded?

SHIPPY: It was beginning to fade. The corruption was starting to color people's perceptions.

Q: How about in Kenya at that time, was tribalism as much of a problem as it certainly has been in so many of the western African countries?

SHIPPY: Tribalism was an issue because Kenyatta and the Kikuyu tribe were so dominant. There was a prominent Luo politician, Oginga Oginga, who was a competitor to Kenyatta. But the people who might have posed a threat to Kenyatta were taken care of one way or another. After Kenyatta died, several years after I had left the Desk, and Moi became president, it was thought that that was a good choice because he was from a small tribe and tribalism would become a lesser factor. It didn't turn out that way, though.

Q: Well then you spent this time in Africa; did you find Africa appealed to you more than Latin America?

SHIPPY: I enjoyed Africa, and I didn't want to do my next overseas tour in Latin America again. I was trying to get away from it a little bit, and I had a good offer from AF -- Principal Officer at the American Consulate in Zanzibar -- so I took it and went on from there.

JAMES W.S. SPAIN
Ambassador
Tanzania (1975-1979)

Ambassador James W.S. Spain was born in Chicago in 1926 and at 18, entered the Army. After a year in Japan, Spain came back and graduated the University of Chicago with a Master's Degree in 1949. He then entered the Foreign Service, later receiving his Doctorate from Columbia University. He has served in Istanbul, Ankara, Tanzania and Sri Lanka. The interview was conducted by Charles Stuart Kennedy on October 31, 1995.

Q: And then what?

SPAIN: Then I was sent to Tanzania.

Q: This is as ambassador?

SPAIN: Yes.

Q: How did the process go?

SPAIN: Someone once described it as "appalling." Carol Laise was Director General. I visited Washington a month or two before I was due to finish at Florida State and asked Carol what were the chances of an ambassadorship. Her reply was "We don't know anything. Don't call us, we will call you." Next I went in to see Larry Eagleburger, who at that point was an aide to

Kissinger. He greeted me by saying, "I suppose you want to be an ambassador?" "Yes." He asked me if I spoke Spanish. "No." "How is your French?" "Read it perfectly well but would need six weeks training to be able to speak it well." He looked over some loose leaf notebooks and pushed aside two of them. "Ah, here it is, we have just had to pull a man out of Tanzania. That's for you. Has Henry anything against you?" "I don't know. When I was chargé in Pakistan some years ago, he got very mad at me for what he thought was a breach of security on his efforts to open China. He wrote me a stinging letter, which included the phrase, "and as to your future career in the Foreign Service--insofar as you have one--you will never do a thing like this again." Larry said, "He's alone now I'll find out." He walks into the Secretary's office and comes back to report, "Nah, Henry doesn't have anything against you." He remarked that it might take a couple of months but they would try to get me out there as soon as possible. As I was leaving he said, "Oh, by the way, will you stop in and tell Carol you are going to Tanzania." I walked down the corridor to the Director General's office where I had seen her two hours earlier. I said, "Hey, Carol, Larry Eagleburger wants me to tell you I am going to Tanzania." I expected that she was going to go through the roof. She just looked up, smiled in a tired way, and said, "Congratulations."

Q: You were there from when to when?

SPAIN: From 1975-59.

Q: Okay. Julius Nyerere was a renowned leader in African terms and was the darling of particularly the socialist bloc--the Swedes, and socialists in England and Germany, etc.--What were you being told about Nyerere before you went out there?

SPAIN: As I recall, I was briefed particularly on ujamaa scheme, collectivized farming. There were no policy problems between the U.S., and Tanzania, other than their constant voting on the other side of issues in the UN. Tanzania's uniqueness in Africa was one thing that was emphasized to me. I only had a week in the Foreign Service Institute. The briefing was entirely adequate. There was someone to give me a crash course in Kiswahili. It was explained that Nyerere was the big man among radical--as opposed to "good"-- Africans. He was a radical and a socialist, generally hostile to American policy, a strong supporter of rebel movements in Rhodesia, Namibia, and South Africa. The country was under real threat from the large number of Soviet and Chinese advisers. The Chinese were building the Tanzam railroad. There were 20,000 of them there.

Q: You arrived there in 1975. What was the political situation there at the time?

SPAIN: Nyerere had ruled the country since independence in 1960-61. It was a one party state. Its democracy was not representative. The only thing that could be said was that it was that Nyerere's rule was relatively benign. I am quite sure he never ordered anybody killed. There were a few people in jail but not many. Some were from Zanzibar, under sentence of death there but kept alive on the mainland. The country struck me as radical in its international policy and downright stupid in its economic theory, but pretty moderate in human terms. People didn't get killed. They might get relocated under the ujamaa system of farming, but Nyerere never even thought of "liquidating the kulaks."

Q: Was this ujamaa a relocation system?

SPAIN: In Tanzania the land to people ratio is very good. It is a big country with relatively few people. The traditional African rural society was a couple of huts, a family and extended family on top of a hill with its own few coconut palms and a casaba patch. On the next hill there was another family. It was not really village life. Nyerere's great aim was to bring education and medical facilities to his people. That was pretty hard to do it when they were scattered like that. So he set up the idea of ujamaa, the family village, and the people were all ordered in. Government would dump a truck load of cement blocks and a few pipes and say here, build it. It was a pretty inefficient operation and a lot of the people sneaked away to their old homesteads to harvest their coconuts, etc. Sometimes when they were brought back or even when they were first ordered into these collective villages, some of them didn't get on the trucks fast enough and got a rifle butt on the side of the head. It was not without brutality, but nobody was ever killed that I know of. And Nyerere did bring educational and medical facilities to the villages, far better than those in rural Kenya at the time.

I got there not long after the first round of ujamaa. Food production had gone straight down. Typically, Nyerere, instead of ordering, “shoot the capitalist pigs,” said “Well, all right, we have the people in villages now where they have medicine and education. Rearrange the land system so that there are private plots and each family can keep what it grows.” The next two years food production went straight up. Then he insisted on going back to doing things "the right way," and collectivized again. After I left they had to decollectivization again.

Q: What was the role of the American ambassador there?

SPAIN: In a public sense it was very modest. The US wasn't popular. I saw my job as knowing Nyerere and seeking possible areas of cooperation with him. When I showed up the assumption was there were very few, if any, of these. He was a hopeless socialist full of silly slogans, such as “No man should have an automobile until every man has a bicycle.” Still, he was clearly a very sincere and humane man.

I thought times were changing. I and DCM Herb Levin one day came to the conclusion that we mind find common ground with Nyerere on Rhodesia and the Namibia. We started reporting and analyzing his views on these issues, selectively but I think accurately. Lo and Behold and behold! Henry Kissinger got interested. He came to visit Dar three times in 1976. David Owen, the British Foreign Secretary, joined him for a couple of his meeting with Nyerere. The "Anglo-American" plan for the independence of Rhodesia began to evolve. Nyerere was more cooperative than Kissinger expected. He made no bones that he would give all the support he could, including arms, to the Namibian and Rhodesian rebels. That was to end "colonialism." But he saw the situation within South Africa differently. That was a fight between Africans and Africans. The Boers, as he always called the Afrikaners, were Africans too, bad Africans, but Africans. As he told an American visitor, "Unlike the British in Rhodesia, they have no place to go home to."

From 1976 on Tanzania became more important in US thinking. Nyerere was Chairman of the "Front Line States," Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, Botswana and one or two others, who were dictating the African position on Rhodesia and Namibia. Kissinger's visits were the first real policy contact with the US. Then in 1977, literally a week after the inauguration, who shows up but Andy Young, our new UN PermRep. A lot of Tanzanians took to him immediately. The first African chief of state that Carter invited to the United States after his inauguration was Nyerere and he developed a great empathy with our president.

During the visit I could easily see why. I was amazed that Carter, a former naval officer from Georgia, president for only a few months, faced with multiple world challenges, knew the names and numbers of all the players on the Southern African scene. He carried on five hours of discussion with Nyerere as competently as anyone in the State Department could have. I met Nyerere a few times in later years and he never failed to praise Carter as "a good man and a true democrat."

One of our problems on Rhodesia was British Foreign Secretary David Owen. Despite his Labor Party background, he rubbed most Africans the wrong way. And, even when he made a concession, he did it grumpily and grudgingly. Still progress was made. There was a real dialogue with Nyerere. Andy Young visited Dar five or six times in 1977. Cy Vance came for one important meeting with all the insurgent leaders. Out of it all came the Anglo-American plan for Rhodesia. When a Conservative government came back to power in London, Owen was replaced by Peter Carrington. Strangely, the radical Africans found this smooth aristocrat much more compatible than "red brick" Owen. Carrington, of course, had a good deal of personal experience in Africa and I think he used it to "pull the wool over" Margaret Thatcher's very conservative eyes in her early days in office. He perhaps made it up to her by throwing us out of the negotiations and the "Anglo-American Plan" became just "Anglo." But expected blood baths were avoided and Zimbabwe got its independence.

Q: What was your role?

SPAIN: If I did anything useful, it was to convince Washington that Nyerere was not a brutal African dictator and a Communist stooge and to persuade Nyerere that the U.S. was a decent democratic country and not merely the world's bully. It helped that I found Nyerere fascinating. He had an MA in English from Edinburgh University and loved word play. I never read a book that he hadn't read. He translated Shakespeare into Kiswahili. He had the same Catholic secondary education at a mission school that I had. I recall going in to see him one day and being confronted with the question: “Mr. Ambassador, do you remember what the ultimate sin is?” I said, “I think it is despair.” “Yes, it is despair. You are dying and you are in despair of God giving you mercy.” I agreed. “Isn't there something else," he asked, "final impenitence?” I agreed again. “You are dying and you don't ask God for forgiveness because you are convinced He wouldn't give it to you if you did.” “Yes Mr. President.” He delivered his punch line. “I am on the verge of despair about Ian Smith. Will you please tell President Carter that. If he doesn't do something about him soon, we're all going to be dammed!” I passed the message along, although I left the intricate theology out.

Another story. Nyerere came back from an OAU meeting in Addis or Khartoum during the war with Uganda. I went in to see him and said, “Well, how did things go, Mr. President?” He replied, “You know how they went, you read the newspapers. They all condemned me for warring with my African brother, Idi Amin. I told them, let me tell you about my African brother. He is a murderer, a pervert, a monster. Then my fellow heads of government called me names. They said I was a rampaging elephant. That didn't bother me. You can see I'm a little guy, barely 100 lbs. Then they called me a mad buffalo. I shed that too. But finally one of them called me a mischievous little black monkey. That hurt! Look at me and that hurt. Look at me. I jump around and I talk with my hands. I do look something like a monkey.” You can see why I am very fond of Julius Nyerere.

Q: Well he seemed to have had particularly good relations and charmed money out of the Swedes and other socialists. He would call up and seemed to get whatever he wanted. Did you find this was true?

SPAIN: Most Western development aid to Tanzania came from Scandinavia, particularly the Swedes. They liked the intellectual socialist, the benign father of his people who didn't kill or imprison people, while trying to create a new way of life with better prospects. The fact that it all didn't work very well didn't bother them.

Q: Were you able to at any point sit down and have a good discussion with him about the effects of a lot of this socialism, that it was cutting down on a lot of opportunities and that maybe a more capitalist form of government might make some sense, to unleash the mercantilistic energies of the people?

SPAIN: I must confess that I really didn't try. For one thing, unlike other parts of Africa, no one was starving or dying of uncontrolled disease in Tanzania. For another, despite Nyerere's close identification with radical socialist theory, I don't think he cared much about economics. He was basically a humanist with a keen sense of both tribal traditions and modern politics, a social science type. Besides, our AID program in Tanzania was very small and I didn't have much to bargain with. Above all, the primary US interest at the time was a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia, Namibia, and South Africa. I was much more interested in promoting that than in arguing economics. Come to think of it, there was one time just before he came to the US on his official visit. He told me he wanted to try to make clear the "north-south" problem between the "haves and the have-nots." He asked what I thought about his proposed approach. He talked about a Tanzanian man and wife out in a village who sew and reap a hundred kilos of sisal. As always happens in dealing with sisal, they cut their legs. Sooner or later they are likely to get skin cancer. It is a pretty miserable life. They earn enough to have 3 ounces of carbohydrates and 1 ounce of fat a day. (I forget the exact statistics.) That sisal is sent off to the United States. The shipping cost is controlled by the Westerners who make a profit on it. What originally cost 5 cents, when it arrives costs 15 cents. An American company buys it and makes it into a ball of twine. It sells it to a stationery store 65 cents. The stationery store sells it to a customer for 98 cents. Part of the difference between 98 cents goes in wage to the unskilled clerk behind the counter. Her weekly wages enable her to buy new clothes, go to movies, take a vacation. My people don't get enough out of the process to do any of these things. "That is what I means by north-south inequality!"

I told him that he should try his explanation. Incidentally, he was much more precise and eloquent than I have just been. He put the idea into a speech in San Francisco. I don't think anyone understood what he was getting at.

Q: Was there concern at all during this that Nyerere would become a tool of the Chinese and Soviets? Henry Kissinger was seeing so many things in East-West terms.

SPAIN: Yes, there was some concern, particularly because there were a great many Chinese there, 20,000 at one point when they were building the Tanzam railroad. Such military equipment as Nyerere had was Soviet supplied. Russian diplomats and technicians were fairly much in evidence. Press and public opinion favored both Russians and Chinese. I personally didn't share it. As far as I could see, if anybody was trying to take over the country, they weren't doing a very good job of it. And, also, with the Tanzanians, as with the Egyptians and the Afghans and every other people I had known in Asia and Africa, there was a real nationalism. Just taking aid from a country didn't mean they were going to be absorbed by it. The Chinese put in an enormous amount of money for the Tanzam railroad and their numbers were of some concern at the time. But as we can see now, all they achieved was building a railroad.

Q: What about Zanzibar? One of our concerns has been the communists getting a foothold on the Indian Ocean and Zanzibar being a traditional port and all that. Did this play any role?

SPAIN: After the Zanzibar revolution when the Africans overthrew the Sultan just a year or two after independence, the Russians and particularly the East Germans were very active there. The latter provided apartments buildings, a color television station and receiving sets, etc. When the island joined with Tanganyika to form Tanzania, Nyerere was, I think, a restraining influence on Communist penetration. By the time I got to Dar there was little reason to fear a Communist take-over. It seems to me that our mistake in Africa and Asia during this period was not in fearing sinister Communist intentions but in not taking into account local ones. No country wanted to be a Communist satellite--any more than it did to be an American one.

Q: I think one of the themes has been much of the Cold War that back in Washington the political leaders and congress were sometimes reflected in the Secretary's statements, were seeing communist menaces around and all, where those in the field were seeing these things self-contained and these were people take opportunities to get a little extra arms or aid. Did you see this split at all?

SPAIN: I certainly did. In the case of Tanzania there was much more concern in Washington than there was in the field. One of the amusing sidelights of Henry Kissinger's second or third visit was this. He stayed in the Kilimanjaro Hotel. When the party was clearing out to go to the airport, I was told that the Secretary wanted me. I went upstairs. People were carrying away files and suitcases. In the middle of a table there was a "bug" protector that was still making weird electronic sounds. Henry gets both of us hunched over this thing. He said "Thank you very much. This visit has been useful. Your arrangements were fine, but I want to warn you about one thing. This fellow Nyerere is not on our side." This was a pretty accurate reflection of the spirit

of the times. The fact was that Nyerere certainly wasn't on our side, but he wasn't a tool of the Chinese or the Russians either.

Q: What about the situation with Uganda? Could you explain for someone who wouldn't be familiar, what had happened in Uganda that caused it?

SPAIN: Idi Amin was a monster. He jumped in to grab a piece of northwestern Tanzania. He send his army down without notice and occupied it. Why? God knows. Tanzanian forces mobilized and started getting in there, but before any real fighting took place, the Ugandans withdrew. You could make an argument that whatever it was it was over. But Nyerere took the position, probably correctly, that Idi Amin remained a major threat to Tanzania. If something wasn't done about him, he would come back in and do the same sort of thing again. He had started the war, and, by God, the Tanzanians were going to finish it. Personal enmity between Julius Nyerere and Idi Amin was enhanced by philosophical differences. There really wasn't anything economic or political at stake.

Q: How did that work out?

SPAIN: The Tanzanians chased them all the way to Kampala. Nyerere replaced Amin with Milton Obote, a previous Ugandan prime minister who had bee in exile in Tanzania for some years. He ran the grocery store where we bought out food supplies. He was another intellectual socialist but without Nyerere's charm, humanity, or intelligence. He started killing people just as soon as he got back to Kampala and was overthrown again. I really have no idea of what has gone on in Uganda since.

Q: Was there a difference between the Tanganyikans and Ugandans and the Kenyans?

SPAIN: If you look at it from an anthropological standpoint I don't know if you would really find much difference. Uganda had had this complicated thing of Buganda where there was actually a monarchy and one tribe that had the history of ruling. Tanzania's great blessing was that it had a hundred or so tribes, none of them were anything like a majority in the country. I think the biggest tribe in all of Tanzania was 6 percent of the population. Nyerere himself came from a small tribe up near Lake Victoria which had only 5,000 or so people. Kenya is more evenly split between Kikuyus and Luos, tribes of almost equal size which are intensely jealous of each other.

Q: It would seem to me that a place like Tanzania where the Americans were not, although we were talking to them in polite terms, but they were not with us on UN things and that type of things. What would you do when you got your yearly shopping list of things to do? Would you go around and say, "Please vote this way," knowing they were going to stick their thumb in your eye? Could you make any grounds or was this a proforma thing?

SPAIN: Sometimes I didn't even due it pro forma. I went in twice a year on two issues. One was Puerto Rico; the other was nuclear non-proliferation. Nyerere would sit there grinning, not reflecting hostility but really not hearing me either. At one point Kissinger sent out a demarche that included the phrase "for Tanzania to vote for Puerto Rico independence would be an unfriendly act." I remembered my international law courses which taught that "an unfriendly act"

was one just short of war. Nyerere had had a few courses in international law, too. I figured throwing that at him would just make him furious. But I also knew that the Secretary felt strongly. So I said, "Mr. President, I know you strongly favor Puerto Rican independence, but I want to stress that the people of the United States feel strongly about the subject too. They become unhappy when they see countries that really have little interest in the matter constantly voting against us. They think acts like that are unfriendly." I added that I would really like to brief him on our view of Puerto Rico sometime. He politely agreed.The subject was up again in the UN a few months later. Before instructions went out to beat everyone who disagreed with us about the head, I asked for briefing material from the Department. I got an armload. When I went to see Nyerere this time, he had his foreign minister and three or four others present. We had our little seminar, very conscious of the fact that on this occasion at least we weren't engaged in a confrontation. All I got out of Nyerere was a comment that "Yes, some of this is new and interesting. Next time we face this face this issue, I will be better prepared."

Before very long, of course, we had to face it again and this time, according to Washington, the Tanzanian vote may be critical. I never really understood this use of words. It might be critical to the UN vote in the Committee of 77 but that really didn't make a damn bit of difference to what we would do. However, I went back to Nyerere and said, "You remember how we discussed Puerto Rico. I'm told your vote is likely to decide the outcome this time. Do you really want to be the country that faces the U.S. with a demand for Puerto Rican independence?" He asked a number of questions and called up his foreign minister. Then he said, "I don't think we would be the single vote that puts it over, but I will make you this promise. My representative will be instructed that if it comes to that, she is to excuse herself to go to the bathroom." Actually, the independence issue was defeated by several votes that year, so Tanzania felt free to vote it favor of it. Not a great achievement, was it?

Nyerere's standard answer to my pleas for Tanzania to sign the non-proliferation treaty was that it was an "unequal treaty." Some countries had to sign it and some did not. "Mr. Ambassador," he told me one day, "you come in and tell me that the U.S. has signed it; bring it with you and I'll sign it then and there." Obviously I got nowhere with him on the subject--except that he occasionally teased me: "When are you bringing me your non-proliferation treaty?"

Q: I would think that in a country such as Tanzania that as the ambassador one would feel very leery about having the CIA around there because anything they did would...in the first place it wouldn't have any bloody effect. But almost anything they did could get into the papers and be blown up all out of proportion and we would just have egg all over our face, etc. How did you find this?

SPAIN: We had a small CIA station there. Two of the three station chiefs I had were pretty good citizens. They understood that covert collection had more prospect for loss than gain. Unfortunately, they were under constant pressure from their headquarters to collect at any cost.

Q: We are talking about rogue elephants, somebody going out...

SPAIN: They weren't cowboys, but I saw no need for them. State political officers produced better information on Tanzanian affairs. The Agency people claimed they were tracking Soviets

and Chinese through the port and airport. They also had "high priority requirements" for information on Zimbabwean and Namibian rebel leaders. Andy Young and I were in regular contact with all of these and I never saw the Agency come up with anything that we didn't know already. I did see some stuff they produced that was plain inaccurate.

Q: We had full relations without restrictions on talking to these people?

SPAIN: Yes. The only restriction was that no American official could go into Rhodesia. Later the one exception to that was Steve Low, who was ambassador in Zambia. He was designated a roving ambassador or something like that and actually visited Rhodesia. There were no restrictions at all, even during the Kissinger days. And, after Carter, Young, and Moose came into the picture, it was talk, talk, and talk. My wife gave Sam Nujoma the first American social event that he ever attended, a birthday party for him in the house in Dar es Salaam in 1977.

The CIA's problem, incidentally, was in Washington. The White House asked for all available information on the rebel leaders and the Agency set out to get it by hook or crook. Equal priority was give to collection in Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, and four or five other places, including South Africa. I tended to be somewhat skeptical of the hair-raising stuff that came out of the last. When I raised a question about this scatter shot approach, suggesting that they might look for information about Mugabe in Maputo (where he spent most of his time) and about Nkomo in Lusaka (which he made his headquarters), I made a lifetime enemy of a swashbuckling spook named Clair George.

Q: Clair George being?

SPAIN: The chief of the Africa covert division of CIA. He told me once that I was the worse ambassador of the whole crop. Simply because I had said, "For God's sake, fellows, don't risk getting blown trying to recruit a drunk who was once Robert Mugabe's driver, Robert Mugabe has been long gone from Dar." I didn't shed many tears when George, having ascended very high in the Agency, was convicted of felony in federal court a few years ago--and I didn't break out the champagne when Bush pardoned him.

Q: Were there any other areas we should cover?

SPAIN: On Tanzania, I don't think so--other than the interesting aspect of diplomacy when you come back with an official visitor to the United States. As I said Nyerere was the first African chief of state that Carter invited back. I accompanied him.

Only twice in my life have I been in substantive sessions in the White House. I was with Carter and Nyerere, Vance, Moose and Brzezinski for something like five hours. Then too, five or six days are allotted for the distinguished visitor to see the US. We took our own plane out to Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles, and the rural Midwest and South. Nyerere didn't play bridge but his foreign minister (now President of Tanzania) did. ....weekend and apparently is the likely new president.

Such visits are very useful in terms of getting a feel for what people in the field often tend to forget. One is that the American people, while polite and interested, simply don't care all that much about foreign affairs. Another is Washington meetings, hordes of people tripping over their own feet; everybody serving his personal interest; nobody ever willing to make a decision. I couldn't help thinking how great it would be if I had no one but Carter, Vance, and Moose to deal with. But governments don't work that way.

Q: What would President Carter and his Secretary of State Vance be doing talking to Nyerere for five hours? That is a lot of time.

SPAIN: Rhodesia and Namibia were high priority issues at the time. Kissinger had devoted three or four days to them in 1976. We were in the middle of the negotiations for an independent Rhodesia. The personal chemistry between Carter and Nyerere was great. Toward the end of the discussions Carter shuffled his papers and said, "Well, I think that is all Mr. President. It has been very useful." His National Security Adviser who had been sitting down the table and hadn't said a word coughed pointedly. "Oh, yes," said Carter, "There is the matter of the Cubans in Angola." "Yes, indeed Mr. President," Nyerere responded. "I thought we were going to agree on everything, but that is something that we can disagree on. Let's talk about it." Carter didn't seem very eager. He said, "We feel that's bad." Nyerere gave his standard reply: as soon as the South Africans get out of Angola the Cubans will get out. "How can you guarantee that?" "Because the President of Angola has promised me and I will see to it that he lives up to his promise!" There isn't. Brzezinski broke in. "Mr. President, are you aware that the number of Cubans in Angola compared to the total population of Angola is larger than the number of Americans who were in Vietnam at the height of our involvement?" "Oh, really, how interesting," replied Nyerere. Carter started folding up his papers. "And, Mr. President," asks Brzezinski," Are you aware that the number of Cubans in Angola compared to the total population of Cuba is very much larger than the number of Americans in Vietnam at the height of our involvement compared to the total population of the United States?" This time Nyerere didn't say a word. He waved his hand with a condescending smile. Carter grabbed his papers, stood up, and announced "Well, it looks like we really are finished!"

As is obvious, I was personally very fond of Nyerere--not necessarily a good thing for a diplomat. He was a very remarkable man and, I think, a very constructive element in the peaceful solutions to the problems of Southern Africa that eventually emerged.

HOWARD K. WALKER
Deputy Chief of Mission
Dar es Salaam (1977-1979)

Ambassador Harold K. Walker was born in Virginia in 1935. He attended the University of Michigan and later Boston University to earn a PhD before serving in the US Air Force. After briefly serving with the CIA, Walker joined the Foreign Service and served overseas in Zaire, Nigeria, Jordan, Tanzania, South Africa

and as ambassador to Madagascar and Togo. Ambassador Walker also worked in the Inspection Corps and as vice president of the National Defense University. Walker was interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy in 2001.

Q: You were in Tanzania from when to when?

WALKER: 1977-1979.

Q: What was Tanzania like when you arrived?

WALKER: Poor, hot, and like Jordan, not much for anyone to do other than the ambassador, even less for our political officer and our economic officer than in Jordan. In Jordan as political counselor, we had a portfolio of responsibilities and contacts, who though not at a center of power, nonetheless had some say in decisions but who also were themselves urbane, cosmopolitan people who welcomed contact with the diplomatic community and there was some interesting back and forth and to and fro - and the issues, even though the big ones were taken up by the ambassador, were nonetheless important back in Washington. In Tanzania, you had the same situation where only the president made the decisions. He was the ambassador's contact. The other things left around were not very important at all. But even worse, Tanzanians were not very accessible. They were people who themselves were not only afraid for political reasons to have that much to do with the diplomatic community, but who personally were not that inclined to associate with foreigners. It was the first country I had been in where senior officials had to get permission to accept the invitations of diplomats. Their ministers decided who would be the token representative at a dinner you might have. I never had that in any other place. Moreover, Tanzanians themselves, the urbane, cosmopolitan sector of society, is very small. It's a very poor country. But I found the Tanzanians not to be outgoing and friendly. The Nigerians, the Yoruba in particular, are like a nation of used car salesmen - they're outgoing, gregarious, and very sociable. Even the Hausa Fulani up north, though more reserved, are nonetheless outgoing. I found the people of Tanzania to be very withdrawn. It was not only us from western countries, but my diplomatic colleagues from Africa and other places told me the same thing. I don't know the reason for that. Maybe so many people have walked through their country in a brutal way that it makes them distrustful. So, how did I find Tanzania? I found it very poor, very hot, without that much diplomatic business to do when I got there, but beautiful, lovely game parks - the Serengeti and whatnot, interesting that way. I as DCM had more to do in managing the place, managing the other officers' product. Jim Spain, like Tom Pickering, did a lot of writing and he wrote very well. I improved my writing ability there, I think. I didn't have the job I had as political officer in Jordan of boiling down the ambassador's writing in summary paragraphs. Nonetheless, whenever Jim met with Nyerere and wrote up his cable, he would always call me over, which generally happened to be 10:00 or 11:00 PM; and we would go over it to see what needed to be changed before it was dispatched. But the major work I had there was to manage the embassy, except when I was Charge, when the ambassador was away. The ambassador happened to be away during some important periods shortly after the war broke out between Nyerere's Tanzania and Idi Amin's Uganda. Amin had made the mistake of sending his armed forces into a border dispute area of Tanzania, and Nyerere decided to react not only because his small territory was threatened, but in his view, Idi Amin was an embarrassment to Africa and a real ogre. He decided to fight. The United States had its own reasons for supporting Nyerere on

this, partly because of the character of Idi Amin himself, but also because of very strong support given to Amin by Qadhafi from Libya. This Uganda-Tanzania dispute had several facets to it. One, the president crossing border to take territory. Two, the human rights dimension of somebody standing up to this evil man, Idi Amin. And three, stymying or countering the efforts of Qadhafi to extend his influence elsewhere in Africa. Qadhafi began to give more and more military support to Amin to conduct his war with Tanzania. This had some direct effect on us. We knew from intelligence sources that Qadhafi had sent down through Khartoum a high flying Soviet bomber aircraft. I had to go in and explain to the Tanzanian foreign minister and then to Nyerere when I was charge what the capabilities of this aircraft were, the altitude it could fly, and that it might lob a few bombs on Tanzania. We were worried because the plane might fly that high, but the technical capabilities of the pilot or bombardier in that plane to be able to hit the port area if they wanted were not all that accurate. Our embassy and our residences were quite near. It frightened the Tanzanians. They said, "We have nothing that we can do to protect ourselves." Then we learned through our own sources that the Libyans were shipping some major armaments including tanks to Idi Amin to fight the Tanzanians. We were tracking the movement of these weapons, particularly the tanks. They would come in through the port of Mombasa and go up to Uganda through Kenya. The people who had the big role to play here was our embassy in Nairobi trying to persuade the Kenyans not to allow this to happen. But our role in Tanzania was keeping the Tanzanians informed so that Nyerere himself could carry this message to Arap-Moi in Kenya. So, I had a lot to do with Nyerere during this period of Charge-ship, particularly over the conduct of this war. I must say that this was my first chance to see close at hand the diplomatic tool that a CIA station can be simply in providing good information, not operations - we didn't have operations. But in terms of the information they were able to get, the conduct of the war, the order of battle, which was not available to the Tanzanians, gave me a very good diplomatic tool in my discussions with the Tanzanians. I was very impressed with the quality of the station chief and his understanding of what the diplomatic needs were and of the primacy of the ambassador and the Charge in communicating this information. This gave me good entre as Charge with Nyerere, not only on this war matter but on other matters on our agenda. One of the things we were trying to do was to get the Peace Corps back into Tanzania.

Let me backtrack a bit. Let me talk about going up to Butiama, Nyerere's upcountry however retreat. He on a couple of occasions summoned me up there to discuss the Uganda battlefront, the war. I would fly up with his personal assistant, Joan Wickam, a Fabian Brit whom he had had known in his Fabian days and had kept on as his personal assistant. We would fly out in this two, sometimes one, engine plane buzzing the cattle herders and whatnot. We landed in Butiama. I'll never forget my first time. Nyerere would go up there for a couple of weeks every year and work not only on his own farm but in what amounted to the commune fields. It was fascinating to go up and see this head of state in his Wellington high boots in the mud out there weeding the communal gardens like everyone else in the village. He was a remarkable man in personal qualities. His failed socialism helped to impoverish that country. But his personal character was just very impressive. I had a number of sessions with him as Charge on the porch of his home in Dar Es Salaam. What an articulate, intelligent man he was. I think Kissinger said that he was one of the most articulate men that he had ever had discussions with. But I wanted to bring in that dimension of the quality of people you deal with. Nyerere was a very impressive man not only in terms of his articulate speech but his incisive mind that went astray on economic matters, but also on diplomatic and larger matters he was quite articulate.

Q: How did the war come out?

WALKER: The war came out with Tanzania being victorious. Idi Amin later left, was overthrown, and went on to Saudi Arabia. One of my last jobs I had to do there as Charge some corn that was to be shipped from Kenya down south of Tanzania, maybe to Zambia. I've forgotten the reason why we wanted that shipment of corn to go and Nyerere didn't, or at least not without support duty for transit. It was payback time, and I was told to go to Nyerere and get him to facilitate the shipment of the corn. This was something that was not high on his agenda at the time. I met with him and his foreign minister and we got that payback. A big part of our diplomacy had to do with Rhodesia or now Zimbabwe. But the question was, how do you get the white government of Rhodesia which had unilaterally declared its independence from Britain and a system which maintained white rule there, how do you negotiate a change? We were very much involved with that, the United States, within the contact group of other powers - the Brits, the Germans, and French Canadians. So, that was a very active diplomacy, but again it was a diplomacy of the chief of mission or the acting chief of mission. Jim Spain was very involved in that, and I as Charge. We got a lot of visitors during that time from Washington with the contact group. There was a frontline group of countries, those that were closest to Rhodesia, African countries: Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, and Botswana.

So, there was very active diplomacy through the contact group and some bilateral with Nyerere on this Rhodesia issue because Nyerere was the elder statesman among these African countries. So, if we could influence Nyerere, the notion would be that he could influence the frontline African states on the diplomacy of Rhodesia. So, that was very active not only in the embassy's diplomacy but in visiting delegations of Dick Moose, the Assistant Secretary for Africa, Andy Young, who was our UN representative. Andy Young and David Owen from Britain carried a lot of the load in that. Don McHenry came out sometimes in Andy's absence. Incidentally, it was these frequent visits of Andy Young where Andy got to know Jim Spain very well that led to Andy's inviting Jim to be his deputy at our UN mission in New York. Jim turned out to have the same experience I had in Colombia. Jim decamped, left Tanzania, to go and be the deputy U.S. representative to the UN. As he was en route after I had given him his farewell dinner, Andy Young got fired by Jimmy Carter from the job for meeting with the PLO. So Jim was left high and dry.

There is another aspect of this Rhodesia diplomacy that I want to mention, because it's instructive of the way diplomacy is conducted. Particularly that aspect of the conduct of diplomacy connecting the relationship between embassies and their foreign ministries or for us the Department of State. The aspect of it is this: the dialogue or the consultations that occurred between the Department of State and the embassies in the field, of the contact group embassies, was impressive. I attribute all of that to the Assistant Secretary for Africa, Dick Moose, who just took a consultative role. He wanted to bring the field into the making of policy. It was fascinating for me to see this exchange of telegrams, some of which I participated in, American ambassadors and these contact group countries with Dick Moose and amongst themselves on designing the diplomacy. I later learned that that isn't the approach of all assistant secretaries. But this consultative one, this collegial one, on the part of Moose with the ambassadors in the field, was a marvelous thing to watch. It was creative, innovative. The ideas that came out

represented a model of creative and collegial diplomacy.

Q: You've talked about Nyerere. One of the things that strikes me in observing is that Nyerere was really the darling of the socialist world, particularly Scandinavia, the socialist parties of Germany and France, and the Labour Party. But he had been almost poisoned by this damned Fabian stuff. Something happened. He was such a disaster. How did we read that?

WALKER: You're absolutely right: it was a disaster. He was the darling of the European socialists, particularly the Swedes. They had an enormous aid program there, bigger than ours, their biggest in the world. They were romanticized by this notion of ujamaa in Tanzania, of a community approach to things. How did we read it? We read it as the failure not just primarily of Nyerere but the failure of that socialist approach to economic growth. When you take away the incentive of the entrepreneur and the initiative and the hard work, it's a misreading of the nature of Man, of what motivates people. We saw the failure of plantations that were communalized that nosedived, of agricultural production going down. Alright, there were some other attractive things about it. The high percentage of the budget that went to education, the quality of the public library in Dar Es Salaam, the fact that the library could import books without import duty, all of those were good ideas. But the economic failure of it... I must say this: the person who pushed this analysis was the embassy's economic officer. It was not always a very popular analysis even at that stage in places like the Africa Bureau.

Q: Nyerere was considered a stellar player.

WALKER: He was one of the original African nationalist leaders, so he had that kind of patina to him. But he also was a terribly brilliant and articulate man except on economic policy. So, he was admired by a number of people. But still at that stage in the mid-'70s, the capitalist notion of the University of Chicago School of Economics had not caught on in the United States and certainly not in places like the Africa Bureau. This kind of analysis that our economic officer was pushing was not a popular one, but he was right on target and one that was generally agreed upon in the embassy - and that is that with Nyerere's socialist policies there is not much future of an aid program there except for meeting basic human needs of the humanitarian kind. It's not going to be very useful in terms of moving economic growth until some policy changes occur. This was before the international financial institutions - World Bank, the IMF, and others - and bilateral aid programs, before they were insisting on structural reform and changes of economic policy to unleash the energies of the private sector. So, for those of us who were looking at these issues, the admiration for Nyerere as the political man was limited by a growing appreciation that his inability to let go of his fascination with Fabian socialism in the early days of his life brought such unfortunate consequences to his country.

Q: Were you looking around for opposition to Nyerere or was there any?

WALKER: No. This was a country where I didn't have the desk officer in the Africa Bureau and the Bureau of Human Rights breathing down my neck about human rights violations. There was not a high place on our goals and objectives in Tanzania to bring democracy to that country. We sought out, especially through USIA's activities with students and cultural activities, we tried to broaden our contacts among people who were not in the government. But that wasn't that

successful for all of the reasons I mentioned in the beginning. One, you're dealing with a dictatorial government. You're dealing with a closed society. You're dealing with a country without a very well developed civil society. And you're dealing with a culture that's not very open to foreigners.
But economically, I didn't see any hint of any changes in Tanzania's socialist policy that would offer a chance for economic growth. It came much later, when the guy who was Nyerere's foreign minister, Ben, became president and has launched very much of an economic reform program.

Q: How did you feel by the time you left? Whither Tanzania?

WALKER: When I left, I knew I was going to South Africa. I had received this call from Dick Moose, who asked if I would go to South Africa as DCM. We had been out for a while. Since I knew in 1975, we had been to Jordan and Tanzania. Our children were back in boarding school in Massachusetts at the time. The question was, should we go back and be with them and ask for a home assignment? We called them and they said, "Please go to South Africa. That gets us a chance to travel at holidays and to stay at this school." So, I got this call from Dick Moose and he very sensibly and very considerately said, "To help you decide, why don't you go down and have a look at South Africa?" Bill Edmondson, who was the ambassador at the time, had accepted Moose's recommendation that I become DCM... I flew down there and spent a couple of nights with Bill looking around, came back, talked it over with my wife, and decided to go there. So, when we left, we were going with good feelings. It was an excellent onward assignment to be DCM at a much larger embassy and an embassy where the issues were more front burner issues back in Washington and where the standard of living would be better. Tanzania was very poor. We had to hope that someone was coming down from Kenya with butter, flour, sugar, and that kind of thing. So, I left upbeat in terms of this new assignment. The feeling was good, as I was promoted on the eve of my departure from Tanzania. It was a promotion that I needed for that job as DCM. So, I was going with a good feeling. When I left Tanzania, we were on a cooperative track. We had been cooperating on negotiating Rhodesia majority rule and our bilateral relationship was particularly strengthened by our cooperation with the Tanzanians in Nyerere's war against Idi Amin. So that was all on track. That was going well. The cooperation on Rhodesia was going well. But economically, I didn't see any hint of any changes in Tanzania's socialist policy that would offer a chance for economic growth. It came much later, when the guy who was Nyerere's foreign minister, Ben, became president and has launched very much of an economic reform program.

Q: Did you see within the society of Tanzania an entrepreneurial streak?

WALKER: I didn't see that as you see it in West Africa, particularly among the Yoruba or the Ibo. I didn't get to know... You met some Tanzanian businesspeople, a lot of Indians in the private sector. I can't think of an African Tanzanian who I knew as an entrepreneur, a businessperson, the way I knew many in West Africa.

Q: What about Zanzibar?

WALKER: We had a consulate on Zanzibar. I did visit there a couple of times. Zanzibar didn't

register heavily on our screen. Tanzania had a big problem in Zanzibar. When Zanzibar wanted to be an independent country, there was a revolt there against the Arab ruling class. Nyerere decided he could best contain that by bringing them within Tanganyika and calling it "Tanzania," Tanganyika and Zanzibar. But it was always a rather uneasy relationship. Zanzibar, even though the coup was against the ruler of the former Arab slavers, it still was ruled by people who we would call Matise in a way. They were a Swahili mixture of African and Arab people. And they didn't feel a sense of ethnic or certainly not tribal identification with the mainlanders, and the other way around. So, Nyerere knew he would always have a difficult time with Zanzibar. He was very good at coopting many of their leaders into senior positions in government as a way of consolidating the merger. Ellen Shippey was our consul in Zanzibar. I went over to visit several times. Her job was to keep a hand on the pulse, which meant not only high level contacts but other social contacts and reading the local press and seeing what's going on. But Zanzibar's internal politics was not all of important interest to us. Zanzibar played no role on the central diplomatic issues we had with Tanzania, which were Rhodesia, Namibia, and Nyerere's general OAU influence.

Q: You haven't mentioned the Soviet Union. Was anything happening there?

WALKER: No. Of greater interests to us in Tanzania were the Chinese, who had an embassy there and who had been active on the Rhodesia issue, both in building the Tanzania-Zambia railroad to lessen Zambia's dependence on white-minority ruled Rhodesia, and in training Rhodesia guerillas. It was a time when things were beginning to mellow in the bilateral relationship of the United States and China. I remember the Chinese embassy inviting my wife and me to dinner and me getting permission to attend. It was one of the most boring evenings I've had.

Q: I would have thought the food would have been great.

WALKER: The food was great. But there was not after dinner conversation. Four of them spoke English. They showed us a film of magicians. There is enough slight of hand when you see magicians face to face. You can imagine what goes on in film. That and a film of a Chinese circus. No one talked. We did have a watch at that time on the Chinese support of the Rhodesian guerrilla activities. We were trying to promote a diplomatic settlement in Rhodesia. The Chinese were very much supporting the guerrillas not only in Rhodesia but also in South Africa and in Namibia. So, we were trying to watch what they were doing there, which was at counterpoints with what we were trying to do diplomatically for a peaceful solution in Rhodesia and in Namibia and in South Africa.

Two little vignettes on that caught up with me later in my career when I was in South Africa and I made a visit to Namibia. I wanted to meet some of the oppositionists there. One was a lady named Ollie Abrams. I went to call on her in and she said, "Oh, Howard, I know you from Tanzania. I used to be the gym teacher of your daughter Wendy at the school there!" So, these things catch up with you.

The other was when later in my career I was vice president of the National Defense University. I went to China with some students and others from the university. Our control officer, the person

who was showing us around as we went to our meetings, and I were having a drink one night and found out we were in Tanzania at the same time. But he was upcountry in the guerrilla camps helping to train them.

Q: Did Mozambique play any role at this time? This was shortly after the Portuguese revolution and when the Portuguese had pulled out.

WALKER: Mozambique was independent when I was there. The connection came in the frontline group of states where Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, and Botswana were playing this role of trying to help in the negotiations. Mugabe, today's president of Zimbabwe, at that time was the leader of one of the two major guerrilla groups. He was headquartered in Maputo, Mozambique. Whenever there were these conferences on Rhodesian negotiations and the frontline states and the contact group, Mugabe would be there. Sometimes these contacts were held often in Dar Es Salaam. Nyerere was a leader of the frontline states as the elder statesman. When they would come to Dar Es Salaam, Mugabe was there, as was Joshua Nkomo, who was his competing nationalist in Rhodesia at the time, and San Njomo from Namibia, a man with whom I was most unimpressed. Mugabe was a terribly articulate guy and has also ruined his country. The leaders of Mozambique would come there. So, in that sense, they played a role in the Rhodesian negotiations. But with Tanzania-Mozambique bilateral relations, we didn't get very much involved in that.

A. ELLEN SHIPPY
Principal Officer
Zanzibar (1977-1979)

Ambassador Shippy was born in Colorado and raised in New Mexico. She was educated at the University of New Mexico and the George Washington School of Law. After a tour with the Peace Corps in El Salvador, Ms. Shippy joined the Foreign Service, where she served first in positions dealing with Latin America and later in with those concerning Asian and African affairs. She served as Political Counselor in Bangladesh, Deputy Chief of Mission in Uganda and she served as Ambassador to Malawi from 1998 to 2000. Ambassador Shippy was interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy in 2001.

Q: Well in 1977 you went where then?

SHIPPY: In 1977 I went to Zanzibar as Principal Officer, following six months of studying Swahili.

Q: You were there from 1977 to when?

SHIPPY: From 1977 to 1979.

Q: What was Zanzibar, it was a Consulate General wasn't it?

SHIPPY: No, it was just a Consulate.

Q: What was Zanzibar like when you sent out there in 1977?

SHIPPY: They were just coming out of their socialism period. The people, I think, have always been very friendly to Americans, but the Government was becoming friendly to the United States and wanted more aid than we were giving them; we had good relations with the Government.

Q: How separate was Zanzibar from the rest of Tanzania at that time?

SHIPPY: Zanzibar had its own President and Council of Ministers. It had its own budget. It got its income from the sale of cloves, the spice. At that point the clove trees were suffering a disease, and there were studies going on to identify the disease and learn how to treat it. Zanzibar was starting to try other spices and tropical fruits to develop other exports, but cloves were still the main source of income. Many Zanzibaris thought the mainland was taking too much money from Zanzibar. There were mainland troops on the island. There was a branch of the Foreign Ministry on Zanzibar. Every state visitor who came to the mainland had to pay a visit to Zanzibar. Tourists coming to Zanzibar from mainland Tanzania had to go through customs and immigration again. Zanzibar had a dress code at that point very similar to Malawi's. Women's dresses had to come below the knees, and women couldn't wear pants in public, couldn't have a bare back or bare shoulders. Men couldn't wear long hair or bell bottoms, that sort of thing.

Q: Was this Muslim or was this kind of a local Zanzibar thing?

SHIPPY: It was a local Zanzibar thing.

Q: How did you find as a woman, was there any problem?

SHIPPY: No. I have always found that for the most part, if you are a diplomat and you act like you are a diplomat and expect to be treated as a diplomat, you are. The rules of society that pertain to women don't pertain to you because you are not a woman, you are a diplomat. You must also be culturally sensitive, of course, and, for example, not wear clothing that would offend local custom.

Q: I was interviewing Joan Plaisted, I don't know if you know Joan. She was saying she went to a trade delegation in Korea, and they were all invited to a Keising party, which is a Geisha party which traditionally is for men. They looked a little bit askance at her, and then they said, "Oh, you are Mr. Plaisted," so she went as Mr. Plaisted and had a Keising girl assigned to her. At that time how did you feel the writ of Nyerere in Zanzibar? Was it sort of a dual monarchy there?

SHIPPY: Yes, I mean in a crunch, Nyerere would have the final say. He had the army, but Zanzibaris did what they wanted to do with their money. The mainland didn't particularly dictate that.

Q: Were the Zanzibaris quite a different breed of cat than the mainland people?

SHIPPY: There is a coastal group, the Swahilis, who run from Kenya down through Tanzania.

Q: Through Mombasa and all that.

SHIPPY: Lamu and Mombasa, yes. The culture is similar, and the Zanzibaris are similar to that, but not particularly similar to people from inland Tanzania. Zanzibaris are Muslim, and the Arabic influence is great.

Q: Well now, not too long before you were there, there had been some rather nasty communal raids, hadn't there?

SHIPPY: That was the revolution.

Q: The revolution, okay.

SHIPPY: Zanzibar was a protectorate of Britain. In December 1963, Britain granted independence to Zanzibar and turned it over to the ruling class, which was Arabic. That goes back to the fact that the Sultan of Oman in the 1800s came down and took Zanzibar as part of his Sultanate. He relocated himself to Zanzibar. Then his two sons divided the Sultanate into Oman and Zanzibar, and there continued to be a Sultan in Zanzibar and an Arab government, which overlay the black African Zanzibaris. In December 1963, the British granted Zanzibar independence and turned it over to the Arabs. One month later the black Africans revolted and many Arabs fled to Oman. Some were killed. One of the "Mondo Cane" films (or perhaps it was "Africa Addio") reportedly had scenes of Arab bodies lying on the Zanzibar beaches. That was January of 1964. The President of Zanzibar was Sheikh Karume; he had played a major part in the revolution against the Arabs. He invited the East Germans into Zanzibar to provide aid and assistance. They built some apartment blocks that were very East German, completely out of place in Zanzibar.

Q: Stalin alley type.

SHIPPY: Yes. Peace Corps came to Zanzibar after I had left. One of the Volunteers I met later told me that his apartment had been in one of those East German apartment blocks, which is wonderfully ironic. Anyway, Sheikh Karume was letting these people in, and Nyerere was worried because Zanzibar is only 24 miles from the mainland. In April 1964, he and Karume made the deal to unite Zanzibar and the mainland (Tanganyika) to form Tanzania. Karume at this point was apparently worried about the East Germans, and wanted control of them, so he gave up Zanzibar's independence for assistance with this. Karume was President of Zanzibar until he was assassinated in 1972.

Q: Did we have a tracking station there at that point or had that gone?

SHIPPY: No.

Q: We had one before hadn't we?

SHIPPY: Yes.

Q: Did we have any interests in Zanzibar at that time?

SHIPPY: No, except insofar as it was politically different from the mainland. There was probably some residual concern about Zanzibar because it retained its socialist attitudes for a long time.

Q: How about naval visits and all that?

SHIPPY: We didn't have any naval visits at all. It was enough a part of Tanzania that that wouldn't have sat well.

Q: What sort of things would you deal with the Zanzibari government about?

SHIPPY: Mostly economic development assistance. We had some corn projects. Heifer International sent in some heifers. Politics, keeping track of what was going on there. It wasn't a lot. Karume had been assassinated in 1972. There were stirrings about human rights issues, and rumblings from Zanzibaris who were unhappy with the union with the mainland.

Q: With human rights, this is sort of, the groundwork had been laid by Congress before, but this is the beginning of the Carter administration when you were there. Did that cause you, you know, we had all these human rights issues. Did you find any problem going in and making demarches or what have you?

SHIPPY: No, but I don't recall having to make any hugely heavy duty ones while I was there.

Q: On the economic side, you mentioned cloves and then heifers and corn and trying to do something. Was there a strong socialist overlay on Zanzibar at that time?

SHIPPY: No, the small farmers were doing what they wanted to do as were the fishermen. The first year I was there, however, the Zanzibar Government had imposed a sales price for fish, so despite Zanzibar being in the middle of the Indian ocean with lots of fish around, there were no fish for sale in Zanzibar. The government-imposed price was so low, the fishermen were sailing over to the mainland and selling on the beach over there, so we didn't have any. The government brought in vegetables about once a month for the market. They had a big ship called the Mapinduzi. I remember that one time the potatoes they bringing in were rotten so they dumped them all overboard, and we didn't have potatoes for a couple of months. There was a Vice Consul and myself at the Consulate. We would take turns going over to the weekly staff meeting in Dar es Salaam at the Embassy, and would bring back vegetables.

Q: Were there any other formal representatives there?

SHIPPY: It was probably the most mixed place I have been in terms of mingling. There were six

consulates: the Russians, the mainland Chinese, the East Germans, the Indians, the Egyptians, and ourselves. No one community was large enough to sustain itself by itself, so we all mixed, except for the Chinese. People from all the Consulates played volleyball every Saturday at our guest house, and we mixed at receptions. The PLO and Frelimo (a Mozambique rebel group) had representatives on Zanzibar, but I didn't have any dealings with them.

Q: It is interesting because the countries you named basically were not the most friendly towards us.

Q: When I first got there, we didn't have relations with China. They didn't participate in anything. The Russians and the East Germans were very friendly, not a problem at all. While I was there, we began the initial diplomatic relations with China, what did they call it, a diplomatic liaison office? Then official relations were established. After that happened, the Chinese Consul invited me to dinner. I had a wonderful Chinese meal, and watched one of their full-length propaganda films about a "red hero." Then I invited the Chinese Consul and his wife to my place for dinner, without a movie. As I said, every state visitor that went to the mainland had to come to Zanzibar and the Diplomatic Corps always trooped out to the airport to greet the visitors. A senior Chinese official came to Zanzibar after relations had been established. He made a big point of saying, "Oh, you are the American Consul. I am very pleased to meet you, etc., etc."

Fidel Castro came to Zanzibar once while I was there. I did not go to the airport, nor to the State Banquet held for him.

Q: It was kind of fun wasn't it?

SHIPPY: Yes.

Q: Were there just looking at this, any issues that particularly engaged on the foreign affairs field? Of course in a way they really weren't concerned with foreign affairs were they?

SHIPPY: That's right. Well one foreign affairs issue was at that point we were still getting the USIS movies every so often, and I would do a showing at my residence. On one occasion we got the movie "The Russians Are Coming" about the Russian submarine captain who loses his way and ends up in New York. I sent out invitations to a showing of the movie. The Russian Consul General complained to the Foreign Ministry Representative on Zanzibar that this was terrible. He asked that the showing be cancelled. The Foreign Ministry Representative called me to tell me about the call, but didn't ask me to cancel the showing. We went ahead and showed the movie. The Russian Consul General didn't come, but the Tanzanian Foreign Ministry Representative did.

Q: Actually it was sort of even handed at the Soviets and at the Americans.

SHIPPY: Not foreign policy, but another incident was when we had the "Wizard of Oz," which I have always enjoyed. It happened that there was a cholera epidemic going on around the island, and you couldn't have groups of, I think, more than six. I showed that movie so many times to small groups that I got quite tired of it.

Q: Who was our ambassador?

SHIPPY: Jim Spain.

Q: Did he come over much?

SHIPPY: He must have come over a couple of times, but not very often.

Q: How was Zanzibar seen? Was it sort of a more cosmopolitan place than Dar es Salaam or something? Were there beaches or things that people did?

SHIPPY: No, at that time it was very anti-tourism. There was one good hotel in town, the Bawani, and a couple of inexpensive hotels. There is a lot going on there now, but there wasn't then. The government had not made up its mind that tourism was the way to use the resources of the island. If men or women came in shorts, the women had to put on skirts; the Zanzibaris would supply a skirt. The men had to put on long pants. They were not allowed to wander around in shorts. There were some private shops, but there were also state shops. I remember going into one, and the shelves were all bare except for a pile of clocks on one shelf. I asked where they were from. The storekeeper said they were from China. I thought it might be fun to have a Chinese clock and said I'd buy one. He said, "Don't bother. They don't work."

Q: Was there any contact at that time between Zanzibar and the Arabian Peninsula at all?

SHIPPY: I believe dhows still traversed the way carrying goods.

Q: Well there was that famous trade, I mean when the winds went one way at one time and the dhows would go from Zanzibar and I guess maybe they would touch what is now Pakistan or something and come to India and then come back. It depended on the season of the winds.

SHIPPY: That's right. It wasn't hugely significant, but there was still some of that going on. You didn't see many Arab looking people around. There was a large Indian community, a large community of Zanzibaris whose parents came from Goa.

Q: Well did you have any sense of history; you were in one of our oldest consular posts, 1828 or 1832 something like that.

SHIPPY: I think we were the second oldest African post. Yes, there was a sense of history. It was great to be there. My footnote in history is that I was the last American Consul on Zanzibar.

Q: What happened?

SHIPPY: We closed it. Budget.

Q: It was money huh?

SHIPPY: Yes.

Q: It went back to 1832?

SHIPPY: 1832 is the number I recall.

Q: I think that is when we had that treaty that Jackson administration, Andrew Jackson.

SHIPPY: Zanzibar was a funny mix. It had the first elevator in East Africa, in the Sultan's palace. They held Pan-African games there and 3-M put in a state-of-the-art track the year before I got there. They had the first color television broadcast station in East Africa at a time when the mainland didn't have television at all. Of course programming was another matter, from the Jacques Cousteau series to interminable sessions of the Tanzanian political party's meetings. Yes. Zanzibar was an interesting mix. Before, the U.S. had always had open either the Consulate in Zanzibar or the Consulate in Mombasa. When Zanzibar closed, Mombasa was still operating; now they are both closed. The Swahili word for gingham cloth is marikani, from the Salem traders who brought it to Zanzibar in the old shipping days.

Q: My goodness. I did a book on the American consul and picked up things about Zanzibar and the Salem trade. This is probably a good place to stop. So in '79 we will put at the end, whither?

SHIPPY: For one of the few times in my life, I got the first position on my bid list, Lisbon.

Q: Lisbon. All right we will pick up your going to Lisbon in 1979. We haven't asked why you wanted to put it first on your list and all that, and we will talk about Lisbon next time.

SHIPPY: Great, sounds good.

KEITH L. WAUCHOPE
Sudan Desk Officer
Washington, DC (1977-1979)

Ambassador Wauchope was born and raised in New York, graduated from Johns Hopkins University and, after a tour in the US Army in Vietnam, in 1966 joined the Foreign Service. His specialty being African affairs, Mr. Wauchope served in a number of African posts, including Ft. Lany, Asmara, Bamako and Monrovia. In 1989 he was appointed Ambassador to Gabon, where he served from 1989-1992. In his several Washington assignments Ambassador Wauchope dealt with personnel, cultural, Latin American affairs and Sudan affairs. Ambassador Wauchope was interviewed by Stuart Kennedy in 2002.

WAUCHOPE: One of the things we tried to explain to Congress was that, if you legislatively impose this embargo, when the day comes, which it probably will given the fragility of this regime, you're going to have to pass legislation to remove it and it's going to take a long time.

The much more effective way of achieving it's goal was to have it as an executive order which can be lifted by the stroke of a pen. We said we were looking into how we would do that, but the Congress was absolutely unmoved. They had their teeth into this one and they weren't going to let go. Sure enough they passed the Goddamn embargo. Sure enough within months thereafter, having no relationship at all to the embargo, Idi Amin's troops got in trouble with Tanzania, which invaded and Idi Amin was overthrown. While we had closed our embassy in Kampala, we did not break relations. Therefore the Ugandans had representation at the Chargé level in the U.S. because it was a nice place to be, and they wanted to keep tabs on U.S. policy. The Congress held three days of hearings. It was typical congressional show. The first day they had a lot of academics and the academics would tell you the history and background of the present situation. The second day was the good stuff where they had the Uganda victims testify about all Amin's horrendous atrocities. For example, about how they lined these people up and each guy had to batter out the brains of the next one in line. Somebody else said they drilled a hole in his stomach and they put a firecracker in his stomach. There were all kinds of atrocious tales to get the headlines and their political juices flowing. Of course the piece de resistance was Bill Harrop. He was the last to testify. He followed Commerce and AID representatives who were noncommittal on the embargo. Eventually they got to Bill Harrop and he was clearly the main course. They scrubbed his head from the beginning. He barely started reading his statement when they said, "We'll enter that into the record," now answer this question. They started hammering on him about all the atrocities and how could the U.S. defend Amin. They got what they wanted; media profile. Idi Amin was definitely a bad actor, and there wasn't going to be anybody standing up for him except the hapless State Department that only wanted some rationality in our policy.

In any event, what brought Amin down was a border conflict in the southwestern part of Uganda on the Agar River. The Ugandans alleged that some local Tanzanian farmers had come across the border and stolen some cattle. The Ugandans organized an attack across the Kagera and stole back cattle and anything else there was to steal. The conflict exploded into charges and the counter charges as who had started it. Then the Tanzanian army slowly and methodically organized a punitive expedition against the Ugandans in the immediate area where this incident had taken place. They were going to cross the Kagera River and go to the town of Mbarara, about 25 or 30 miles from the border. They made it to this town with little resistance and burned and dynamited it to the ground. In that process they realized that the Ugandan army, once well trained, had degenerated to a bunch of thugs. They didn't have any military cohesion, and were no longer an organized military force. So, the Tanzanian army stopped in this town that they had destroyed and came to realize that they could take this all the way to Kampala and overthrow Amin and solve that problem once and for all. They reorganized and resupplied themselves, and then started a slow, very methodical, very African advance toward Kampala. They brought to bear their artillery, which would lay down in a barrage for a day or so and then they'd slowly advance to see what was left. They'd find that the Ugandans had long since withdrawn, and the Tanzanians would repeat the process. In this way they progressively moved forward toward Kampala. Finally, as the approached the capital, they began to realize that there were all kinds of possibilities now. Coming from the southwest, there were two avenues, one toward Kampala and the other toward Entebbe and the airport. At the point about 25 or 30 miles between the two, they would make a rush for the two objectives. They were able to do this because by now the Ugandan army had collapsed completely. They advanced for the capital and hoped that with the

others going to Entebbe, they would catch Idi Amin before he could fly out with all of his treasure. But Amin beat them and he flew off to Libya. The Tanzanians had taken the capita and the airport, and they basically had thrown the rascal out. They went to the central prison and they found the execution grounds. Among other things, they found buckets full of heads and many corpses. At Idi Amin's residence they found a refrigerator with the heads of people who had been his opponents. He had them in the freezer and allegedly he used periodically take the heads out and lecture them on their misdeeds.

Meanwhile, as this process of Idi Amin's downfall was unfolding, Ugandan exiles came to AF/E wanting to discuss the successor government. Godfrey Binaisa, the former attorney general under Obote, was among them. There were three or four serious contenders. Binaisa came in with a group of five or six retainers. He started out by asking for American military assistance. He wanted arms, military training, aircraft and anti-aircraft weapons, and, of course, he needed money. I said I didn't see how we could meet his needs. We did not agree to do any of this. Their demands began to winnow down and they said they were absolutely determined to return to Uganda when the government collapsed. We wished them the best of luck. I suspected they had already received assistance from other groups. Finally after about an hour of discussion, recognizing that they were not going to get anything out of us in a tangible form, they asked if they could we get visas to re-enter the U.S. in case their endeavors didn't work. I thought, now there's a serious level of commitment. But in point of fact, Binaisa did go to Uganda and, while he wasn't initially made chief of state, later on he did serve as president of the country for a period of about two years and was then pushed out by someone else. He was a relatively decent guy. He was educated in the UK and seemed to have his head screwed on properly. Basically he was looking for a boost to give his faction the edge over the others. In any event, Idi Amin was driven out, a new government comes in and we have the struggle to try to restore assistance to Uganda by obtaining the repeal of the legislatively imposed embargo. Congress said, yes, we see that, that's fine. Could you tell us about the new government? We told them what we could. They said, okay, that's fine, but we've got a legislative bill, then we have to put it on the calendar, it has to go through the committee, it has to go to the floor, etc. It took the Congress six months to lift the embargo so we couldn't provide assistance to the needy Ugandans during this time, precisely as we had testified would be the case if they went ahead with the embargo, which, of course, they did. We thought we were on the side of angels in doing what we had and found out that we were just hapless victims of a Kabuki theater that Congress devised for us to play.

HARIADENE JOHNSON
Office Director for East Africa, USAID
Washington, DC (1977-1982)

Hariadene Johnson received a bachelor's degree and a master's degree from University of Texas at Austin prior to joining USAID in 1967. Her career posts included Ghana, Liberia, Tanzania, and Djibouti in addition to serving as Office Director of East Africa for USAID from 1977-1982. Ms. Johnson was interviewed by W. Haven North in 1998.

JOHNSON: When I started as the Director for the Office of East Africa, our major program was in Kenya. To a secondary degree, the East Africa community operated out of Arusha as a regional program, which had membership of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. We were not in Uganda at all, because of Idi Amin and our relations with Tanzania was just a roller coaster.

They would go up, go down, go up, go down, because the political issues; it's wrong to even call it political contractions. It's just that Tanzania was so vocal about the positions that the non-align countries took, that it frequently became the lightning rod. The U.S. was unhappy about the non-align nations and the Tanzanians became a lightning rod, simply because they were the ones who vocalized it or staked out the position. Tanzania and Kenya were also favorites of the academic community to do comparative research, because they took such different tracks for development and nationhood after independence from the British.

So, there were a lot of academic types of studies talking about what choices each country made and how those choices turned out. The one I remember most vividly is in Tanzania, the country made the decision that if you were a civil servant, that was a full time job and you could not do anything else and thereby tried to avoid conflict of interest. In Kenya, they decided that you could be a civil servant and you could also be an entrepreneur, you could be on the Board of various marketing groups. They saw no conflicts of interests between being the head of the Agency that wrote the regulations for marketing of corn and being the head of the Board that ran the marketing of corn, and also owning several storage places where you store corn. The most valid point that I always thought that they made was that when you looked at it, you had private sector strength in Kenya. Whereas, in Tanzania most of your educated Tanzanians went into the Civil Service and never became part of a private enterprise community. So, you just had a more dynamic private sector in Kenya which then carried with it all the problems of conflict of interests, corruption, misuse of influence, and nepotism. Tanzania was more idealistic and tried to keep the two separate, but then it also had the problem of you didn't have any people who saw a future in the private sector, that the future was to go to work for the government.

Q: Were they free of corruption?

JOHNSON: I don't know. As far as an outsider could tell. I think we never really knew how much; I think they were free of monetary corruption. I don't think they were free of the family ties, find a job for your nephew who finds a job for your daughter, sort of interlocking directive of people. I think that was a problem in Tanzania. I think on the whole, Tanzania's service and industries worked. After 10 years of working in West Africa and Central West Africa, I went to work on Tanzania and I went out on my first TDY to meet the USAID mission, talk to the government, get a feel for it. I was staying with some friends and the power went out. They called up Tanzania Electrical Company who sent out some people, they fixed the power and we went on our way, like two hours. It was like being in Northern Virginia and calling PEPCO. That really surprised me. I had absolutely no concept that anywhere in Africa did that happen. I was so use to the power going out in West Africa and, well first of all, nobody had a telephone, so you really couldn't call in that you had a problem; and secondly, even if you called in it would be, well we'll get it to you as soon as we can, which could be two or three days. So, I was impressed on my first trip out there that a lot of the Tanzanian institutions worked.

Q: This would be in what year?

JOHNSON: This would be in '77, '78, somewhere in there. Kenyatta was still in charge in Kenya. Idi Amin was in charge in Uganda, and Julius Nyerere was in charge in Tanzania.

There's another subject that academic papers were being written on at the time: in the countries where the group that was in control at independence had stayed in control and had developed some continuity of government that regardless where you had placed them on an absolute scale of one to ten, the ones with continuity always scored better than the ones that had had multi-governing elites. Coming from West Africa, Ghana where they had a change every other year for awhile there, I was impressed by the continuity and stability that you had in East Africa. And, that you had not only in terms of the government, but in terms of the USAID missions where you had had an USAID mission there for years that was well trained, with well developed local staff, had good contacts throughout the government and seemed to have a better dialogue going on projects and problem projects. Especially in Tanzania, I got the feeling that the Tanzanians were very much an equal partner in trying to figure out how to make the projects work. We were working with mainly agricultural projects with the combination of farming, extension services, and trying to get better soil practices and more efficient use of the land. Also, working with livestock projects in trying to move the Masai into a marketing system as opposed to the nomadic herding. It didn't succeed by the way. That was another livestock project that didn't quite work out.

But, you had much more of a commonality of interests between the Embassy and the USAID office and the donors and the Tanzanians in agreeing what problem you were trying to solve. Everybody had a different idea of how you solve it, but they did have agreement on the problems they solved. Tanzania was also a favorite of the Scandinavian countries who felt that Tanzania was one of the few African countries which was sort of a mirror image of some of the idealism of the Scandinavian countries in how they set their economies, how they handled people, and so the Scandinavian donors were very active there.

Nyerere had initially set off the country on a very strong community villagization track where instead of the profit being a motive that motivated individuals, the community as a whole was the motivation. And, then undertook ten years after his original Arusha Declaration, undertook an analysis of what had worked and what hadn't worked.. That's one of the remarkable development documents, I think in the world, in which there is a frankness of being able to analysis the situation and being honest about, here's where I thought we were going in the original Arusha Declaration. Here's what worked and didn't work and here's how I think we ought to change. I don't think Nyerere ever got as much credit in the donor community as he deserved in terms of being somebody who would work on identifying a common problem and work on the solution.

I remember one of the things when I was in a meeting with him, I think it was Golar Butcher had come out and had a meeting with him and I sort of tagged along. He got into this discussion of the fact that capitalism and socialism had absolutely nothing to do with whether or not you made a profit. Under both systems your enterprises should make a profit. That, the difference came in how you chose to spend the profit and that in a capitalist system the profit went to individuals, in

the socialists system the profit would go to improve health, education, general services. But, in any case you had to make a profit to begin with, because you couldn't get anywhere and so he really did try, I think to make the different institutions work.

Q: But, there are those who concluded that he had run the economy into the ground and all the institutions became inoperable. Then there came the realization that the villagization policy had turned into a forced resettlement process and therefore, the original motivation and concept was not valid.

JOHNSON: Except, that he himself recognized that and the Arusha review revisited the Declaration, you know, well the process. Unlike West Africa where people were settled in villages. East Africa was much more a matter of individual farm holdings. Nyerere wrote at independence, he would do two things.

One of the first things he wrote at independence was to declare that land could not be held by individuals, so there was no land ownership. People couldn't own their land, because he was afraid that they would sell it off to Europeans or could not be trusted. The reason in back of that, the stated reason was, that he was concerned that if people owned their land they would sell it and it would thus, thereby primarily sell it to expatriates, non-Tanzanians, but would even sell it to rich Tanzanians, thereby in creating a class of rich Tanzanians versus low. Much of what we did in terms of policy studies was trying to get across the point that without some security and ownership you severely damaged your chances of getting farmers to take care of the property. To do all of the things that an equity ownership would lead you to do in making investments in the property, paying attention to the environmental impact of what you did, the range of things that went with land tenure.

What he also did was decide that people should live in villages. In some cases that became forced relocation, but if people were clustered in villages, it was easier to set up services, education services, health services, whatever, economic services, buying and selling. These would all be little nodes of development, which didn't work out. The villagization process probably had more support in the center of Tanzania, if you will, which is a very semi-arid land, moving out to higher rainfalls in the south and mountains in the north, or moving up to the mountains of the west. So, the people who were served on the periphery of Tanzania had a higher economic standard of life. They had better crops, their cows did better, etc. etc. They saw the least possible reason for moving into these concentrated settlement areas. People in the middle area, which was semi-arid land and was the most poverty stricken part of Tanzania, saw some virtue of moving into the villagization.

But, in the area we visited, which was nearly ten years after the criticism, Nyerere felt that the villagization had not been a normal part of life, which is how he originally had characterized it. That this was a true African style of living as opposed to an imported western style of living, and he basically said I was wrong. That, we had multi-styles of economic growth in family arrangements, and that trying to move everybody into one system hadn't worked and wouldn't work. The donors, who also came to that conclusion, never gave Nyerere credit for being that open to criticism of what essentially was his idea. And, that in terms of his own leadership, he

really and truly did believe that things should work first, and then you'd decide that they wouldn't afterwards.

Politically, however, the Tanzanians tended to be among the non-aligned nations, which was seen by the conservative U.S. as being supportive of Russia during the Cold War period. Tanzania, along with Yugoslavia; Tito became a very vocal spokesman for those who felt that the U.S. was doing things wrong. In many cases, I think it drove the political group in the States up the wall, because the so-called non aligned nations seldom, if ever, criticized Russia or what Russia was doing and was always criticizing the U.S. Nyerere's opinion was, that the Russians wouldn't listen to him. Why should I bother telling them what they're doing wrong, that the U.S. basically does listen, it's worthwhile, you know, criticizing.

Vern Johnson was the Mission Director out there for awhile and he was very concerned, but in agriculture, you simply weren't going to get any major breakthroughs in agriculture until you solved the energy problem. As long as people were limited to producing what they could plant, harvest, with human energy, you faced an absolute limit on how far you can go in the agriculture area. That's why he was interested in livestock projects, as well as agriculture. With using the livestock, it's a way of providing power and energy, you know, of getting plows introduced. The problem in Tanzania was that the preferred genetic breed of cattle was long-legged, thin shouldered cattle, which survived very well in a Tsetse fly infested, semi aired drought zone and you tried to turn those cattle into plow animals, but they simply lacked the stamina and the strength, plus they were using them in an agriculture zone, which usually meant you were using them in a tsetse fly zone. The two went together.

So, we had a lot of projects. We were looking at animal health, of trying to do animal breeding of seeing whether you could come up with cattle that could serve as farm animals, as opposed to the longer legged survivalist type. If you will, you can contrast it in the States with the Texas long horned cow, which basically walked their way to market and the Hereford cow, which were a beef cattle that walked from the feeding lot to the train to the butcher shop. Two totally different animals with different purposes, if you will. So in Tanzania they were doing some livestock breeding kinds of activities, working with a couple of American PVO's. The idea was that the Americans would donate a calf and help a farmer learn how to raise the calf, provided that the farmer then gave away the first calf that followed after it.

Q: Was it the heifer project?

JOHNSON: Yes, the Heifer project. Which again, I think as a capitalization scheme, it made eminent sense; as a practical scheme, it didn't work that well, because of the diseases. We could not get American cows strains acclimated with the kinds of disease resistance that they had without having a full time vet on call, you know, living right next to the heifer.

We also did some Tanzania Tsetse fly control projects. One of the more exotic projects was an attempt to irradiate flies so that they became sterile, working with ex-ray and uranium and various other assorted high tech kinds of approaches, which essentially the Tanzanians never really understood what we were doing. They would have much preferred that we took that money that we were spending on this high tech approach and help them with vaccinating cows

and setting up dips so that you could dip the cows and that kind of thing. Although, we periodically did the program memorandum or the Development Assistance Program or whatever planning document was called, we tried to integrate the Tsetse fly project into the country program. It was really and truly a high tech project that just happened to be in Tanzania and, if it ever worked, Tanzania would benefit from it.

Q: Did it ever work?

JOHNSON: I don't think so. I never heard anything more about it after I worked for the East Africa, other than it was frequently used as an example of high tech projects that should not be undertaken. Nyles Brady (USAID Assistant Administrator for Science and Technology Bureau) liked it. He set up a series of projects, which essentially were carrying out research and it really didn't matter which country you were doing it in. There was no built in reason why it should be done there. In Kenya, for example, they were doing a goat project and the Kenyans wanted to do research on high altitude goats, because that's where they had most of their goats and that's where they wanted assistance. Brady kept trying to explain to them that the high altitude goat project was in Peru and that what they got was the low altitude goat project. Again, something that was probably needed, but it really shouldn't have been part of the country program, it just happened to be in country.

But, the host government really saw it as money being spent in their country. It was part of their USAID package and it should go to their priorities. Trying to explain to any of the people, in West Africa or East Africa, that, if a project is killed, that doesn't mean you get to use the same money for something else. They thought it was just not understandable the way the U.S. allocated funds and the way Congress allocated funds to USAID and USAID allocated funds within that. It was just a totally non-transparent process. Of course, they were concerned about the black box, that everything went in to and came out of and given their own backgrounds, I mean the Kenyans thought that it was probably a matter of who was getting paid off. The Tanzanians were paranoid about it they were sure it was all illogical.

Q: What other program did we have in Tanzania? Health and population?

JOHNSON: Had a primary health care project trying to set up a range of rural health posts, primary health care activities. The population program, I don't think was very active, other than as a component of the family planning project. There were agricultural education, as well as the Agricultural Extension projects.

Q: I think there were seed farms at that time. Do you remember that?

JOHNSON: I don't really remember the seed farms in Tanzania as much as I remember later in the Sahelian countries that we had set up seed farms. Now Brady again, head of USAID Science and Technology, was just absolutely totally upset, because he didn't feel that we'd had a breakthrough on the research side of seeds that really were worth replicating and multiplying and getting out to people and that more effort should have been put on research in terms of improved seeds, rather than the institutional growth of the seed farms and the seed multiplication unit. Again, it's a classic argument. You set up the delivery system so that if and when you ever have

the breakthrough you've got a delivery system that can handle it, or do you put all of your money on a research project which may or may not pay off in terms of impacting on peoples lives.

The institutions built in the agricultural sector or in the health sector where people wanted to do the small pox eradication campaign, in which the donors made a concerted effort and managed to move in, vaccinate everyone and eradicate small pox and then they moved out. There was no real institutional infrastructure left behind them. They left their cars behind; they used their cars for five years out in the boondocks, and put the saddle back in the government and walked away. The government was like, what do I do with this car, it won't go anywhere. But, you had an impact. You saved peoples lives and to this day the small pox eradication campaign is the first example that comes to peoples minds when they want to write about USAID's successes.

In terms of immediate benefit, the next thing to be tackled would be measles. Measles needed a wholly different type of delivery system and a cold chain that kept the vaccine at a certain temperature and had all kinds of requirements. So, that you really didn't have a carry over benefit from the small pox campaign to the measles. If you'd picked polio you might have had more of an impact, because of the similarities and how you tackled it. Polio vaccine, I think is also a cold vaccine, isn't it? I don't know. Anyway, as far as I could tell, the small pox campaign in it itself did not create an institutional base that would be empowered or in better shape to work on the other communicable diseases. Under the New Directions philosophy, you had a lot of congressional criticism over efforts that were made to do institutional development, health, education, training of mid-wives, training of nurses, training of doctors.

Q: They were opposed to all of that?

JOHNSON: They were opposed to it.

Q: Why?

JOHNSON: One was working with ministries of health to improve the ministry of health's capacity to actually be a ministry. They felt those could go on for 20 to 30s years. They were black holes. When asked what they wanted to do, USAID said that we want to improve the ministry of health. Well, where's yours baseline data; where are you starting from; how would you know when you succeeded; are you going to keep on improving for the next 20 years without having any change in the health of the nation. So, they pushed to get out into the field with things that could make an immediate impact on peoples lives. And, a large part of that was in back of the rural health post push that a lot of countries undertook. Also, the recognition that when you went to those countries that had managed to get a statistical unit in their health ministries, the health ministry would wind up doing some type of statistical demographic survey as to what were the major problems, who suffered, where should certain services be located. The real health posts really were needed to handle broken legs, broken arms, you know, very non-technological types of things, but which took training and education on part of the staff. So, we had a major program in rural health. Again, it was something, it worked, as far as I was concerned, because it was something that the government also wanted. It was very much in keeping with a philosophy of trying to get services out to the rural areas. You had some very strong Tanzanians and Americans who worked on it.

Q: Was that the time when we had the interest in regional rural development initiatives in Tanzania?

JOHNSON: Tanzania took the lead on that. Contrast it with Sudan, where in Sudan the Sudanese almost threw up their hands at the plethora of donor options and choices and working arrangements, and asked each donor to take the lead in a sector. One would take the lead in health; one would take it in transportation; one would take it in irrigated agriculture. On the other hand, the Tanzanians threw up their hands at having so many donors there and having so many kinds of things going on and the difficulty they saw in trying to coordinate it. So, they asked the donors to basically adopt a geographic section of the country to take on rural development in, and they sort of identified the provinces and the types of areas that they wanted us in.

While I was working on Tanzania and the Mission Directors who were out there, I also would say 90 percent of the staff, felt that that was a mistake. They didn't want to concentrate only on integrated rural development in one section. They felt that their impact had been useful at a national level in working with the Minister of Agriculture and the agricultural institutions and the universities and training schools, that the Ag research needed to be done and the Ag. research project was what senior visitor came to Tanzania to see; they were taken out to the Ag. research unit. By '78, '79, all of the Americans had been pulled out and you had an all Tanzanian staff running the Ag. research unit and running it very well indeed. Periodically, we'd put some local currency proceeds into it. But, officially all donor support had stopped and it had kept going. It had government support; it had the resource base to continue to hire staff, pay staff, carry out its research. Most of the people in the mission felt very strongly that that was the kind of thing we should be doing was, helping to create national institutions which could then survive the donors leaving and carry on for the nation. Trying to do the geographic territory by territory development, might simplify coordination for the Tanzanians, but that it wasn't a very effective development approach.

Q: But what happened, what did we do?

JOHNSON: We tried to do both, as usual. At one point in there, catching Tanzania on the rising aid budget, we started up some area rural development projects in the certain provinces. They had major environmental aspect, as I recall. One of the reasons that the mission had gotten very interested in that particular approach, was you had a geographic area which was suffering from a lot of the problems that the Sahel suffered. The USAID Mission thought that if it could concentrate in that same area or zone, that they could solve problems there building on what was being learned in the Sahelian countries. At the same time, it was an area that was not apt to benefit from a national program, because it was the most poverty stricken area in Tanzania and the national program had a different set of agricultural program priorities.

Q: Which area was this?

JOHNSON: That I don't remember.

Q: I think the Arusha region was one region. I know that the central area was also of interest to the USAID Mission.

JOHNSON: Yes, it was the central semi-arid zone area, but I really don't remember the names. The Arusha area was an area that was the outreach aspect for several of the national programs in agriculture and health. And, it benefited from the period when the East Africa regional community was an effective institutional link between the three countries. And, as the three countries more and more went their own way, you had less effective, less capability in the East Africa regional community and eventually we closed it down. In my own opinion they tried to keep it ten years too long.

Q: This is the Arusha region?

JOHNSON: The Arusha, East Africa regional community, which was headquartered in Arusha.

Q: But, wouldn't it be a regional project, or just for Arusha too, wouldn't it, or did that come later?

JOHNSON: I don't remember much about it. I know we were active in Arusha, because a lot of the regional projects were up there and we had contacts up there.

Q: But, this one was focused on the region, but it must have come after your time.

JOHNSON: The regional area development. It would have made sense, because the Tanzanians were very much moving in the direction of asking donors to focus on projects by region.

Q: But, our program continued all the time that you were working on Tanzania. Wasn't that where there were disruptions that came from political issues?

JOHNSON: I started working on East Africa when the Carter people came in and Golar Butcher was head of the Africa Bureau; she was very supportive of East Africa and Tanzania. You had some people in the State Department who periodically would get upset, but Golar and the National Security Council basically offered Tanzania protection for the four years Carter was in office. Budget and staffing started being cut when Reagan came in. Again, because Tanzania was seen as a lightning rod. I mean it was the prime example of the type of country which we shouldn't help, because it did not promote entrepreneurs and capitalism.

Q: Of course, it was a front line state and therefore, one the administration disapproved of.

JOHNSON: Again, for the State people it was important that they were one of the front line nations that helped support, helped organize and maintain pressure on the Republic of South Africa. They also offered sanctuaries to the Mozambique rebels who were fighting the Portuguese. Again, during the Carter four year period that was seen as a positive and when Reagan came in, it was one more check mark on the negative side.

Q: You were there during the Reagan?

JOHNSON: Yes, I was there for two years under Reagan.

Q: How did the program fare in the change of administrations?

JOHNSON: Sudan and Somalia went up in terms of budget and staff and general priority given to their issues. They were seen as being active in the whole Middle East contexts, more so than in the African contexts. Somalia was also seen as a place where we could, should show that American aid helps, whereas the Russian aid hadn't helped.

Tanzania basically started getting cut and it was just whittled away. New projects that were submitted were never approved. One particular rural health project was, Tanzania had started with an integrated agricultural development process, which involved putting the local development group in charge of a considerable amount of money that they could then decide how they wanted to spend it, with the projects being on the level of a self-help kinds of project, 15, 20 thousand dollars. It was run by Development Alternatives. It was seen very much as experimental, both in terms of USAID rules and regulations, as well as experimental and how much authority it gave to the host country, rather than the donor deciding what would and wouldn't be done. The host government would decide and the activities would be small scale, which in terms of USAID, paperwork, accounting procedures is a nightmare, simply because its hard to keep track of every single nickel when you have 30s different pots that nickels are rolling into. It had proven to be extremely popular with the government of Tanzania. They liked the fact that it gave them spending authority over all kinds of little activities that could be done. There was an evaluation of the project. It was an audit really more than an evaluation. It said that you had some real problems with the way the money was being accounted for, where USAID wasn't following its own rules. It's background to the fact that the Mission came in with a major new health initiative and it hit Washington six months after Reagan took over. The health initiative had some substantial components that were set up along lines of the agriculture project, where the government would be in charge of deciding where the health money would go, what kinds of things it would pay for. Again, a 15, 20 thousand dollar cap so that we didn't get into building large hospitals like we did in Liberia. We made a presentation to the technical committees and everyone liked it. In the presentations, Frank Ruddy, who was the new Assistant Administrator for Africa under Reagan, turned it down flat.

Q: What was his objection?

JOHNSON: Frank Ruddy's objection primarily was Tanzania. His objection raised during the meeting was that he had been told that this was a very untested and experimental process and that he had doubts to whether or not we should carry it out. I remember the meeting, vividly. You had about 20 minutes of basic misunderstanding where the health technical people kept trying to say, this isn't an experimental process. What Frank was talking about was the small scale, capital, incremental, small funded, self-help sort of level, plus the audit that existed on the agricultural project, that raise issues. He felt it shouldn't be duplicated as a methodology under the health project. We sort of went from the discussion of the merits of the health project, to the merits of that particular kind of funding arrangement, and that all the things that the audit had turned up happened to be criticisms of USAID. They weren't criticizing the Tanzanian

government, which had more than done its part in terms of trying to keep track of the money and where it was going. But, the project was killed. Other new projects that came in faced the same kinds of road blocks. So the program was fairly healthy for two or three years, just as a continuation of the things that were already started, but then gradually began to phase down and phase out.

RICHARD N. VIETS
Ambassador
Tanzania (1979-1981)

Ambassador Richard N. Viets was born in 1930 in Vermont. He served in the U.S. Army and attended Georgetown University and Harvard University. He joined USIA in 1955 and served in Afghanistan, Tunisia and after a break reentered the Foreign Service in 1962 serving in Japan, India, Romania, Israel and was ambassador to Tanzania and Jordan. He was interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy 1990-1992

VIETS: At that time in mid-1979, the so-called front line states in Southern Africa, I think there were five of them ...the organization was chaired by Julius Nyerere, the President of Tanzania, a very remarkable gentleman. Nyerere really towered over the other four heads of state and this organization in many respects was a one man operation. Because of his long association with the independence movements in East Africa and throughout Southern Africa he was highly respected. Nyerere is an intellectual of very considerable dimensions, an extraordinarily articulate person. So the leadership of this group was essentially his without any challenge. He was offering almost daily advise to the Zimbabwean leadership on tactics, strategy, etc. in their negotiations with the British and the Americans and the others involved.

We had a very competent Ambassador named Jim Spain in Tanzania at that time who had been there for about five years. Jim had played a remarkable role in counseling, advising, pressing, pulling Nyerere in an attempt to shape his views, not always successfully. There was a strong view in Washington and I think the Secretary, himself, felt strongly about it, that Nyerere needed a good bit of handling and Jim's time had come to an end. So I was the designated hitter. I think, as far as I know, it was Secretary Vance who decided this. I knew Carter fairly well at that point and he went along with it. So off I went.

Q: Before you went out you were going to focus on the area. How did you manage that?

VIETS: I realized in my preparation for the assignment that the major focus in preparation should really be in learning everything I could about Julius Nyerere. The historical side of the preparation was fairly easy to do. Tanzanian history is not that complex. I decided that one of the ways to do this was to go around and see every American Ambassador who had ever served in Dar es Salaam.

I did this because I realized firstly, as I just said, that Nyerere was the key to my success, or lack of success, in that assignment and secondly, because as I read Jim Spain's reporting cables back to Washington it became increasingly clear to me that he had developed a remarkably close personal relationship with Nyerere. They had become very, very good friends. As a consequence I think Jim had had a great deal of influence on Nyerere. Nyerere had been trained by the Jesuits as a young man and so had Jim. They were both strong, practicing Catholics. That was an immediate bond.

And they had developed a wonderful game. Every call on Mr. Nyerere, which usually was at Nyerere's seaside house and not at his office...he preferred to do business out on the porch of his house...one or the other would open the conversation with a quotation of some renowned Catholic philosopher or a Biblical quotation and before the end of the conversation the other person was supposed to complete the quotation and identify its genesis.

Well, this had gone on for five years. The bond between these two men was very strong. Obviously I had studied a lot of school boy Latin, but I was not Catholic and I was not steeped in Church history and my memory of biblical quotations, to say nothing of Latin quotations, is pretty thin. I realized if I wasn't going to be able to do that, I had better have some alternative intellectual horsepower that could compensate for it. And that was the reason why I decided I needed to know more about Julius Nyerere than anybody else on the face of the earth.

And, as I was saying to you earlier, it was the first and last assignment I ever had in the Foreign Service that I did start with a sense of confidence that after a period of settling in I could get on top of the job relatively well. I strongly believe that no Foreign Service officer is worth his salt if, irrespective of his lack of regional knowledge of an area, he can't operate well after an initial start-up period. But for the first time because of Jim's intense and close relationship with Nyerere, who was effectively the key to our influence in East Africa, and more importantly, the key to influencing the Zimbabwean leadership it was important I be able to develop quickly a strong personal relationship with Nyerere.

The last American Ambassador to Tanzania that I saw before departing for Dar was a gentleman who is no longer living, but I think should go nameless because of the nature of the story I am going to tell you. I remember he was posted in Washington at that time in a sort of nonsense job. He was getting ready to retire. I recall walking into his office...he was a great tall, imposing man. He got out of his chair and came around his desk. I introduced myself, we had never met, and sat down. I candidly told him that for the first time in my life I was starting an assignment with some lack of confidence. I knew that he had also enjoyed a strong relationship with Nyerere and had served there during a very tough period...there had been a kidnapping of some Americans and he was involved in negotiating their release. But I said that the man who had clearly set the standard was Jim Spain and I went into the Latin quotation business, etc. This gentleman sat there with a grin growing on his face as I went on explaining why I felt so ill prepared to go down and deal with this great fellow. I finished and he looked at me and he said, "Dick, let me tell you something. Jim Spain and I and all our other predecessors, all developed the world's greatest relationship with Nyerere. Why? Because it was Nyerere who developed the relationships. He is a very shrewd man and knows that he is going to need to develop a very close relationship with any American who is sent down as chief of mission in that country. You don't need to worry.

Nyerere will make sure that a different game is found. You are going to find that you are going to do just as well if not better than any of your predecessors. This is a lot of bull shit that Jim Spain has handled it better than I did or anybody else. So don't think that it won't go well."

And, indeed, I have to say that when I left Dar es Salaam I was absolutely convinced that I had a better relationship with Julius Nyerere than any American Ambassador who had ever set foot in that country!

But, going back to your original question on Nyerere, he was, he is, because he is still living, a most remarkable figure in contemporary African political history. I always said, and others who knew him well I think shared this view, that if Nyerere had been born in Western Europe or the Far East or even in North America, he would have been an exceptional figure in public life. He was a superb politician. He had an acute brain, the memory of an elephant, intellectual horsepower that was second to none. He was cunning. He could be warm-hearted one moment and cut you off at the legs at the next if it met his political or personal needs. He had, of course, been the principal political figure behind the Tanzanian independence movement in the 1950s.

He had been the great hope, I think, of the British when they were departing East Africa. Here was the man exceptionally well prepared to take over political power in a country that was endowed with extraordinary resources ...physical resources, a beautiful country...very rich in natural resources. It had an agricultural base at the time of independence that was second to none in East Africa. A wonderful deep water port, etc. And a stable political environment.

Alas, for a variety of reasons, Nyerere, while he continued to maintain a stable political society...there was none of the Mau Mau type of operation that ever developed in Tanzania...went in the same direction that many other African political leaders did at that point, namely, that government always knew best and everything should be operated by the government, everything should be nationalized, and the people simply weren't ready to conduct their own affairs and the government would always know best. In consequence the economy went into a tailspin and even to this day, 1993, the Tanzanian economy is a vastly poorer economy then it was on the day of independence about 30 years ago.

Part of Nyerere's economic developmental philosophy surely was shaped by the Fabian socialists. Various LSE professors (London School of Economics) used to float in and out of Dar es Salaam offering advice to him. Also, I think he was genuinely convinced that given time his particular formula for the development of Tanzania would turn out to be right. He believed what he first had to do was to educate the population because at the time of independence it was essentially an illiterate society. As I recall, other than three or four doctors there wasn't a Ph.D. in the country. There was still a big British and other expatriate population that ran everything from the water works to the railroad, etc.

Nyerere simply concluded early on that his first moves toward bringing Tanzania into the second half of the 20th century must be (a) to establish a national educational program, which he did; (b) to break up the big estates which had been by foreigners and to divide the land among the peasantry, which he did, and (c) to nationalize all the limited industry in the country so that the profits derived from these organizations would go into the national treasury and not turn up as

dividends being repatriated to the tea or coffee market in London or the gold market in Zurich. This he also did.

Alas, as I say, all of these moves turned into an economic disaster primarily because he did not have the trained cadres to run any of these things. Pretty soon the Tanzanian economy developed into a basket case. The international organizations such as the World Bank, IMF, etc. came to Tanzania's rescue. There was one point when Tanzania was getting more international donor assistance per capita then any country in the world, billions of dollars.

Q: By the time you got there in 1979 the structure had shown where it was going. There was no doubt about it. What was the reading you were getting from the people you talked to why Nyerere didn't say, "Gee, maybe this isn't working"? Was he an ideologue or was it a matter of political control? What was our reading for his stubbornness in driving his country to economic disaster?

VIETS: You put your finger on the principal reason. He was an enormously stubborn man and he did not want to admit that he had been wrong. But having said that I do remember the last several months of my posting there...I was only there for a year and a half because suddenly the telephone rang and I was told that our masters wanted me to go as Ambassador to Jordan...I do remember the last several months of my posting there...by then I had developed a pretty solid relationship with Nyerere and used to frequently go out to his home and sit on his back porch facing a beautiful Indian Ocean lagoon and swat the mosquitoes away as he sat there in his Gucci loafers and safari suit and talked about the world and Tanzania.

As his confidence and trust grew in this foreign ambassador he would open up more and more about his own views of the way things were going. I began to pick up threads of tacit or implicit admission that he had taken some very bad turns over the years and that things had to be put right. And, indeed, a couple of years after I departed he left office voluntarily. That was already written on the wall. I remember sending cables forecasting he was going to retire. He resigned first from the office of the Presidency, but very shrewdly kept control of the political party apparatus and he kept himself on as chairman of the party.

Perhaps the most influential person around Nyerere was a very interesting, extremely intelligent English lady name Joan Wickham who had gone out to Dar es Salaam as a young woman shortly after independence, or just at the time of independence, and had moved into the YWCA and had volunteered to help in the launching of this new East African state. She was a gifted writer and Nyerere, who himself remains as far as I know the principal translator of Shakespeare from English into Swahili and one of the most gifted orators I have ever heard in English, and himself a marvelous drafter of the English language, spotted her right away and took her into his inner circle. She remained with him all those years as an inside, very private and confidential advisor. Joan was a born socialist, not an economist but very well read in economy and she held some very strong views on developmental economics, etc. I think, on looking back, that she had helped, if not shaped his views. Certainly she buttressed many of his own views.

Q: During your time there when the economy was obviously in a shambles were they blaming anybody for it? Was it a capitalist plot?

VIETS: By the time I left one clearly had developed enough relationships, not simply with Nyerere, but with others so you could hold very candid conversations in private. It wasn't difficult to get a conversation going in which people were very open in saying that this was a mistake and that was a mistake, there was corruption, etc. Overall I think there was the universal view that for whatever reason, the international markets were rigged against the interests of the third world. Nyerere constantly hammered at this theme. I can remember listening to him rail hour after hour against the IMF and the prescriptions the IMF was demanding of Tanzania that he argued would send it further into poverty, etc. He would cite how many pounds of tea in 1953 it took to buy a truck and how many tons of tea it took in 1979 to buy a truck. So there was certainly a sense of while Tanzania had made mistakes, and most people were perfectly prepared to admit that...Nyerere not publicly, but privately...there was also a strong feeling that the first world, Western Europe, Japan and the United States, had very carefully rigged the game so that so-called third world economies would never become competitive, that they would always be at the end of a leash that would be controlled by these major primary commodity markets, at that point raw commodities were all that Tanzania had in terms of exports.

I can't say there was a bitterness about this. It was, as you find so often in societies of that nature, an almost quiescent, benign acceptance of this as fate...we were born in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Q: Trying to get Rhodesia in a situation where the blacks could take over was one of your assignments, but other than that did you feel that you as the ambassador was under any obligation to put the Tanzanians on the right course as we saw it or was it any of our business?

VIETS: No, it wasn't all Rhodesian independence. There were three or four principal issues that I got involved in. One was the Rhodesian independence issue and that was my primary focus in the early months.

The second issue was the estranged relationship between Tanzania and Kenya. For economic reasons this was an extremely difficult period for Tanzania because the borders were closed and no commerce was flowing back and forth. Thirdly, we had next door in Uganda the famous Idi Amin. You will recall at one point the Tanzanians sent half the Tanzanian army to get rid of Idi Amin. Julius showed in that venture a little bit of the imperialist in him. He wanted to play the kingmaker in Uganda and poured a lot of Tanzanian treasure into his efforts to dominate the political process and formation of the new political leadership in Uganda.

One of the side benefits to this was the impact on his army which became very accustomed to living very well as armies of occupation always do and they came back to Tanzania to a much poorer economy. One of the immediate repercussions was a sudden spurt in vicious crime, of lawlessness and the society was buffeted seriously. I think to this day the domestic security situation of Tanzania is more dangerous than it was prior to the incursion into Uganda.

Lastly, there were serious political problems in Mozambique, the country to the south of Tanzania. Nyerere was not physically involved in the sense of having an army down there, but politically he was deeply involved in trying to resolve the conflict between Michel, the then

leader of Mozambique, and the forces that were financed by South African interests who were trying to destabilize and overthrow Michel.

There was also the Namibia problem in which Nyerere was involved in as president of the front line states. That became increasingly a problem on my plate.

Angola, yes we became involved in that but more peripherally. And always looming over the horizon was South Africa. Nyerere had black South African revolutionary groups training in southern Tanzania and there was financial assistance to them, etc. So in that part of the world there was a fair amount going on.

In addition to all these external problems that the American Ambassador by virtue of being the American Ambassador constantly became involved in the role of advisor, hand holder, message deliver, and idea generator, we also had a major involvement in the dreadful Tanzanian economy. There was a substantial AID mission in Tanzania. We also had restarted a Peace Corps operation there. It was my lot to wind down the major part of the AID effort primarily because I felt we were simply wasting our money. I told Nyerere so, and told his Finance Minister so, etc. So that did not make me a very popular figure.

Q: Let's deal with various parts of this. How about the Zimbabwe thing? Was there much of a role to play or was it pretty much on course at that time?

VIETS: There were just a lot of bumps on the road, but there was no driving over the cliff. In the final months of the negotiations, Nyerere became increasingly helpful and less skeptical of the long term objectives of the Americans and the British. Therefore he was more amenable to influencing his Zimbabwean brothers to take more moderate positions on various aspects of the negotiations. I think by the end we all gave Nyerere pretty solid marks for the role he had played. It was a positive role. It was a beneficial role on the whole. In the earlier part of the negotiations, I think Jim Spain had many more problems to deal with than I did on Rhodesia.

Q: What you haven't mentioned is the role of the British. Had the British sort of blotted their copy book? What was the role of the British Ambassador as opposed to the American Ambassador?

VIETS: The British were the senior partner in this negotiation, there is no question of that. But because of that, there were aspects of the negotiations and moments in the negotiations when the Americans were a much more acceptable intermediary than were the British. More trusted, I think. We had no axe to grind.

Q: No constituent pressure.

VIETS: We had relatively minor investments there to protect. But we had no population there that we had to worry about.

It is interesting that the current British Ambassador in Washington was the principal Foreign Office staffer in the negotiation. The British Ambassador in Dar es Salaam, or High

Commissioner as he was called because Tanzania was in the Commonwealth at that point, and I worked very closely on this issue. We traded information and very often harmonized our demarches to Nyerere and reported to one another on our conversations and reactions. I would not wish to characterize which of us was the more effective with him. You can go talk to Julius about that.

Q: What about the problems with Kenya, Uganda, and Mozambique? Did we have any particular involvement in these?

VIETS: Well, the Kenya thing I really took on as a personal project. I very often got well out ahead of Washington which wasn't very interested in this problem. For the record I don't want to suggest that I was violating any policy, but I sure as hell was making policy in Dar es Salaam and not espousing made-in-Washington policy in my discussions with the Kenyans and occasionally their neighbors over how to resolve all this. I also was working very closely with the World Bank representatives at that point trying to figure out ways to alleviate tensions between the Kenyans and the Tanzanians. And we made quite a lot of progress. By the time I left the major breakthrough hadn't occurred, but things were pretty well set so that my successor was able to finish it off. Of course, let's not forget that the Kenyans and Tanzanians themselves finally settled things, but they were helped a lot by the Americans.

Q: For somebody in the future looking at this, our role was one of facilitation, sort of an honest broker, because of a lack of major commitment there, but we had a moral commitment there.

VIETS: Surely the diplomatic history of the United States, especially in the last 15 years, I think will play that very theme over and over around the world. This is possible because (1) we are what we are...a huge powerful giant of a country with all kinds of resources at our command and (2) I think with some notable exceptions, the quality of the chiefs of mission we had representing us were people who had the intellectual capacity and experience to play this type of role. We were not High Commissioners or Field Marshals. We worked by in large very quietly behind the scenes. Often few people knew what we were up to, sometimes not even people on our own staffs. Most of us, I think, were able to develop, again not because of our scintillating personalities, but because we represented what we did, most of us were able to develop very close relationships with the head of state and principal advisors and play very influential behind the scenes roles in the countries to which we were accredited.

Unfortunately, the official diplomatic history of the United States probably will not cover all this in the terms I am describing it because many times I know we didn't report all that we were up to.

Q: This, of course, is one of the fun things about being in a place such as Africa. What about the African Bureau? What was your impression? This was not your bailiwick.

VIETS: With exception of the Rhodesian negotiations, which was very high on Vance's list of priorities...during the last part of my tenure in Dar, Chester Crocker had come on board as Assistant Secretary. By all odds he was one of the most capable men I ever worked with. So superb leadership came out of the Bureau. In general, our missions in Africa were staffed by very

young, relatively inexperienced diplomats. It was a training ground. I don't know whether it still is, but it certainly was in those days. There were very few, it seemed to me, at least in East Africa, trained, regional specialists. The physical stress and strain on employees and their families was such that people would do a tour in Africa and then usually rotate out into something less damaging to livers and blood streams. There certainly were devoted Africanists, but they couldn't be compared for the most part with the specialists you would find in Asia or Eastern Europe, etc.

I also felt that the competence level was not as high as what I had encountered in other parts of the world. I had the impression the personnel people used Africa as a dumping ground for people who were in the B and C+ category. I don't wish to suggest that all our embassies were filled with B and C+ people. But the average embassy in Africa that I saw, and I saw only a fraction of the total number, never seemed to me to be up to what I had been accustomed to elsewhere in the world. It was my first assignment in Africa below the Sahara Desert. I had been in North Africa early on where we had a highly skilled staff, or so I thought.

Q: Did you find that you were comfortable doing things such as trying to promote connections between Tanzania and Kenya, etc., without over informing the Department? You didn't feel that anybody in Washington would get their nose out of joint?

VIETS: Well, the truth of the matter is that I got bored towards the end. When I arrived, as I have said, there was this one burning, diplomatic negotiation going on. So one had quite a lot to do. Secondly, there had been a long hiatus of Chargéship. Spain had left many months before for another assignment. Frankly, the Embassy I inherited was a very sleepy and inefficiently run operation, I thought. Remember I had just come from this big time Israeli experience. I probably piled into the poor staff in Dar es Salaam with a little more horsepower than needed. But by the time I left I thought we had a pretty sparkling Embassy and I think the Department did too. But I always called that assignment to Tanzania as my sabbatical. I had a couple of times been headed for the War College and Senior Seminar and each time had been diverted off to something else, so this was my year and a half away from the front lines.

Q: Now to the AID business. Obviously the country doesn't like you to yank AID out, but also even more important from an American Ambassador's point of view, AID hates to go out. You are breaking a very large rice bowl in one of the nicer countries to serve in.

VIETS: I don't want to get into the details of this even for the historical record, but AID was rather poorly served in Dar es Salaam during the latter part of my tour there, which was when I began to wind things down. So we had two problems. We had very poor leadership, which ultimately ended up in legal difficulty. Secondly, we had a Tanzanian government which was simply wasting American taxpayers' money, in my judgment. We were involved in a great number of peripheral programs that had grown up over the years and nobody had paid much attention to them and we just kept pouring money and people into them. There were various university contracts that had gone on well beyond the time when they should have been terminated.

It was I think the classic scene in the third world of time to pull things up by the roots and either throw them over the fence and move on to other things or close down. I might add that there were also some legal difficulties that arose between the government of Tanzania and the United States government, namely that the Tanzanians were frequently missing their debt payments and under public law after a certain period disbursement of AID funds has to be frozen. So we had that to contend with as well.

My successor in Dar es Salaam was a political appointee, a young businessman who had been working for an American multinational corporation in Nigeria. He had a lot of business experience and I think he finished off what I started. I understand today, however, we are back giving various types of assistance to Tanzania. But I don't think it is of the magnitude that it was in the sixties and seventies.

Q: I have this very strong impression that so many of these AID projects were matters of bright ideas with very little follow through or else they were not suited for the society but beneficial for the Ambassador, the AID Administrator for living in the country. But the overall effects were either nil or almost pernicious. Did you have this feeling?

VIETS: A final point on this. As I earlier stated, the magnetism of Nyerere's personality ...and he was an internationally known figure, he wasn't simply a political figurehead in East Africa...he was highly respected outside of Dar es Salaam, especially in Western Europe and particularly in Northern Europe in the Scandinavian countries. He had a lot of supporters in the World Bank, less so in IMF. But he managed over his career to bring into Dar es Salaam several billion dollars in economic assistance. The United States government bilateral contribution was a fraction of all that. So we, in fact, were quite small time players, at least during my period as Ambassador there, in comparison to the Swedes, the Danes, the Germans, etc.

Q: He had Socialist connections.

VIETS: Indeed he did. The point that I want to make was that I will go to my grave gnashing my teeth over a mental picture I have of Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, German aid employees spending every afternoon at the Dar es Salaam Yacht Club sailing their yachts, scuba diving in those beautiful reefs, living lives of considerable wealth and position, lives most of them I doubt could undertake at home. They were paid enormous salaries, paid much better than their American counterparts, and doing fairly well nothing in my judgment to earn their salaries. It was just a dreadful picture of the worse of the excesses of the donor world.

I think the single most effective aid program that I ever encountered anywhere was in Tanzania and that was conducted by the Dutch. The Dutch knew exactly what they were doing and then got their money's worth. They were very generous in terms of the size and scale of their economy, but then kept a very tight hold on expenditures.

On the other hand, it was a running sore of mismanagement, corruption, incompetence, sloth, indolence on the part, I think, of most other aid representatives. The Chinese learned their lesson faster than any of the rest of us when they built the famous Tanzam railway in the 1950s between Zambia and Dar es Salaam. They spent hundreds of millions of dollars on this project and before

it was finished it was already rusting and deteriorating with bridges washing away, etc. The Chinese became very disillusioned with the capacity of the Africans to absorb their hard earned assistance in an effective manner.

Q: This was at a time of great tension with the Soviet Union. The Soviets had moved into Afghanistan to prop up a Communist government. The Carter administration had done a tremendous flip flop because they had been betrayed; the Brezhnev Doctrine was in full force, not allowing any Communist country to change its form of government. Africa was considered by many cold warriors to be probably the one open battle field... What was your impression of this during the 1979-81 period?

VIETS: The Russians were minor players in Tanzania at least during my period there. They had learned their lesson earlier on, that this was a kind of open ended hole into which you tossed money and got really very little back in return for your investment. They were, of course, supporting a number of revolutionary groups operating on the periphery of Tanzania. They were active in Mozambique and surely were supporting with arms and funds some of the South African groups...SWAPO was one of their favorite beneficiaries. But Julius Nyerere had by then I think pretty well concluded that the Soviets were not the best game in town and while he maintained cordial enough relations with them, he didn't spend a great deal of time worrying about enlarging his relationship with the Soviets.

The other Eastern European representatives who were in Dar, and they were all there...remember this is a time when they were essentially taking orders from Moscow...all had small aid programs and all were active. But you had to ask yourself whether their governments realized these were peripheral role operations at best. They probably would have done better to go elsewhere.

The one burning issue which isn't related to the Russians that we haven't mentioned occurred when our hostages were being held in Tehran. I can remember demarche, after demarche, after demarche that I had to make either to Nyerere or to the Foreign Minister for assistance with the Iranians on releasing these hostages. I remember the last major demarche I made. Nyerere was off in Zanzibar on a political tour and I was instructed to deliver this damn demarche within two hours. I had to hire a plane and fly over there and insist on seeing Nyerere. I interrupted some important discussion he was having with island political leadership to deliver it. I remember he sort of quizzically looked at me and I recall thinking "Oh God, Washington has once again kind of lost its perspective on the importance of all this." But he was helpful to a degree. He didn't have any influence with Tehran to speak of, but he did maintain relations with Iran and did send messages once or twice.

Q: At one point when we were issuing our human rights reports and all, Nyerere was called a hypocrite. Human rights were big during the Carter time and you were there during most of that time.

VIETS: I do recall some strain on this issue. In particular there was some discriminatory imprisonment and even torture, I think, of some of the Indian-Pakistani community. As I remember there were several instances when some of Nyerere's own political opposition found themselves in jail and there was some question about mal- treatment, etc. But on the whole I

think the Nyerere regime's record is...in the human rights arena when one is talking about imprisonment and torture, or loaded legal shenanigans against opposition, I think his record is remarkably good. If human rights includes the right to a job, an education, hospitalization, etc., then you have to give him pretty good marks.

Q: How about UN votes? Did you have to trot in and ask for their vote in the UN?

VIETS: I did quite a bit of that. In the final months of my tour the Foreign Minister of Tanzania was a gentleman named Salam Salam, who nearly became the Secretary General of the United Nations. I think he would have had it not been for George Bush. Bush remembered Salam Salam as the Tanzanian delegate who came and danced in front of his chair in the General Assembly the day the Chinese were admitted to the United Nations. And Bush never forgot Mr. Salam Salam. I found Salam Salam, who I think is now Secretary General of the OAU, to be a very, very bright, interesting man whose revolutionary zeal had long since cooled.

But the Tanzanians were always a part of the third world nonaligned group. This was a period when they didn't break ranks. One could bring all the rational arguments you wanted to in making a demarche, but I don't ever remember turning more than one or two votes.

Q: What about Zanzibar? What I understand is that it was really an Arab trading place. Do we still have our station there?

VIETS: No. We had closed it down.

Q: At one time we had a satellite station there for our space effort and all.

VIETS: We totally closed down there. I think Jim Spain had closed it down. After I left one of my successors was Jock Shirley. He was a senior USIA career officer who had a great interest in USIA activities. He reopened the USIA installation in Zanzibar. During my time we had no one there. I used to go over, of course, from time to time to meet with the leadership of the island and press the flesh as it were. It is a fascinating island to visit, but a very sad scene. The clove export market was still a major source of foreign exchange for the Tanzanian government, but the Zanzibar government saw very little of it. It all disappeared on the mainland.

There I think Nyerere has to be judged by history. He treated the Zanzibareans as second class citizens in the Tanzanian Commonwealth, as it were. There was a lot of strain and tension between the two entities and I think it exists to this day.

DAVID J. FISCHER
Deputy Chief of Mission
Dar es Salaam (1979-1982)

Born in Connecticut and raised in Minnesota, Mr. Fisher was educated at Brown University, the University of Vienna, Austria and Harvard Law School He joined

the Foreign Service in 1961. His various assignments abroad took him to Germany, Poland, Sofia, Kathmandu, Dar es Salaam as well as to the, where he served as US ambassador from 1982 to 1985. Assignments at the Department of State in Washington include those dealing with US relations with China, with Public Affairs and with Arms Control issues. He was interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy and Robert Pastorino in 1998.

FISCHER: No, I don't think I was fast track officer. It did happen that I was blocked as an FSO 4, and there were a whole bunch of us blocked. And when that log jam was broken, I was promoted in one year and then two years and then two promotions back to back which was highly unusual. I went off to Dar es Salaam as Dick Viets' DCM. Again, it was an out of area assignment. I was essentially a Europeanist. I had, however, made the decision or was at least thinking seriously about the decision at that time, of retiring from the Foreign Service at the age of fifty. I had watched a lot of our colleagues who had stayed in the Foreign Service and because of selection out, and time and class size suddenly found themselves at age 58 or 55 out of the Foreign Service and too old to start a second career.

So I had talked as early as that time at looking of the possibility of retiring at age fifty and then going into the private sector. It wasn't that I was disappointed in the Foreign Service, I loved the Foreign Service as a career, but I also was realistic enough to know that even if I made it to the Ambassadorial ranks, I was never going to be an Ambassador in Europe. There wasn't going to be anything that exciting to keep me in and if I wanted to retire at age fifty, I felt it very important to have the title of Ambassador, to be Chief of Mission. The only place to do that was Africa, so I decided I would get my leg in the door. It wouldn't hurt to go with a guy like Dick Viets who had a fabulous track record in the Department in terms of his corridor reputation, he was a comer, this is a guy whose really good. And Viets and I fortunately hit it off.

Q: And you have never met him before personally.

FISCHER: Never met him before. Before I left for post ...en route from Washington to Dar ... Viets invited me and my wife to meet with him in New Hampshire where he was on Home Leave. I don't doubt that if he didn't like what he saw he would have tried to get the assignment killed, although it was a little late in the game, given the fact that the entire family left from that meeting and drove to New York to get on the plane. I learned after I retired that Carol Laise, who again was somebody who was acting as my rabbi in this business, without my knowledge, had pushed me very hard as the person to go. Now to be a DCM in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania to anybody listening today, does not strike them as being a hot shot assignment. But it's important to understand the background. Dar es Salaam for some strange reason, largely because frankly, it was a very important listening post for us in Africa against the Soviet Union and against the Chinese we had had a string of extraordinary DCM's - Tom Pickering, Bill Harrop, Herb Levin who became Counsel General in Hong Kong, Ambassador in Burma, Frank Carlucci, these were hot shots. So to be the number two in Dar es Salaam was seen in the Service as being a very good assignment.

Q: And you had Julius Nyerere.

FISCHER: Julius Nyerere, world figure. Received eight hundred million in foreign assistance when I was there. For me an interesting assignment because Dick Viets saw this correctly as an R&R post for him. He had been Political Counselor in Amman, DCM in Tel Aviv and it was clear that he was going to become an Ambassador in the Middle East, and Tanzania was his first Ambassadorial assignment. It was a chance for him to rest and relax. He'd been in very high pressure positions. And that's was Dick did. Dick was the first to admit it. I think in his first staff meeting he said, "look folks this is not rocket science as far as I am concerned and I'm going to have a lot of fun." So I ended running the Embassy. Dick Viets was a very unusual throw back. There were a couple of guys in the Foreign Service, of the recent generation, Viets being one, the other being Frank Wisner, who saw themselves as kind of upper class, British, Anglophile, rich players. Viets came from Vermont, who was married to a wonderful woman who was Polish born. Viets was somebody who hunted with Purdy shotguns, dressed immaculately and was a character. I'm sorry to say I don't know many characters left in the Foreign Service, but Dick was a character. We had a couple of tasks; I had tasks as DCM. One was dealing with Julius Nyerere and at that time in history, we were engaged with Four Power Talks to bring about an end to the civil war in Rhodesia.

Q: It's interesting that that particular task was delegated to the DCM given the importance of Nyerere, probably large than Tanzania, given a very political Ambassador who doesn't only want to not block the copy book, he does want a little bit, yet he delegates it to the DCM.

FISCHER: He didn't delegate it. But, he did see the job as one of equality. He was quite comfortable in letting me handle high level issues directly with Nyerere if he wasn't available. People will always tell you that the best job of the Foreign Service is the DCM. I also think it's the worst job. But, Dick felt very strongly that the DCM was his alter-ego. We had other issues, as well. The CIA station in Dar es Salaam was on of the largest end most important in that part of the world. Why? Because we had easy access to Russians and Chinese and other people whom we were recruiting. Normally as you know, the DCM is not clued into to all the Agency operations. But, Dick made it very plain from day one that we would both get daily briefings from the Chief of Station. So he was wonderful in that regard. And he was relaxed. He would be up country, and he knew that I had to be involved. He took me out whenever he met with Julius Nyerere. I always accompanied him. He wanted to give me the stature that he knew was going to be required when he wasn't there. He also knew I suspected that he was only going to be there for a year. He went to become the Ambassador in Jordan. This was really a holding place for him, and I think he knew it. In any case, Nyerere was very important because we were negotiating the end of the Rhodesian civil war. There was the so-called four power group, France, the United States, Germany and the U.K. We were involved in negotiations on a local level with Nyerere who was central for the African side. What else did we do in the country? We had a very large AID program, about $30 million a year in direct assistance. Dick and I both felt it was badly mismanaged and decided we would do whatever we could to get it refocused.

Q: What were you able to do about that?

FISCHER: We totally stopped it. U.S. AID in 1979 policy was the most cockamamie policy I've ever heard of, at least how it was interpreted in the field. It was the end of the Carter administration, and AID had as a matter of worldwide policy adopted programs which would

only serve the “poorest of the poor.”

Well that sounds great on paper, but when we arrived in Dar es Salaam, I asked the Director for a list of the AID projects we were engaged in ten years ago. I got in a Land Rover, I went around the country, I couldn't find them. I literally could not find any physical sign of the majority of the AID projects. So I realized that aid was being wasted. Then every year AID had to come up with a country plan. The AID Director decided to take it to heart that all our aid, which in those days was forty-seven million dollars, would in 1980 and 1981 be directed at the poorest of the poor. The poorest of the poor were defined by the AID mission as being people who lived out in the bush area. Of course, they were the poorest of the poor because they couldn't subsist as farmers. And we had a program that AID wanted to promote fifty-million dollars in building some damn irrigation programs in an area of desert. The AID Director had briefed Dick and me on a Friday, and on Monday morning Dick called me in and asked what I thought about the proposed AID program. I said I've been thinking about it I threw him some notes. He said that's funny I have been too. We sat down and in forty-eight hours wrote a telegram, a rather infamous telegram, and we attacked the fundamental concept of developmental assistance in Africa, why it had failed, this crazy idea of providing aid only to the poorest of the poor. Well, we threw the whole thing into a cocked hat. AID programming in Tanzania was essentially suspended for a year while the bureaucracy churned out how they were going to respond to this telegram. When the Reagan administration came into power, AID changed its whole approach and in the process, made equally disastrous decisions which reduced aid levels in Africa for all the wrong reasons.

We never did get it right in Africa, nor, I hasten to add, did anyone else. The Swedes were Tanzania’s largest donor, and they saddled the Tanzanians with projects they didn’t need, couldn’t maintain and which ended up costing them a lot of foreign exchange they could have used elsewhere. Viets was an unusual Ambassador. Viets really took to heart, as I think all good Ambassadors should, the premise that he was the representative of the President of the United States of America. As happens in many places, AID, which had an enormous amount of money, ten times the personnel the State Department did, they really had run the show in Tanzania. The Ambassadors sign off of various AID projects was more or less pro forma until Dick Viets arrived. He used to get in a Land Rover because he loved to travel, and he'd head up country in the bush somewhere, and he'd sit down with local mayors and the AID Director. If he didn't like what he was hearing that was it. There was no way that project was going ahead.

Q: Tell me a little bit about Nyerere. What did you think of him, how he treated us, how relations were? Also, maybe touch on things like did he have any in put into this AID program and what did he think when you and Viets junked it. How did he react?

FISCHER: Julius Nyerere was seen as a giant among African leaders. He was a truly extraordinary man. I came to have enormous respect for Nyerere because he was so disarmingly simple. He was a man who lived in very humble circumstances. He had a little house outside of Dar es Salaam on a beach. I'm talking a little house; it was certainly a lot smaller than the house I lived in as DCM. He returned at least for one month of every year back to his farm. He spent his time planting, hoeing and weeding. He had been a giant intellectual figure in the African independence movement. But, he made some incredibly stupid errors. I guess to sum it up. He was one of the most extraordinary political figures in Africa in the twentieth century and one of

the world's worst economists. What made him so disarming was that he admitted it. There was a program called Ujama which has now been taken over by the American black movement now, was a pseudo socialist effort to move people into villages and consolidate services. On paper it made a lot of sense.

It's a lot easier to build a school in a place where you have people living in a village than it is to build it in an area where they are scattered around the countryside. And Nyerere who was fiercely non-aligned, this was his answer to socialism. He was certainly left leaning but not by any means pro-Soviet. But, he rejected capitalism as well. So this Ujama movement was seen as an African answer which was based in African roots because Africans are more communal than people in the West. All to this was total bull shit, but none the less, this is how it was sold, particularly to Scandinavian aid donors. In retrospect, what the West, particularly the Swedes and the Nordics, who loved Julius Nyerere, failed to realize that this was a brutal policy. You were uprooting whole villages of people who had traditionally lived very close to their farms and forcing them to move into villages. By the time I arrived in 1979, the country was totally bankrupt. The Ujama movement was dead. No new villages were being created. The cooperatives and the various other things that had been created more or less had been disbanded. The first month I was in Tanzania I went out to try and find an extant Ujama village. By 1979 most of the peasants had pulled up stakes and fled back to their original holdings. Anyway, I did find one: a depressing sight if ever I saw one. Fields of maize untended, a school house with no students. It reminded me of the worst of collective farms in Bulgaria.

When I came back to Dar, Nyerere called me out to his house to ask about my impressions. He asked if I had visited an Ujama village. Trying to be polite, I said I had but made no comment about my impressions. "Good," he said. "I guess there's one still left in the country. Was it as bad as you expected?" Vintage Nyerere!

This was a period in which Nyerere engaged in a major fight with the IMF over the issue of conditionality. Nyerere refused to accept IMF interference in what he saw as the country's social goals. The whole fight, which generated a great deal of press and is still talked about today, grew out of a personality conflict. The IMF sent out an American ... I think he name was Peterson ... to negotiate terns for a loan which Tanzania desperately needed. The economy was in shambles, partly as a result of Nyerere's war in 1979 to overthrow Idi Amin in Uganda. That war had been expensive, but the economic mismanagement of State run businesses was at the root of the country's troubles. Nyerere had nationalized everything, including the plantations that provided hard currency for export crops such as sisal. The IMF soon recognized, too that like most African states, Tanzania kept farm prices down to subsidize urban populations. As a result, it was no longer self-sufficient in food. The Tanzanian Minister of Finance was named Jamal. And Indian by origin, Jamal was no fool and understood that the country had to change its policies. But, he could never hope to convince Nyerere. The IMF loan, or so thought Jamal, was just the ticket he needed to get Nyerere to loosen up. Jamal laid the entire burden of carrying an unpleasant message on the poor visiting IMF rep. And when he did so, Nyerere hit the roof. Jamal, rather than backing up the Fund, agreed with Nyerere. Nyerere held out for nearly four years, during which time the economy simply got worse. Nyerere should be condemned for having taken what was a rich, vibrant economy and running it into the ground. On the other hand, he was the first President in Africa to step down voluntarily and to allow multi-party elections after he left office.

Q: You were Chargé for a long time there, weren't you?

FISCHER: Yes. Viets left at the end of a year to go onto Amman as Ambassador. This was the early years of the Reagan administration, and it took a good year and a half to get a new Ambassador out to Post. His name was David Miller, a political appointee but at least someone who had some African experience. Miller had been in charge of Westinghouse in Nigeria. He was a died in the wool Reaganite, but he was smart enough to know that trickle down economics wouldn't do a helluva lot in Tanzania.

Q: How was the transition? Did you have trouble transitioning to new Ambassador, to a new Administration?

FISCHER: Viets had pushed me for my own mission. I had hoped that I could hold Miller's hand for a few months and get my own Embassy. But, the new Assistant Secretary, Chet Crocker, wanted me to stay on for at least a year. I agreed to do so, hoping that at the end of that time I would get my own Embassy. Miller and I worked pretty well together. David was certainly ahead of his time in that he recognized the importance of the private sector in promoting economic development. He didn't see eye to eye with Nyerere, of course, but he was not antagonistic as were many in the Reagan administration. Miller soon recognized that he had about as much chance of promoting private investment as selling iceboxes to Eskimos.

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You asked about the transition to a new Ambassador. I had been told that the best thing to do with a new Ambassador after having been chargé for a lengthy period was to meet the new person at the airport, show him his office and get out of town. It really is good advice. I can remember taking Miller to meet the Foreign Minister, Salim Salim, prior to presenting his

credentials. Salim and I had worked together for two years, we were on a first name basis and throughout the entire conversation, I don't think Salim looked at the new Ambassador once. He was, as is to be expected, more comfortable working with someone he knew, rather than a new face. So shortly after Miller arrived, I went back to the U.S. for an extended Home Leave.

Q: Wasn't it tough going back to being number two after having run the Embassy for so long?

FISCHER: Sure, but that's life. I really relished the role as Chargé. Dar was a fairly remote post, and Washington wasn't looking over my shoulder every ten minutes. It gave me an opportunity to hone my management skills, since the Embassy had about 200 Americans and another 80 or so Peace Corps volunteers. In terms of policy, the major task was to get Nyerere to agree to various proposals concerning the Rhodesian situation. He was quite convinced that the British who had negotiated a cease fire and subsequent elections, could not be trusted and that they would rig the elections. I remember the morning after the elections telling him the result: that Mugabe and ZAPU had won. He couldn't believe it. He backed Mugabe over Joshua Nkomo, although he always told me that Mugabe did not have the intellectual stature required to run Zimbabwe. For some reason, Nyerere distrusted Mugabe. But then again, there were few African leaders Nyerere considered his equal. And he was right. He hated Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya, although the feeling was mutual. Nyerere greatly admired Chissano on Mozambique who was killed in a plane crash. Nyerere always said that Chissano was the smartest man Africa had ever produced.

Q: What else was on your plate in Dar?

FISCHER: Dar was one of the few places where I had an active relationship with the Diplomatic corps. In most posts, I've simply ignored them, but in Dar (probably because it was a remote post with few diversions) we had close friends in the British and German and French Embassies. Our closest friends were the Dutch DCM and his wife. I had a thrice weekly tennis partnership with the Swedish and Australian ambassadors. There was a terrific sense of camaraderie in the diplomatic corps that didn't exist in other posts. We had a close system of informal consultation on matters such as aid. My only frustration as the American Charge was that every other embassy looked to us to provide them political information. Some of my more senior colleagues resented the ready access we had to Nyerere. I can remember the Spanish or Italian Ambassador complaining that he had met Nyerere once in his entire tour. Well, one of the great advantages for us, of course, was to represent the most powerful country in the world. Nyerere cared what we thought and saw to it we were kept informed.

And of course, we had a great CIA station with excellent local sources. The station wasn't really interested in local politics, but they passed on whatever they picked up. The CIA did good work in Tanzania in those days and recruited some very good eastern block agents.

Managing AID was a big task; I assure you. Dar was also the first (and last) time that corruption within the Embassy became a problem. The AID director was involved in several corrupt practices involving the black market, and after I left, the GSO was found to have embezzled several thousand dollars. Both were subsequently indicted.

Q: Did you ever have a real battle with Nyerere?

FISCHER: Shortly after the Reagan administration came in, there was an election for a new Secretary-General of the United Nations. Salim Salim, Tanzania's foreign minister who had served at the UN for nearly 15 years, was the "African" candidate and widely seen as a shoe-in for the job. As you know, the election of a Secretary-General takes place in the Security Council, is secret and subject to the same veto power as any other Security Council issue. Salim (and Nyerere) had courted the new Administration as best they could. Salim had met with Alexander Haig who was the head of the NSC and told me that he thought the meeting had gone "very well." I knew, however, that the meeting had been a disaster. Haig and the Reaganauts would never forgive Salim for having lead the demonstration in the General Assembly following the decision to admit Beijing and expel Taiwan. Haig and those around him, most notably Jean Kirkpatrick, saw Salim as nothing short of a communist stooge. We were going to veto his election, and I received a telegram so informing me and saying that under no circumstances could I confirm or deny our vote to Nyerere. Well, after the first round of voting Nyerere called me out to State House to bemoan the fact that a superpower had chosen to veto his hand-picked candidate as UN Secretary General. But, he told me he thought it was the USSR that had done so. He asked what we could do to convince the Soviets to drop their veto! This put me in an awful position, since I couldn't do anything to confirm what had really happened. I wrote a cable to the Department pleading with them to give me permission to inform Nyerere that we had cast the veto and to explain why. But, they never did allow me to do so, even after it became public that we had cast the vote. Frankly, I think it was silly on our part not to have briefed Nyerere if not in advance, then at least after the fact. He later told me that he bore no grudge against us for having rejected Salim but that he would not forgive us for having failed to explain our motives. It was a dumb thing to do. Salim, by the way, would have been an excellent Secretary-General, a lot better in my view that Boutros Ghali. But that's the luck of the draw. Salim, far from being anti-American, loved the U.S. and spent a good many years of his life there. He was married to an American and saw to it that his children were educated as Americans. Certainly, he disagreed with many of our policies, but he was someone who saw the moral decay of the Soviet system quite plainly.

Q: How did you mesh with the new Administration? Their policy towardAfrica was certainly different from the Carter years.

FISCHER: I will never forget the first high-level visit by the new Reagan people. Chet Crocker came to Tanzania prepared to read Nyerere the riot act for a whole host of sins having to do with southern Africa. Crocker, of course, believed in "constructive engagement," a slogan that Nyerere saw as a cover for continued support for the white regime in South Africa. Anyway, I had no idea who these people were and as a good democrat, I figured they were all right of Attila the Hun. One of the guys on the delegation was a black Foreign Service officer whom I had never met before. I tell this story as an example of the racial stereotypes we all adhere to. I figured he's black, there's no way this guy could have voted for Reagan, He was a houseguest of ours overnight at the residence, so after a cognac or two; I asked him, "how crazy are these people? Are they all fanatic right-wingers?" The punch line of this story is that his name was Alan Keyes. Keyes was by far the most right-wing of anyone I ever dealt with in the Reagan years, the wrong guy to ask!

LARRY C. WILLIAMSON
Acting Director, East Africa
Washington, DC (1980-1982)

Mr. Williamson was born and raised in Arkansas. After graduating from the University of California and serving a tour of duty with the US Marine Corps, he entered the Foreign Service in 1958. His foreign assignments took him to a number of African posts, including Sierra Leone, Northern Rhodesia, Tanzania, Kenya and Gabon, where he served as Ambassador, and in England. He had a number of assignments in Washington, several dealing with African Affairs. He also served in the Department's Executive Secretariat and as Assistant to the Counselor

Q: How about Tanzania and its relation with Zanzibar? Was this post-Nyerere by this time?

WILLIAMSON: Nyerere was still in. Tanzania surprised me. I came back to it after 10 years , and the last time I'd seen it, it was decrepit. When I got back in the early '80s, there were still some vestiges of the old tourism industry. You could get a decent hotel room. You couldn't get any water, but you could get at least a hotel room. The Tanzanians started doing the right thing. I think cooler heads were prevailing. Ben Mkapa who later became the president and was a good friend of mine became head of the central bank, and he got rid of most of their left wing advisors—a bunch of funny people—and some real bankers in from the IMF (International Monetary Fund) got the fiscal situation straightened out. But Tanzania is a dirt poor country any way you cut it with the best of management. The Tanzanians themselves realized they had been lead astray.

Q: How about Zanzibar? Was that...

WILLIAMSON: Zanzibar has turned into a tourist paradise. I had no idea! It's historic. You go see the house where Livingston's body was laid out, the old slave marker, and stuff like that. You can see the old American consulate: the oldest consulate in Africa. It's no longer there, but it was. Zanzibar's got nothing but tourist attractions, good beaches, really good snorkeling reefs, but not much in the way of infrastructure.

Q: That pretty much covers that period, would you say, in Zanzibar.

WILLIAMSON: Yes, pretty much.

DAVID C. MILLER, JR.
Ambassador
Tanzania (1981-1984)

Ambassador David Miller was born and raised in Cleveland, Ohio and was educated at Harvard University and The University of Michigan. After work in The White House he joined Westinghouse Electric Corporation, where he held a number of high level positions dealing with a variety of social, environmental and nuclear issues. He served as United States Ambassador to Tanzania, 1981-1984 and Zimbabwe, 1984-1986, after which he worked with the South Africa Working Group in Washington. From 1989 to 1991 Mr. Miller was assigned to The National Security Council. He was interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy in 2003.

Q: What were you getting about Nyerere? Had he peaked by this time?

MILLER: No. This was our "problem." I thought it was a real opportunity. He was on his way to the Cancun summit, the only head of government from Africa among the 13 presidents at Cancun. He was the leader of the frontline states in the negotiations over Resolution 435, which was the Namibian independence resolution passed by the UN. In terms of national power at home, he was at quite a peak. Physically, he was old enough to be wise and young enough to be vigorous. He was a great guy to work with. He lived up to every expectation I had. I can't remember who had served there before me, but this chap said, "You know, there's never been an unsuccessful ambassador in Tanzania." I said, "That's wonderful." This guy said, "Nyerere makes sure that every American ambassador succeeds because he wants to have a dialogue with the United States." I couldn't have been going into a nicer job.

Q: I interviewed somebody who was going there and was worried because he said the ambassador he was replacing had had a Jesuit education and that he and Nyerere used to make quips and all that and the ambassador said, "Don't worry, he'll find a way to beat you."

MILLER: Absolutely. He was a biology teacher. He was a Jesuit. He went to Fort Hare, a university in South Africa. He was from upcountry. He had been to Cancun. Julius would find a hook somewhere like all great political leaders. He would look at you and say, "Hah! This man wants to talk about the NFL games." Julius was a great man.

Q: What was the situation in Tanzania as had been described to you and what you had been expecting?

MILLER: The descriptions were pretty accurate. Nyerere had been a world leader of the non-aligned movement for a long time. His economic policies were well known and the impact of his economic policies had been apparent for some period of time. In a nutshell, on the domestic front, Tanzania had succeeded in integrating itself as a political entity. At independence, there was Zanzibar and there was Tanganyika. But there was also Julius Nyerere's belief that it was important for every citizen of Tanzania to move forward roughly together economically and to integrate themselves socially and that over a period of time his approach to the economic management of Tanzania would produce a more coherent, unified country than, as he was fond of pointing out, Kenya, his next door neighbor, which was our favorite country. So, domestically, he had succeeded with a single party approach to governing Tanzania and thought that that had

worked well for him. Economically it was a mess. It had not succeeded. Ujama, this approach to state socialism, had not worked well for him. The United States had been a large AID donor and so I had a large AID account and wrestled with Nyerere about the issues of domestic economic policy.

On the international front, Julius Nyerere had just returned from Cancun, where he had been with President Reagan and 11 other heads of government discussing a range of issues typically described as the north-south dialogue. Nyerere, a man of some humor, said to me when we had our first private meeting in his library in his home, "You know, I've just returned from Cancun. There was only one real ideologue at Cancun." I said, "Yes, let me guess." He said, "It was Ronald Reagan." That set the tone for three years of discussion about economic ideology and the international community, which I enjoyed immensely. He was a competent, honest, wonderful guy. He was, most importantly from a diplomatic assignment standpoint, chairman of what was then the Frontline States, a group with which we were negotiating to implement UN Resolution 435 to bring independence to Namibia, at that point Southwest Africa. On that issue, Julius and I really did disagree but had any number of candid discussions. Our approach to 435 was that we had to get the Cubans out of Angola, where they were resident in substantial numbers. We had to convince the South Africans that they would be secure in their own country as apartheid was dismantled. So, we spent a good deal of time working with the Frontline States to try to get the Cubans out of Angola, reduce the threat as the South Africans saw it, which then allowed for elections in Namibia. That worked well. Ultimately, Namibia achieved independence and apartheid came to an end in South Africa. But on the diplomatic front, Julius and I spent a lot of time talking about the tactics and strategies of trying to get Namibian independence.

Q: How did you see Nyerere as a person?

MILLER: Wonderful, warm, friendly, smart, honest, brave, humble. He was as great a head of government as Africa has seen as evidenced not by his ability to do the little day to day things of running a country but on the big accounts, the most important being his lifestyle, which remained humble throughout his whole time as head of government. Most remarkable, was his retirement from the presidency at a time when he was perfectly capable of going on physically. Then, of course, he returned to his village upcountry as one of the few heads of government in Africa who behaved the way George Washington behaved here and said, "We do not need presidents for life in Africa and I don't intend to be one." Frankly, he was probably happiest when he was back home in Butiama with his wife and grandchildren in a very humble home. It was hard to get to by vehicle. So, for me, he stands out in stark relief to the failed public leadership in Africa that can be found in almost every country.

Q: I've interviewed people who were ambassadors in Rwanda and Burundi and all this somewhat the period you were there. They would get incensed by that the Scandinavians and the United States were lavishing funds on a failed economic system and here we're trying to bring these other countries, which are more with it in American terms… You're saying the Nyerere charm worked wonders for getting support but when you get right down to it, if your country is an economic disaster, it's an economic disaster however nice a person you are.

MILLER: Well stated.

Q: How did you see it at the time?

MILLER: I think that's correct. I don't mind that argument. I think it goes like this. Julius Nyerere because of his global leadership – and this is the thing that you have to remember: nobody in their right mind today can tell you who was president of Burundi or Rwanda 20 years ago – Julius was an international author, an international statesman, and used that effectively as a head of government to gain support for Tanzania well beyond either its objective importance or its internal economic performance. To a great degree, that's what a head of government in a developing country ought to be trying to achieve. Julius achieved that. Then you say, "Well, did that make any sense for the United States taxpayers to support that," which as a Republican appointee is always my litmus test. The interesting thing about it is that in the world of realpolitik, the answer is yes. Here are the reasons. Zanzibar was a hotbed of extreme Marxist radicalism in the early '60s. You go there today and you can still see East German public housing projects that are appalling. Zanzibar was a real threat. We had very competent officers in Zanzibar, including Frank Carlucci and Tom Pickering.

Q: Most of them seem to get PNGed out of there.

MILLER: Yes. In fact, the story of Carlucci's being PNGed is interesting. It occurred during the national day celebrations on Zanzibar when he got on the phone with the Embassy and said, "This is really an important celebration. I want you to send a lot of big guns [some important people from the embassy staff]." That was intercepted and Carlucci was PNGed in short order over English colloquialisms. When you look at some of the things Julius did, one of them was stopping the radicalism on Zanzibar. Secondly, when somebody had to invade Uganda and get rid of the Idi Amin and his brutal regime, Julius put Tanzanian troops into that battle. Third, when we had refugees coming out of the Hutu-Tutsi disasters which were going on even back then, he volunteered a good piece of Tanzanian territory for the refugees, supported by UN money, but an awful lot of people fleeing from that conflict found refuge in Tanzania. Then the last thing on the global account is that he put aside a great deal of the country and protected it in national parks. This is really fascinating when you wonder why Julius captured the imagination of so many people. He took large pieces of Tanzania and rather than doing nothing with them, just letting them be overrun by scrub settlements and agriculture that never would have been successful, he turned them into not parks but reserve areas where there were no roads built, where people were not allowed to go in and farm. The Selous wilderness area, which has been written about in a book called "Sand Rivers," is a marvelous example of Julius saying, "Tanzania has an international trust. Even though we're poor, I intend to live up to that." The long and short of it is that those of us who were in the aid donor business kept trying to get Julius to add two and two and get four. He would always add two and two and get some other number. For example, when you got down to privatizing game lodges, the service at game lodges was poor in Tanzania. The service at game lodges in Kenya was good. Hence, Kenya got more tourists than Tanzania. So, Julius proudly announced one day that he was going to privatize some of the major game lodges. I said, "Well, Sir, I have a simple question for you. Will the workers be allowed to accept tips?" He said, "Oh, absolutely not. That would fly in the face of the socialist principle that people should be treated equally." I said, "But, Sir, in a service economy, people get tips because they perform well for the people they're taking care of." He was not able to deal with

that. So, did the economy ever work perfectly? No. Did it achieve what he wanted? Yes, it did. It produced a level economic base that is now producing a solid Tanzanian economy without the disasters that befell Kenya. If Julius were here today sitting with us, he would say, "I told you, David. Kenya turned into a corrupt mud hole. Tanzania is now slowly taking off the ground with responsible leadership in a country that's socially unified." I'm happy to make that argument for him.

Q: How was this going when you were there?

MILLER: Poorly. Almost everything was going poorly. Everything was going poorly because of the following issue, Julius Nyerere gave a great speech in which he enunciated the principles of Ujama, a Swahili word for "shared ownership." Julius argued that the state should own and operate the "commanding heights of the economy." That was the phrase from that speech. It was my argument to Julius that the Chama Cha Mapindusi, the CCM, his party, had taken the doctrine of Ujama and moved economic control from the commanding heights of the economy down to the level of the local bus companies, which didn't work because government parties shouldn't be running bus companies. Julius and I spent a lot of time on the realities of implementing a program that ended up crippling things like the coffee and tea industries or the sisal industry or the cashew industry or any of a number of things because he took socialism down from "Let the government run the ports. Let the government run the rail lines." To the sad state of. "Let the government replace individual entrepreneurship and run smaller things"

Q: Did you find an influx of Fabian types from Scandinavia and from the SPD?

MILLER: Sure. We had odd people that would arrive from the London School of Economics that you thought really came from Mars and not from the LSE. But this was their hope, their dream, that Tanzania was going to work, that socialism was indeed the ideology that was closest to African traditional concepts of the common ownership of land, of consensus decision making, and many of them thought that with Nyerere they had a president of a country that would make socialism as they dreamed of it work. It obviously didn't… but they tried.

Q: How about the Swedish influence?

MILLER: There was a lot of Swedish influence, a very competent Swedish ambassador. Probably the best ambassador was a Dutch ambassador. They both had a very large aid program, as did all the Scandinavians, as did Canada, as did the United States. We were all involved in trying to figure out how to introduce a little bit more rationality in the economy. It was an outstanding diplomatic world simply because of Nyerere's presence and who he was and the importance of having Julius' support when he was head of the Non-Aligned Movement, of having Julius' support when he was running the Frontline States. When Julius Nyerere spoke or traveled, people listened to him. So, countries that were playing in that environment wanted to have a good mission in Dar es Salaam.

Q: Let's talk about the veto of his candidate. Who was that?

MILLER: Salim Salim. That was really very difficult. It was a very difficult and poorly managed

situation. As I was going to post, it came time for the African countries to get to nominate for the first time an African candidate to be Secretary General of the UN. They picked Salim Salim, who had been Tanzania's Ambassador to the UN. He had been Zanzibar's first Ambassador to the UN when they were independent. A remarkable man, became an ambassador at the age of 28. He had gone on to become foreign minister of Tanzania and was their nominee to be Secretary General, supported by the African group of countries. As I was going to post, Secretary of State, Alexander Haig whispered in my ear that, "oh, by the way, we were going to veto the Salim Salim candidacy." I knew that that was really going to make my opening weeks, months, or years in Tanzania very difficult. The veto occurred as I was en route to post. I arrived to present my letters of credence to a head of government whose foreign minister's public career had just gone down in flames before the world. We had just embarrassed the Organization of African Unity that was supporting Salim Salim. In general, we had made a complete diplomatic mess out of an issue where any reasonable diplomatic management would have come up with a different approach. As I went in to present my letters to President Nyerere, I said, "I hope this is a cordial meeting" because this was literally two or three weeks after this debacle and Nyerere had agreed to withdraw Salim's candidacy. It was just a terrible mess.

That was the first time I came to understand what a fine man Nyerere was. I was young. I was inexperienced and could have easily spent a miserable time in Tanzania and been knocked off base by Nyerere. In the presentation of credentials we had a wonderful, long conversation about a ton of interesting issues, quite a substantive conversation which was out of character for the initial meeting. He obviously knew that I liked Africa a lot and we had a wonderful time. He did not bring up the Salim nomination nor did I. I left his office that day unscathed. But about three days later, a call came in requesting me come out to his beach residence and see him in the library, which is where he had all serious conversation. I looked at my DCM, David Fischer, and said, "Gosh, isn't this great? I'm getting to go out to Nyerere's home and chat in the library." David said, "I'm willing to bet you a year's pay that what you're going to hear about is Salim Salim." Of course, I did. Nyerere's take on it was that it had been horribly managed by the United States. He said, "Here we had an African candidate we all liked. If you had in any way signaled to us that Salim would not be acceptable, we would have found another candidate. We desperately wanted to have an African running the General Assembly." As it turned out that time, an African was not picked. We did not have a black African until we had Kofi Annan today. Boutros Ghali qualifies as an outstanding Egyptian. Kofi Annan has proved to be a tremendous Secretary General. There is an argument that Salim Salim would have proved to be a very effective Secretary General, but that was not to be. Nyerere was very upset that he had been embarrassed, that Salim had been embarrassed, that the OAU had been embarrassed needlessly by the incompetent diplomatic management of this account by the United States. I heard that in no uncertain terms. It's not that Julius was ever rude. Julius would not have been rude to somebody with a gun at his head. But you knew that among gentlemen, Julius was upset. And yet once that was done, that was it. This issue never stood between our friendship. The performance by Salim Salim was equally remarkable when he returned as Foreign Minister. I figured that perhaps he wouldn't be as gracious as Nyerere had been. It turned out that he was. He said that he knew clearly that I had not been involved in arguing for a veto of his candidacy, that he looked forward to working with me, and that he learned as a young man that public life was like this, that he thought he would have made a good Secretary General but it was not to be. Very much like Julius, he set about to help me, which I thought was fascinating. You have to

remember what I looked like. I was 39. I had no previous diplomatic experience. I could have either been a terrible failure and embarrassed my country and myself or I could have been helpful to the people I was working with. For example, Salim Salim said to me, "You know, David, that you can hand write me a note and that's not viewed as an official transmission. If you wish to communicate with me on some issues that are troublesome but you don't want to come down and leave me with a typed message, feel free to write me a handwritten note and neither one of us will treat that as an official communication. Furthermore, my home is not far from here. Given the importance of the U.S., if you need to see me at home and you don't want people here to know, I'll have you and Mollie over to dinner very quickly. I want you to know my wife. If you need to see me, come knock on the door at home and tell them you want to come see me." We developed a great relationship. Another example involved the air conditioner in his office. The air conditioner in his office didn't work… and it was made by an American manufacturer. We had similar air conditioners in the mission. I said, "You know, Sir, I can fix your air conditioner." He said, "Yes, and it would probably broadcast all the way to Zanzibar." I said, "Well, you'd have to take it apart to find the transmitter." He said, "Yes, but it's so hot in here I'm going to take the chance." So, we got along fine. We laughed about everything in the world. Of course, he went on to head the OAU. I've seen him recently in meetings. We get along great.

Q: Speaking of this, I've talked to other people who served as ambassadors to Tanzania and Nyerere would consult with the Americans. They would have this relationship. Since Nyerere was off on almost a different track on the socialist non-aligned, why was he giving so much time to the Americans?

MILLER: He wanted us to represent him effectively in Washington, which we all did. He had a position on the world that's like Pat Moynihan… he was first and foremost an intellectual and an ideologue. Pat was accidentally a senator, a White House staffer, a professor at Harvard. Pat could have sat in a cornfield in Iowa and talked to people about the world and it would have been wonderful. Julius Nyerere was an intellect. He wanted to talk to people about his ideas and what worked and didn't work. The American ambassador was somebody that could act as an amplifier for his views and a contributor to new ideas. So, as somebody said to me when I had not gotten to post, I was, of course, worried about getting along with the president of Tanzania, they said, "Are you kidding? Nyerere will find some way to relate to you. He finds a way to relate to everybody. He loves talking to American ambassadors." That proved to be the case. And he did it because it was fun. He wanted us to know that he thought in the long run his system was going to be okay.

Q: You said your DCM was David Fischer. Did he or anybody else when you would come back from these meetings with Nyerere say, "Okay, let's get out of the clouds?" Did you find that anybody on your staff was concerned about the Nyerere charm?

MILLER: No. One, because everybody had been charmed. Two, because while half of the messages were transmittable, half of the exchanges were simply an intellectual dialogue. So, when you'd get that, you'd simply sit down with the DCM or the political officer or the station chief and say, "Hey, Julius is really interested in x, y, and z today. Didn't say anything worth sending back to Washington."

There were some times he just wanted to talk. The best illustration of Julius as an intellectual partner involved organic agriculture and Rodale Farm and Press in Emmaus, Pennsylvania. Bob Rodale and his family were the pioneers in organic agriculture in the United States. Before we went to post, my dear wife, Mollie, who has been very active in studying organic farming and sustainable agriculture, drove us up to Emmaus, Pennsylvania, and we bought what must have been 50 books from the Rodale library. We shipped all those books over to Tanzania. When we got there and my wife got to know the president, she concluded that he would enjoy some of these books because he was a biologist and he cared about agriculture. So, she sent him a few of the books on sustainable agriculture. That resulted in a meeting about two weeks after that in which my AID director was called out to the library at Julius' house and the president said to him, "See these books on organic agriculture? They come from Mrs. Miller. Why aren't you doing that here in the country?" Well, my AID director was appalled, stunned, upset, and off the roof because he was a fairly traditional AID program manager. He got me on the phone and said, "What's your wife doing?" I said, "She's exchanging ideas with her friend, Julius Nyerere." He said, "This is outrageous. He's telling me I'm supposed to get out of dry land farming with these giant tractors. He wants to do sustainable organic agriculture." He was quite upset. But I said to Mollie, "I tell you what. You go out and see the president." So, she went out to see the president. He said, "I want to have Bob Rodale come to Tanzania and talk about sustainable agriculture at the Morogoro Agricultural College." The first result was that our AID mission sort of announced that they would boycott that whole thing. Then Mollie talked to Bob Rodale and he said, "Of course I'll come out to Tanzania." Julius Nyerere then opined to me in a moment of truth, "Organic farming is no different than what the Africans have done for the last 3,000 years. In the last 20 years, all of your AID missions have been here telling us that we have to use these giant tractors and all this fertilizer. We can neither afford the fertilizer nor the tractors. But we clearly can use animal manure, bring it in, use it for compost, collect and keep the animals. But most importantly, if I got up and said that my citizens would think that I was going backwards and that this was not a world-class approach to agriculture. But if Mr. Rodale comes here and we have a big seminar, then my citizens will think that the United States thinks that organic farming is a good idea and that's why we're having Mr. Rodale." I said, "That's really good." We literally had this wonderful program at this agricultural college. It was just terrific. Bob Rodale came out, talked about organic farming, and organized a lot of test plots. I have not a clue what the long-run impact has been, but he had the Chama Cha Mapindusi, all the district people came in to learn about this, were sent back out to talk to people to say, "This is a responsible way to farm." Because of my wife's involvement and the involvement of a minister in Tanzania named Gertrude Mongala, we raised a number of interesting issues. For example, the length of the handles of farm instruments. The AID programs were all run by men and administered by men and the implements were designed by men, but as you know, in Africa, the people that do the farming are the women. So my wife and Gertrude Mongala were going through the agenda for the meeting and they looked at all these implements and said, "Here we go again. We're getting hoes that have 5-foot handles and that's all wrong. They should be shorter and easier for the women to use." So, not only did we get into organic farming but we got into the fact that women ought to be involved in the design of agricultural implements and guys ought to stop buying instruments that were good for them for the two hours that they hoed as a test before they sent 10,000 hoes out to the countryside, all but one of which would have been used by an African woman. It was a wonderful thing.

Q: Let's go on to foreign policy. Before we get on to African policy, the period you were there was the height of our engagement in Central America, which was arousing the wrath of all the left around the world. This was on the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, the civil war in El Salvador. How did that play with Nyerere in Tanzania?

MILLER: Not as much as you might think. It played more with Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe, as I was to learn during my tour in Harare. Nyerere in some ways was Afro centric. While he had been very active in the non-aligned movement and made a lot of pronouncements about north-south inequality and so on, he understood that his political capital was nowhere near as valuable outside of Africa as it was inside Africa. So, we really did not spend much time on issues outside of Africa. Robert Mugabe, in contrast, was quite upset about our Central American policy. Julius was very upset that we saw the Cubans in Angola as a greater threat more than our support for Jonas Savimbi. Julius did not believe that the whites in South Africa really perceived that Samora Machel in Mozambique, and the Angolans, led by Dos Santos and so on, would be such a threat that we couldn't unwind apartheid until we convinced the Afrikaaners that they weren't going to be overwhelmed by this group of African Marxists on their border. So, the ideological dialogue about Marxism, non-Marxism, Cubans, non-Cubans, etc., occurred very much in the context of southern Africa.

Q: You had spent Ph.D. time and business time… You had been involved with Africa for some time. What about the Reagan administration coming in and talking about constructive engagement? Did you see this as being something constructive or did you feel that this was an excuse for supporting the white government?

MILLER: Oh, heavens no. I wouldn't have supported an apartheid government. And neither would Dr. Crocker. The concept was that you could not beat the Afrikaaners out of the rat hole into which they had crawled. Rather, you had to induce the Afrikaaners into the sunlight, and I think that proved to be correct. They are quite independent, difficult, strong-minded people. That's how they survived and prospered. Dr. Crocker was a remarkable statesman who will never get the kind of credit that Nelson Mandela will for bringing about the end of apartheid in South Africa with no bloodshed. But Chet understood that with luck he would have an 8-year run with George Shultz to unwind the problems in Southern Africa with a minimum of violence. That was achieved. That was quite remarkable. The fundamental construct was that at the time that Dr. Crocker took over the account, there were a very substantial number of Cuban troops in Angola, perhaps something in the range of 20,000 Cubans. And Samora Machel in Mozambique, on the other side of South Africa, was clearly a socialist. While there weren't as many armed troops in Mozambique there were an awful lot of intel types from East Germany and so on. When you were a white South African and who had been fed a dose of "the ANC is a communist front" and the communist side of the ANC, the African National Congress, was run by Joe Slovo, a white South African, and you got to be very, very defensive. And that led to a defense of racial supremacy as the only way to defend yourself. The only way to get the South Africans to release, to give up, control over the military in their country would be to say, "We will make your neighborhood benign. We are going to set out to make it so that you can worry about your internal problems" and that's what we did. So, I thought that Constructive Engagement worked quite well. I was opposed to economic sanctions on South Africa. I think that was a bad decision. But you had to have been deeply involved in the issue to understand that. I had already been

talking with the young Nationalist Party politicians about the fact that apartheid was going to come to an end because young whites in South Africa saw the world changing. So, you knew apartheid was coming to an end, but a patient approach was hard to defend. It was very hard to defend the orderly demise of something that is on the face of it a moral disaster of many, many years. Yet to produce a functioning society at the other end without violence, without a lot of deaths, with a functioning economy which would allow the ANC to come in and take over a very advanced country, took tremendous intellectual stamina and courage. Crocker's children were picketed at Sidwell Friends. He was, of course, described as being some horrible racist. This is a man who has devoted his entire life into working on African issues, still does. He knew that the way to end apartheid without violence was to create the right stage, which he did. It took a lot of patience.

Q: Were you the carrier of messages? Were we asking things of Nyerere?

MILLER: Sure.

Q: What sort of things?

MILLER: The messages were all around the basic theme. The message never changed much. Dos Santos is a frontline mate of yours and Machel is a frontline mate of yours and so on. As long as Dos Santos has 20,000 combat trained Cubans in Angola, we're going to have a hard time getting the South Africans to implement Resolution 435. The obvious dialogue that went on for years was, of course, Julius would reply that if you got Savimbi to do less, then you could have fewer Cubans. Savimbi was a very hard account to manage. Sam Njomo, who came out of the bush to become Namibia's first president, also made a lot of pronouncements that weren't very helpful when you were trying to convince everybody here in Washington that Sam would be a good president, which he has largely become. Sam Njomo has been a very responsible president. But back to the question, " What were you doing with Julius? " You were trying to get these messages across to Julius. For example, you would show Julius examples of satellite photography of Angola. And then point out that the overhead photography keeps turning up baseball diamonds all over Angola. We know that they're Cubans playing baseball. And the South Africans are going to know they're Cubans playing baseball. They're going to continue to send their troops illegally through Namibian territory into Angola. We're going to continue to have a war. We're going to continue to slaughter each other. We have a policy that will lead to this ending," which we did. So, your basic message with Julius was to get your points across and listen to Julius saying, "If Savimbi keeps doing blank, there's a problem. If the South Africans keep sending covert raids into Dar es Salaam, you are going to have a problem. We had covert South African activities running around in the region. That was bad. You were trying to get these two sides to disengage and trust each other.

Q: Was there any racial feeling in Nyerere or his government or his country?

MILLER: I don't think so. As some of my friends will tell you, I'm probably as oblivious to some things as anybody you'll ever meet. Somebody has to work pretty hard to convince me that there are racists before I go looking for it. I've always felt that if you reached out to people and presumed they were decent, that seems to induce decent behavior on the part of many people. I

never had any racial problems in Tanzania. Clearly when we got down to Zimbabwe there were problems of race. There had been a war in Zimbabwe between blacks and whites. There was still some tension there. I had only one black officer. I went back to the Department and said, "It would be a little helpful to me if I could get another black officer." I had one black guy, Jim Spit, who was a colonel in the Army. In one meeting when we were discussing racial tensions, Jim piped up and said, "I don't have any problem getting along with people here." I said, "I think there's a message here, folks." This is a country in which race was important. This was six years after a black-white war. But in Tanzania, there had been few whites even during the colonial period.

Q: How did you find the role of women?

MILLER: For an African society, it was quite progressive. The CCM had a lot of women in positions of leadership. In that sense, it was better than "average." In general, women in Africa are not treated as well as any American would expect they should be. I've never quite understood that, but that's certainly the way it is. In those days, we really did not have any programs targeted to that issue, leaving out things like maternal and child health care, which was obvious then and is obvious today. You have a terrible infant mortality rate that you're wrestling with and you lose way too many mothers in childbirth.

Q: How did the island of Zanzibar play?

MILLER: Not a lot. Zanzibar in my mind loomed two or three different ways. We started our initial Peace Corps program in Zanzibar. When I got to post they were coming back our direction so we were reaching out to them again. We had a home in Zanzibar, so we'd get out there and work. Zanzibar was the home of the first U.S. diplomatic mission to East Africa, with our first officer arriving in something like 1822. Some poor chap from Boston sat out there pretty far from home.

Q: He ended up as a deckhand. He set up his treaty with Muscat to include Zanzibar.

MILLER: That's right. We had some of the Gulf fiefdom principalities working on Zanzibar. We had an old, old building in the old part of Zanzibar which amazingly enough, we managed to lease for our AID program in Zanzibar. So, we had the same building that the chap pitched up in 1822 or 1823.

But there was a Peace Corps program that was important to us. There was a malaria eradication program that we were sponsoring. We worked a lot on trying to get the incidence of malaria down. Then we had political leadership of Zanzibar that was a little bit different than the political leadership of Tanzania, not at the government level but at the working level. So, you wanted to get out there and look at textile factories and other economic development programs. For example, tourism, a terrific opportunity that they should have been hitting the ball out of the park on and they were doing nothing, a small national park that should have been attractive that was not. The Zanzibaris would want you to come out and say, "Why don't we get more of your aid money? Why don't we see more of you? Why don't you have officers stationed out here permanently? Why don't you speak Swahili better? This is our native tongue." That was about

the whole account other than the fact that I found out that as a former Westinghouse employee the archives of Zanzibar were collapsing - literally, the paper – because all the air conditioners had broken and they were all Westinghouse. It was the first time I sent a rocket back to Pittsburgh corporate headquarters in the diplomatic post saying, "Equipment is broken. Please send replacements." So my old boss, Tom Murrin called and said, "What are you talking about?" I said, "Tom, all the air conditioners are stopped. The Zanzibar archives are falling apart." He said, "What do you need?" Westinghouse shipped out air conditioners. They stood up to the plate and hit the ball.

Q: Did the neighboring countries play much of a role? Was there any Hutu-Tutsi problem or Uganda or Kenya?

MILLER: Tanzania had closed the border with Kenya for a while. We had tensions between Presidents Moi and Nyerere. When I crossed the border, frequently there were only diplomats crossing the border. A lot of smuggling was going on. It was just a tense time. The two countries were not getting along. I can't even recall all the issues. The things that were sticking in people's craws at the time were an unfair allocation of tourist revenues, the smuggling of goods from one country to another and not paying duties on them. Those were the larger issues. It was classic. It was unproductive for both countries and it got resolved. It did acquaint me with one of the most ingenious programs of smuggling I have ever heard of. That is, in Arusha, there was an American company that had a very small tire plant, a plant of which the Tanzanians were very proud. Kenya had a shortage of tires. The group that crossed the border up there were Masai, but if you were caught smuggling tires it was a problem. So, the Masai tied the tires onto their animals and they turned their animals loose on one side of the border and the animals generally wandered across to the other side of the border, where the Masai collected the tires from their cattle. If the animals were caught, it wasn't anybody's fault. It was quite an ingenious scheme. I was very impressed with the Masai.

Q: How about Uganda?

MILLER: Things were okay. There was some violence up there. Things still were not perfect. We sent some of the Marines up there to augment the Marine security guard detachment in Kampala. But we didn't do a lot of regional stuff in general

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Frederick E. Gilbert was born in Minnesota in 1939. He graduated from the University of Minnesota and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Upon joining USAID in 1964, his assignments abroad included Ghana, Nigeria, Cameroon, Tanzania, Sudan, Ivory Coast and Mauritania. Mr. Gilbert was interviewed by W. Haven North in 1997.

GILBERT: Lurking in the collective memory was a picture of Foreign Minister Salim Salim, then Ambassador to the U.N., jigging in the aisle at the U.N. General Assembly session that admitted China to the U.N. despite strenuous U.S. opposition. George Bush was U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. at that time. But their sins had continued and multiplied because they disagreed with the U.S. on lots of sensitive cold war issues, they were extremely active and influential within the nonaligned movement and they reputedly had the most effective foreign ministry and diplomatic service in Africa. If the White House' and State's idea of a good African partner was Zaire's Mobuto Sese Seko, imagine how obnoxious Tanzania's Julius Nyerere had to be to them. He was a dedicated and obstinate African (non-Marxist) socialist whose policies were driving his own country's economy into the ground, but Tanzania had a reasonable human rights record despite its one-party political system. While there was corruption in Tanzania, no taint of corruption ever touched Nyerere. Tanzania was an active Front Line state in the struggle with the apartheid regime in the Republic of South Africa (RSA). Tanzania harbored representatives, and even military bases, of the African National Congress (ANC), Sam Nujoma's Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and others, including fairly radical South African group whose name included "Pan-African" in it. They maintained cooperative relations with East Germany (getting technical assistance with internal security). They hosted North Korean, Albanian and, I'm pretty sure, Cuban Embassies. Yet they were fiercely independent and completely in control of their government and territory. And the country was largely free of tribalism. As far as I could tell, the only group of any heft in national politics that was viewed with trepidation by the largely detribalized majority was the Chaga who lived around Moshi and on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. The Tanzanians relentlessly opposed and occasionally thwarted U.S. foreign policy on many issues. As far as I could see, they got no credit for responding to Idi Amin's aggression against them by invading Uganda and kicking him out. To me, given the horror with which the U.S. and the West viewed the Amin regime, this showed that as of 1983 the U.S. was making little effort to be unbiased in its approach to Tanzania.

However, during the 1970s Tanzania had been an emphasis country and received very large amounts of U.S. assistance. As AID's concern about economic policy frameworks increased and as the economic toll taken by the Uganda war dramatized that the Tanzanian economy had become nearly inoperative, AID levels began during the early 1980s to decline as AID - in coordination with the World Bank and the IMF - tried to get the Tanzanians to realize that their African Socialist policies were failing and to see the value of abandoning the regime of administered prices and other controls on the economy. Various studies were carried out and discussed with Tanzanian technocrats, especially a man named Simon Mbalini (phonetic spelling), who was, I believe, called something like Chief Economist in the Ministry of Agriculture. For some time the Tanzanians and the donors had been engaged in a kind of dance wherein the Tanzanians paid just enough to stay out of "Brooke status" while talking economic policy reform and seeking debt rescheduling while the donors, for their part, periodically rescheduled debt payments and continued to provide new assistance in smaller and smaller amounts. Meanwhile, the Tanzanians continued to receive large amounts of assistance from the Nordic donors who expressed little concern about the policy framework. When the Tanzanians finally ceased payments, it was viewed within AID as a kind of message that they had no intention of trying to reach an accommodation with the U.S. and the World Bank on economic policy and aid issues. This, no doubt, contributed to the decision to move Art Handly out.

When we arrived, the Ambassador was David Miller. He was frank, but also engaging, outgoing and irrepressibly constructive in his approach to the Tanzanians. He was replaced sometime in 1984 by a very senior career USIA officer who had served as Counselor of that agency and earned the Reagan Administration's gratitude for his skill in limiting the amount of trouble their appointee landed in as a result of his strange antics. I have never seen an Ambassador take up his duties in such a peevish frame of mind. At out first meeting he let me know, with a meaningful glower, that he and the AID Assistant Administrator for Africa (by then in Spanish language training preparatory to his new role in Equatorial Guinea), with whom I and others had had so much trouble, were personal friends.

By the time he arrived, Tanzania was firmly ineligible to receive further U.S. assistance because they were in "Brooke status."

Q: This meant no new AID funding?

GILBERT: That's right. For some time Tanzania had been slipping in and out of Brooke in the course of the "dance" with the donors that I mentioned earlier. But by late 1983 it had become clear to them that the amount of U.S. assistance that they would get by remaining out of Brooke would not be amount to much unless they also undertook economic policy reforms well beyond what they were prepared to contemplate just then.

Q: This is at the point in time when AID's development policy strategy had moved away from the poor majority and basic needs? What was the environment?

GILBERT: Well, there is a tendency to think that the shift toward renewed concern with economic growth and economic policy frameworks came with the Reagan administration, but I like to remind people that it really started towards the end of the Carter administration. One factor in the shift was the study that Elliot Berg led for the World Bank. The realization that we had been neglecting the important question of whether policy frameworks were adequate to promote development was spreading rapidly before Carter left office, and a movement to increase the number of economists in AID, and to make better use of who remained, was well underway in 1980. It had gathered a great deal of momentum by 1983. For example, the Tanzania Mission had two program economists until Joe Goodman departed a few weeks before I got there.

And I think it would be fair to say that in 1982-83 the U.S. was out in front of the other donors. Definitely that was the case compared to other bilateral donors in Tanzania. And, you know, I couldn't help wondering if that weren't one of the reasons that they allowed themselves to go into Brooke. They may have hoped we would decamp or go silent, thus posing less of a "bad example" to the other donors.

One of the first meetings I remember attending was with Cleopas Msuya, the Finance Minister. He treated us to a discourse that he had obviously perfected on earlier occasions. He traced the intellectual history of Tanzania’s development strategies all the way back to independence and made a pretty convincing case that all their major mistakes had resulted from going along with

donor ideas and priorities. Neither he nor Mbalini made any pretense at all that the current policies were anything but bankrupt. Both men took the position that they were working to build a consensus for change, and that the donors needed to be a little more patient and a little less self-righteous. They rightly pointed out that it is not all that easy to climb down once you get way up a tree and out on a branch that is sagging under your weight.

The Tanzanians had some very good people. For instance, Simon Mbalini was an economist who had spent years in the United States and earned a Ph.D. there. He had worked for a firm that traded on one of the commodities exchanges. This guy understood how markets worked and he believed in them. But neither he nor Msuya could act on his own. The challenge they faced was to bring a lot of very stubborn people with strong vested interests in the status quo around to a new policy consensus.

As Chief Program Economist, Joe Goodwin – often working with a consultant named Dick Neuburg - had generated some useful studies dealing with a variety of economic policy issues. These had been circulated among the donors and concerned Tanzanian bodies, including key people like Simon Mbalini. And sometimes his comment would be "Yes, this is close to the mark." At other times, he and others would offer some rather professional criticisms of the data, analysis or the methodology used. Though there was a real policy dialogue at that level, I wouldn't, and didn't then, argue that it was going anywhere much.

Well, once they got firmly into Brooke, our initial focus was on our substantial pipeline. It would carry the remaining projects for two or more years in most cases. Also, we had a certain amount of U.S.-use local currency and a lot of counterpart local currency from earlier PL 480 Title I programs and, possibly, a Commodity Import Program. So we thought we would make some tactical changes – including maximizing the use of local currency - and implement our projects on a revised timetable, hoping in the meanwhile that Tanzania would get out of Brooke and become eligible for new funding.

But then we became aware of a provision in the Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) that provided funding to prevent leaving unusable, unfinished investments (i.e., "white elephants") behind when circumstances, including the Brooke Amendment, required closure of AID programs. So with a nod from Washington and help from Satish Shah, who was then a REDSO/ESA project design officer, we prepared amendments to all of our ongoing projects so that the existing pipeline combined with counterpart currency programmed by the GOT and - as necessary - these supplementary funds would see the projects to useful, though earlier-than-scheduled, conclusions. We did this fairly quickly because there was a pretty stringent time limit on the availability of the above mentioned supplementary phase-out funds.

We did this with the initial guidance and full knowledge throughout of Washington. However, we did so under our delegation of authority, which permitted us to approve the amended projects provided we had legal concurrence and followed certain technical guidance from REDSO. We were scrupulous in observing the terms of our delegation. Once the amended project papers were completed, we prepared draft project agreement amendments and Congressional Notifications (CNs). This was a very complicated and intense process because we also had to work simultaneously with our Tanzanian counterparts on each project and also with the unit that

programmed counterpart currencies.

But once we had completed these steps, and - most importantly – learned that the CNs had been cleared by all concerned in AID/W and sent to the Hill, we breathed a sigh of relief and scheduled a signing ceremony. It turned out that, in view of the number of projects involved, the Minister of Finance decided to sign for the GOT. I'm sure I offered to have the Ambassador also sign, but I believe it was decided that I would sign alone. Of course, in the best AID tradition, the signing date was either the last or the next to the last possible day. This was not the end of the fiscal year, but the end of the deadline specified in the FAA for using the supplemental funds. Late on the night before the signing, I got a call and a NIAC cable to the effect that the Hill had questioned the CN and that hasty negotiations had produced a scaled-back allocation of the supplemental funds considerably below the planned amount.

Accordingly, the amended project agreements that we had sent over for the Government to review were no longer valid. Still we needed to obligate the smaller amount of funds within the deadline. Thank heavens, Washington said they would work on the modalities of the obligation and give us guidance by opening of business. The signing was scheduled for something like 9 AM. The next morning, I couldn't reach anyone at the Ministry of Finance by phone at the normal opening hour. So, after an exceptionally early huddle with my senior colleagues to explain our problem and get them working on how to divide up the smaller amount of funding among our five or six continuing projects, I went over to break the news to the Tanzanians at a little after 8 AM. Brushing past some media folks who were getting ready to cover the event, I found a senior civil servant named Makenya and explained the problem to him. He left me to go and explain it the Minister. Makenya returned with word that he would work with us during the day to arrive at an agreement that he would make sure received the Minister's signature within the necessary timeframe. Walking back to my car with Makenya, we encountered the Minister. I stopped to say how sorry I was for this turn of events, offering to shake hands at the outset. He looked right through me and kept walking. That may have been salutary since Makenya felt terrible about it and may, as a result, have tried a bit harder to be helpful during the remainder of the day. That day we sort of bonded, and I came to appreciate him a great deal. Neither the Minister of Finance nor Mbalini of Agriculture ever met with me or communicated informally with me again. Thanks to excellent work by my colleagues, quick understanding and good cooperation on Makenya's part and excellent support from the legal staffs in REDSO and Washington and the Washington desk, we managed to obligate our supplemental funding. That meant that we would be completing five projects over periods of roughly 30 to 36 months per project using supplemental, pipeline and counterpart funds. It also meant that we accelerated wrap-up of five or six other projects that had been scheduled to run through FY 1985 using previously obligated funds.

Another crisis had to do with the Operating Expenses (OE) budget. Even though the number of our U.S. staff positions had been pared down, we still had substantial U.S. staff and national staff and lots of administrative and logistics expenses. We had a large logistics base in Dar and little had been done to pare it down. Our room for maneuver was limited by the fact that AID owned real estate in Dar and in Arusha, and there were legal requirements governing how we managed such property. For the first few months that I was there, our OE budget seemed sufficient. But the rate of inflation increased, and it became clear that we were headed for trouble. When we

asked for an adjustment in our OE level, we got no reply except a lower quarterly allocation than we had anticipated. This was alarming, because we risked being unable to pay our bills. So I personally sent a cable and, getting no response, another and still another. I tried to reach the concerned people on the phone with no success. Then the Controller and the Executive Officer came to me and said they were getting feedback through their channels that we weren't going to get more funding, that I was making "people" angry and that they wanted me to shut up and for us to live with whatever we got — which wasn't likely to be even what we had been led to expect because others wanted it for expanding programs. And anyway, what were we still doing in Tanzania? Didn't we understand that we were expected to disappear?

Just about then, the Tanzanians saved us by devaluing their currency by a substantial amount – something like 40%. After the briefest imaginable sigh of relief, my colleagues and I realized that we would still wind up in trouble unless we soon reached an understanding with AID/W on how we were going to manage the Tanzania program under the new circumstances. We had noticed somewhat belatedly (interestingly, I don't think anyone in Washington or REDSO prompted us on this) that there was actually a section in the Handbooks on what to do when circumstances require a significant scaling back or termination of an AID program. It called for the Mission to prepare a plan for approval by AID/Washington. So I wrote a cable to Washington pointing out, inter alia, that we would be doing this and saying when we would submit it. I can't remember for sure, but the inter alia part probably included some admonitions to the effect that we needed to reach an stable understanding on what we were expected to do in terms of program and property management, rather than continuing to have revisionist skirmishes over OE and other issues at every step of the way. I was really steamed, and all this garbage – coming on the heels of my experiences with the Sahel Program - was taking a significant emotional toll on me. I was beginning to feel like a fall guy, and I didn't much care what anybody thought about my unhappiness with the way things had been going. We said that we would submit our phase-down plan in early summer of 1984 to be reviewed as part of the Annual Budget Submission process, which for us would be mainly about the OE level.

Q: So, you were being confronted by high inflation rates and your costs were going way up...

GILBERT: High inflation was throwing off the cost estimates on which the OE budget had been based, and, finally, devaluation saved us. Before that, while we were twisting in the wind, nobody ever gave us serious, workable advice or guidance on how we should deal with the situation we were in. Al Ford was the Desk Officer. Ed Spriggs was the East Africa and Southern Africa Office Director and Brian Kline was the Officer-in-Charge for some other countries, including Tanzania. These guys would talk to us on the phone and try to be helpful, but they couldn't get decisions or directions out of anybody about Tanzania. They agreed that the phase-down plan was the right solution. But I'm sure we never got a cable responding to mine on our intent to do a phase-down plan. I figured that this was all the more reason to plow ahead, and that's what we did.

We had a Population Officer named Spence Silverstein in the Mission. He was waiting to hear about an early transfer given that his projects were among those that we decided not to pursue. Not having much to do, he readily agreed to take on the task of coordinating the phase-down plan. He produced a very respectable product. It involved phasing-down to a minimal level

consistent with maintaining an AID presence on the grounds that Tanzania would continue to be eligible to receive food aid and funding for NGO programs in Tanzania. Given that Tanzania suffered from chronic and transitory food insecurity, we felt it made sense to maintain a small office in Dar to oversee food aid and NGO activity. We were also assuming that there had to be a "turnaround" before long and that, when that happened, AID would be required to launch a new program in Tanzania. The administrative management folks in Washington – especially Ann Dotherow and Carol McGraw - were very supportive of us and wanted to avoid premature disposal of AID-owned and choicer leased property. These properties had been rewired, equipped with safe havens and otherwise improved to make them secure and comfortable for American families. Dotherow and McGraw knew from sad previous experience that the Agency would pay dearly in the future for inferior premises when the inevitable reinstatement of an AID presence occurred.

I hand delivered the phase-down plan on schedule when passing through Washington en route to Minnesota for R and R. Among the meetings I had was one with the man who succeeded Ray Love as Senior DAA. After a few pretty stiff pleasantries, I said something like, "Well, I have the phase-down plan, and I'll be delivering it to AFR/ESA unless you wish someone else to coordinate the necessary review." Brian Kline was there with me, and we had agreed that we wanted guidance on that point. And the Senior DAA – whom I had always admired - said, "Fritz, we don't care about this phase-down plan. We don't want to discuss it; we want you to just close everything down out there. When that's done we'll see that you get a good onward assignment." That is almost a verbatim quote.

I think I must have been paranoid enough by then to have half anticipated the possibility of such a reaction because I suddenly heard myself saying that it would be both illegal and irresponsible to do that except on the basis of written instructions from Washington and, "if that's what you want, you need to get yourself another boy." There was a longish silence. Brian looked like he was doing long division in his head. I was livid and so adrenalized I was twitchy. Finally, the Senior DAA said, "Okay, … all right, we'll review this thing and respond to it."

A couple of weeks later I returned to Washington for the review. Larry Saiers, who, at that point, may have been one of the DAAs, but had yet to become the Senior DAA, chaired it. Our plan was pretty well received. However, we were told that it didn't go far enough. They provisionally accepted our plan for phasing down the U.S. and national staffs as the program declined, but wanted the plan to culminate in phase-out after a brief period when the Executive Officer completed the wind up all AID's legal and administrative affairs. They also assigned Ann Dotherow and Jim McCabe to come out on TDY and participate in putting these changes into the final document. When they came out, they caught a few, mainly property management, issues that had escaped us and improved our document without really changing its thrust or accelerating its timing. If anything, they made the phase-down process a bit more deliberate than we proposed. The final plan was formally approved, and we had no significant trouble after that with OE budget issues. I believe that phase-out was slated to occur at the end of FY 1987.

And so, with a gradually dwindling team of about 14 U.S. direct hires and about 60 nationals, I was there for another two years implementing five projects and the phase-out plan. It was really quite a management challenge. We couldn't allow project implementation to slide because that

would cause the other elements of the phase-out to slide as well. Because I had argued against making the plan's final scenario (at the outset, at least) phase-out rather than phase-down, some folks in Washington suspected my commitment to the plan. Our credibility was therefore really, really on the line. But in addition to managing the program, we had major gyrations to go through in the management of our administrative and logistics structure. Because of our strong belief (which turned out to be entirely correct) that a turnaround would prevent AID's departure, we and the pragmatists in Washington agreed that we needed to get rid first of our least desirable leases and retreat last of all to the properties that AID owned. We also were required to give the Embassy the first refusal on properties that we shed. As our projects ended we could get rid of U.S. staff. This, in turn, permitted us to reduce our housing and vehicle pools as well as the related logistics base. As these shrank, we went through six-monthly rounds of national staff reductions.

One of our toughest challenges was to maintain national staff loyalty and motivation. Part of our response was to develop an outplacement program and a system of performance awards to enhance the severance package that good employees could expect on departure. Another part was to be scrupulous in eliminating functions rather than targeting individuals for reduction. We classified all of our jobs and employees, and, within each job classification and grade, we dismissed the lower grade and last hired employees first.

It was not a lot of fun but I learned a lot. The program was varied and interesting. Our counterparts were interesting and serious people, except for one really foul ball in the Ministry of Health. And, best of all, I got to know Tanzania. Oh, and I almost forgot! We wound up being involved in a multi-donor policy dialogue with the Tanzanians that culminated in a turnaround a few months after I left in May 1986.

Q: What was the Embassy doing in all this? What was their position?

GILBERT: Well, as you recall, I did not have a warm, fuzzy relationship with the Assistant Administrator for Africa who was a personal friend of the Ambassador who replaced David Miller.

Q: The new Ambassador's friend was the successor of Goler Butcher.

GILBERT: That's right. Now, on looking back, it seems to me that the arrival of the new Ambassador in the summer of 1984 either marked or coincided with a significant hardening of the U.S. attitude toward Tanzania. You might say he was ideally cast for the role of U.S. Ambassador to Tanzania at that particular moment, although I'm not entirely sure that the U.S. posture was meant to be as negative as he seemed inclined to make it. He was a very complex person. At the outset, though somewhat less so later, he and his wife (a Foreign Service Officer on leave without pay) seemed not to like Tanzania and to be uncomfortable with Tanzanians. Someone who wanted to soften my impression of him told me that he had hoped for an Ambassadorship to Hungary since he spoke the language fluently and that he desperately hoped that he would be rewarded with such an assignment if he did well in Tanzania. He seemed personally offended by Tanzania's special brand of African socialism, which had many of the negatives of Soviet Bloc Communism - including the corrupt, inept, cynical and hypocritical

apparatchiks of the sole legal party - but not the human rights abuses. Enthusiastic about the negatives in the USAID relationship with Tanzania, he seemed always on the lookout for ways of rendering our posture and actions more unfavorable and unpalatable than necessary. He found various ways to convey that he viewed my commitment to implementing our programs and the phase-out plan according to the agreed timetable as thinly disguised disloyalty to him and the lofty principles underlying the Reagan State Department's stance toward Tanzania. A phrase that appeared in one of my annual evaluation reports went something like "Mr. Gilbert's loyalty to his programs impairs his effectiveness as a member of the country team." My evaluations during his tenure conveyed a tone of icy reserve (as if they decided not to mention that I was a child molester).

Predictably, he and I came into early conflict because he wasted little time in seeking ways to hasten the phase-out of the AID program and reduce our presence. When I foolishly talked about signs that the Tanzanians would launch economic policy reforms that could eventually lead to an IMF package and that this, in turn, would enable them to clear their arrears, make them eligible for a Paris Club debt rescheduling, it apparently confirmed his view that I needed to be watched for signs of backsliding on the phase-out plan. That was bad enough, but it got worse because he began to look for ways of accelerating phase-out. When I told him that would violate amended project agreements and that were the foundation of the phase-out plan, I soon got word that he was complaining in Washington that I was insubordinate. When he took it into his head that he would help us with the phase-out by making AID-owned property available to other diplomatic missions. I explained to him that this was expressly contrary to the phase-out plan. When I learned indirectly that he had started talking about selling some properties that AID owned in Arusha, I arranged within AID to have management responsibility for them transferred to REDSO in Nairobi.

When we were putting together the human resources side of the phase-out plan, the Ambassador and DCM (also from the Europe Bureau and with no experience in Africa), were very suspicious and insisted on editing the communications we issued to our own staff so that we wouldn't "give away the store." The idea that we would take pains to maintain the loyalty and cooperation of the national staff just seemed to baffle and offend them.

Later on when there was a food security emergency following on poor harvests in Singida, Shinyanga, Dodoma and Tabora Regions, I initially encountered resistance to our efforts to survey the situation and organize a modest but essential response through Catholic Relief Services. They were suspicious that we were trying to do with food aid what we couldn't do with Development Assistance funds. Their attitude noticeably changed when they realized that part of the problem we faced was that regional officials were not reporting on the problem. Therefore, the Central Government was denying its existence and resisting our efforts to document it. If I, whom they suspected of being overly solicitous of the Tanzanians, was willing to irritate the GOT, maybe there really was a compelling need.

These skirmishes were unpleasant, but they had two salutary effects. One is that higher ups in Washington began to appreciate what I was up against and became more supportive. My relationship with the Ambassador became more functional (though still not good) as he began to perceive that, even if I was a total nobody in the upper circles of the Reagan administration and

totally uninterested in changing that, I was neither totally under his control nor inclined to take his machinations lying down. I also got along very well with most of the other elements of the U.S. Mission. USAID Tanzania was a remarkably effective and harmonious organization with surprisingly good morale. These assertions could not be made about the Ambassador and DCM or about the Embassy. Toward mid-1985 I began to sense a grudging and wary respeceven occasional efforts to "make nice" and to work on promoting post morale.

Q: Go on.

GILBERT: So, we continued to implement the phase-out plan. We continued to participate in donor coordination meetings and activities organized by the World Bank Resident Representative, Ron Fennell. As is often the case with a resident USAID Mission, we were much sought out by staff of other donor institutions who wanted the "local" knowledge and perspective that our people could provide concerning issues that they were seized with. I think it was early or mid-1985 that the donors found themselves in a policy dialogue with the Tanzanians. We found ourselves supporting it mainly with the analytical work that Joe Goodwin and Dick Neuburg had done, but also with modest updates of information and analysis that we were able to furnish. We still had one Program Economist and a number of other staff with good analytical skills and in-depth knowledge of the sectors for which they were responsible: agriculture, livestock, education, public administration, public health and population as well as economics.

The World Bank and the IMF led the first phase of this renewed policy dialogue. Not much progress was made, however, until the Swedes and, to a lesser extent, the other Nordic donors began to participate and take an active interest. This was precipitated in large part by visits by journalists. Articles soon began to appear in Swedish and other Nordic newspapers calling attention to the failures of the Tanzanian economy and, by implication, of Nordic programs. Tanzania was one of the largest recipients of Nordic assistance. Sweden was the largest bilateral donor of traditional assistance (the Japanese may have been nominally larger owing to huge non-project, scatter-gun grants of commodities and equipment) and the other Nordics were close behind. Before this the parliamentary system had helped to shield Nordic aid issues from the scrutiny of public opinion. As long as there was a consensus within the ruling party or coalition, party discipline prevented searching debate, let alone controversy. And the Scandinavians, as a group, were terrible Third World groupies, and they could be insufferably sanctimonious about it. They tended to see themselves as morally superior to the other donors because their aid was unconditional. They usually went along with the Tanzanians' claim that their policies were sound, only poorly implemented because of manpower shortages and training deficiencies. But the articles caused something of a taxpayers' revolt, and that produced a sea change in Nordic aid policy toward Tanzania.

And once the Tanzanians saw that the Swedes and other Nordics were raising the same issues they had preciously been hearing about from the U.S., the World Bank and the IMF, they knew the jig would soon be up. Also, the economy kept getting worse and worse. After a bit the Swedes in particular laid down a marker to the effect that their assistance could not continue at its previous volume unless the Tanzanians addressed the fundamental policy failures. From that point on, the Tanzanians became active partners in the dialogue with the Bank and the Fund.

The phase-out plan called for me to leave in the summer or fall of 1986, but I was transferred to Khartoum as Deputy Director in May 1986 following R and R. It wasn't too long after I left that the real turnaround began. They came up with a revised policy framework and that led to debt rescheduling which took care of Brooke. Joe Stepanek was sent out as AID Representative. A core FSN staff, a housing pool, an administrative framework and a logistics base were there for him and his U.S. direct-hire team to work with. There could have been a lot less.

It is a good example of the conflict between short-term and long-term goals and, in my opinion, the benefits of emphasizing the latter. Tanzania certainly continues to have a lot of problems. It is still a very poor country. But there is economic growth now. It is, to a large extent, an open economy. There is significant corruption, but it is also a society that has demonstrated a capability for course correction. I think it is one of the most stable political entities in Africa. They have demonstrated that they have the capacity to process corrective feedback constructively.

Q: What programs were you working on that continued or that you were keeping alive?

GILBERT: One of then was a school construction project in two provinces in the center of the country. I believe we cut back on the original plan and concentrated on rehabilitating essential classroom spaces plus providing washing facilities and VIP (ventilated, improved, pit?) latrines so that the schools could be used for environmental sanitation and health demonstration sites.

Then there was a project called Training for Rural Development (TRD) II. And a nice, (unauthorized and) summary description of that project was that it was designed, in effect, to make the government system for administration of the rural economy function despite itself. The 1968 Arusha Declaration had laid out a policy of villagization and non-market-oriented development for the rural sector. This amounted to mild collectivization of the peasantry. It was the cornerstone of the Tanzanian rural development strategy. TRD II and its predecessor aimed to develop administrative systems as well as leadership and management skills among the cadre of regional- and district-level officers on whom the implementation of rural development depended. The project was extremely popular and the two USDA PASA technicians who ran it were probably the best loved and most widely plugged in members of the American community. It was successful in achieving its outputs of trained staff and related behavioral changes. The civil servants it served were highly motivated and had an impressive esprit de corps, too. I believe the project was essentially a good one and that it made a lasting contribution to Tanzanian development.

But I fear that Tanzania's leadership saw this project as the silver bullet that would make development occur in the rural areas by force of the leadership, dedication and efficiency of an elite cadre of government administrators notwithstanding the dearth of transport infrastructure and services, of produce and inputs markets and of funding for public health services and education resulting from Tanzania's deeply flawed rural development model which gave no legitimate scope to market forces and private commerce.

We were also implementing three other projects. We were working with the Tanzania Rural Development Bank to establish a village-level lending program. We were involved in Farming

Systems Research through a contract with Oregon State University. I can't remember the counterpart institution that we were working with. Maybe the most interesting project we had was with the Zanzibar health ministry on malaria eradication.

I learned a number of lessons in Tanzania. One of them was to be wary of the ideal employee. In a sense we suffered from too examples of the "ideal employee" syndrome. We had an Asian-Tanzanian guy in the GSO operation who was an extremely attractive, personable individual. He was unbelievably dedicated and efficient. Everyone loved him, especially the Marines – who were not famous for their admiration of the local people. He played on the AID softball team and hit several home runs every game. He had a nice family. No doubt, like many of our Tanzanian employees, he was worried about his future. Unlike most, he decided to take bold action. One day he just didn't come to work anymore. We found out that he and his family had gone to Canada on tourist visas. We immediately audited all the stocks and funds that he had had anything to do with. It turned out that he had managed to divert about $40,000 worth of gasoline from the GSO gas supply.

The other example was really bizarre. The School Health project had a technical assistance component that was implemented under a contract with John Snow International. The person who had been Chief of Party for several years had departed post a few weeks before I got there, and the new Chief of Party arrived not long after I did. The new chief of party was a young woman. She was smart and energetic. Maybe about three or four weeks after her arrival I noted that she went from being cheerful and bouncy to preoccupied and subdued. Finally, she came in one day and told me she was not getting the cooperation she needed from some of the national staff of the contracting firm. She was also getting active non-cooperation from her main counterpart in the Ministry of Health. None of what she described was acceptable. Some amounted to petty harassment, but some of it was serious. She was asking for and not being given key records, including financial accounting records. The more she probed the nastier the Tanzanians on her contract and her Ministry of Health counterpart became. To me it seemed that they were trying to intimidate her into getting back into her box, so to speak. From then on we worked with her to deal with the situation. She managed to get one document and study it at home. It revealed discrepancies. Finally she got the firm's home office to send out copies of documents that they had which confirmed that something was fishy. At that point, or even earlier, we notified the Inspection and Investigation Staff (IIS) of the Regional Inspector General's (RIG) Office in Nairobi. A few days later the Regional Investigator, and his Kenyan assistant arrived in Dar and began an investigation.

In order to understand the picture they pieced together over several visits, I have to give some background. The former Chief of Party was an archetypal "big man on campus" or "local hero" in the American official community. He charmed everyone, including the Ambassador on whose guest lists he and his wife usually figured. He not only had charisma, but he was the kind of person who seemed always able to solve problems that buffaloed others. Everyone owed him a favor. He had brought out an airplane that he used for getting back and forth to the various School Health project sites. His wife ran a dancing school that was very popular in the international community. He often stood in for the Regional Medical Officer when his travels took him away from the Embassy Health Unit.

I'm not sure I can accurately remember everything that he had been doing. I remember for sure that he had been converting dollars advanced for project local costs into Tanzanian shillings on the black market at several multiples of the official exchange rate. This allowed him to meet all sorts of expenses including those for operating his plane for non-project purposes. But this was just one part of a larger picture. He had a Ph.D. in Public Health, but had passed himself off to the Regional Medical Officer as an M.D. and had been practicing medicine within the American community. He managed to convince the Embassy administrative office that he should be allowed to convert a good portion of the black market local currency back into dollars at the official rate. I think he convinced the Embassy that his wife's dance school was sort of a community service that generated local currency in excess of their needs, which was a doubtful proposition because most of the students were international. He had involved at least some of the Tanzanian project staff and some of the Ministry of Health staff in these shenanigans. It was an amazing tangle. Even though our project had not really suffered any financial loss, the sums that the Chief of Project had been fiddling between the black market and the Embassy accommodation exchange were large – many tens of thousands if not over a hundred thousand dollars.

In the end, the IIS recommended against pursuing the investigation to a conclusion. They reasoned that they couldn't put a case together without bringing the Tanzanian Government into the investigation. That would probably mean that I and other senior people in the U.S. Mission would wind up spending vast amounts of time dealing with the resulting furor rather than running our programs. The "suspect" had mainly broken Tanzanian laws, and it was extremely doubtful that, at the end of the day, IIS would have a case that would stand up in a U.S. court. The Tanzanians may or may not have wanted to try him together with his confederates, but it would have chewed up huge amounts of time and money to get him extradited to Tanzania. Meanwhile the U.S. Mission would look terrible in the eyes of the Tanzanian Government even if the case were successfully tried. But the too likely scenario might be that the Tanzanians would try some of their citizens and send them to prison while the U.S. would not be able to extradite the main perpetrator or even convict him of breaking U.S. laws. This would obviously make the U.S. look terrible and have negative repercussions, to say the least, on the bilateral relationship. (At that point – probably in late 1983 or early 1984 – the State Department still seemed to have nearly normal regard for the sensitivities of the Tanzanians.) Another consideration was the airplane. What nefarious uses he might have put it to didn't bear thinking about. This was not only an example of the perfect employee syndrome. It also showed that a malefactor can get away with a great deal if his or her actions make enough other people, especially influential ones, look foolish or lax. This experience led me in the remaining ten years of my career to pay close attention to situations where people could potentially gain exemption from normal controls on their conduct because of friendship with me or other "higher ups" in the U.S. Mission.

Q: How did you find them to work with?

GILBERT: On the whole, they were good to work with. The only really foul ball that I had to deal with was the Ministry of Health official responsible for the School Health project. He was a crook. (I settled him down by showing him the draft of an official letter that I would have sent if he didn't back off. The letter summarized the positions he had been taking on the School Health

project in the context of explaining why they were unacceptable to us.) But he was the exception that proved the rule. The rest were a pleasure to deal with except when they were feuding with one another. There were a number of individuals – especially those with U.S. or British training - who were extremely effective and very dedicated. All of these people freely acknowledged that Tanzania's African socialist economic policies and strategies had failed and needed to be changed. That was an almost universal opinion. The universally held corollary was that those policies couldn't change until "Mwalimu" (or "Teacher", the rather reverential universal nickname-title accorded to Nyerere) stepped down. Most Tanzanians considered him to be a great man (and I agree) who suffered from a major blind spot when it came to economic issues.

One of the best of our Tanzanian colleagues was the person they placed at the head of an inter-ministerial committee they established to program counterpart currencies to be used for development budget support. We had excellent relations with him. We managed to make sure that our projects got priority within the development budget and, once those needs were met, we sought priority for other donor project-related items. The Chairman of this Committee (or he may have been the Secretary with a more senior figure as the titular chairman) was a young man named Vincent Mrisho, who served in an agricultural policy and planning unit that may have been headed by Simon Mbalini. Vincent really ran with this responsibility. He set up a committee with sharp people from all the ministries. We assigned our Program Officer to be the USAID liaison with this committee. Cap Dean was our Program Officer and my de facto Deputy my the first two years or so there. Our technical staff also attended meetings when appropriate. Vincent and we agreed on a system that required pretty clear project-type documentation for proposed uses of counterpart funds. Thus these uses had to be justified in terms of a definite outcome over a specific period of time. Each allocation had to have sponsors who would take responsibility for monitoring implementation and for writing progress and completion reports. Our Tanzanian collaborators seemed sincerely committed to the system and process because it was rational and produced a lot of good outcomes, something that was very rare in their world.

Q: Were there lasting effects?

GILBERT: Well the activities and physical works that were financed with counterpart funds produced real benefits for a time. The same was true of all that we accomplished in wrapping up our dollar-funded projects. I'm confident of this. What I'm not sure of is how sustainable over the longer run our accomplishments proved to be. To me the experience and the skills gained by our Tanzanian counterparts were equally important as the other results of our projects. At least one among all these people went on to bigger things. I had a reunion with Vincent Mrisho while on a consultancy in Tanzania in 1994. At that time he was the Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Industries and Trade.

Q: Were there any remnants of earlier USAID projects that were effective as you recall?

GILBERT: Well there were a number of projects that were in their last year during FY 1984. These included the Seed Multiplication and Distribution, Agricultural Research, Farmer Training and Production, Livestock Marketing and Development, Agriculture Education and Extension and Continuing Education for Health Workers projects.

Q: What happened with these projects?

GILBERT: These activities were completed with some foreshortening of their durations and work programs so that operations ended pretty much by the end of FY 84. There were probably some continuing expenditures and completion reports to be completed. Some of this work was done for us by REDSO so that we didn't have to keep project managers around solely for those kinds of formalities. I frankly don't remember much about those projects. Cap Dean might remember more about them since he was the Program Officer and their continuing needs no doubt figured in the deliberations of the counterpart programming committee.

Q: I see. What about the universities?

GILBERT: I believe we had a relationship with the degree level agricultural education facility in Morogoro (which was, I believe, a Faculty of the University of Dar es Salaam). We must have had a technical assistance team there at one point, but I'm pretty sure it had departed before I arrived. I believe Joe Goodwin and his assistant had collaborated with Adolpho Mascarenas at the University of Dar es Salaam. He was the guiding spirit of a little policy think tank out there.

Q: But you weren't in on the university project?

GILBERT: I don't remember being aware of any activities of that type. My belief that we were involved with Morogoro comes from something I was told when we were invited to a commencement exercise there.

Q: How did the Zanzibar malaria project work?

GILBERT: It accomplished a reduction in the incidence of malaria. It had to grapple with two unexpected obstacles. One was chloroquine resistance in the parasite. The other was DDT resistance in the mosquito that was the vector for the parasite. I can't remember what we used on malaria cases that didn't respond to chloroquine, but we used a product called Malathion in place of DDT for spraying the mosquitoes. It was an interesting project. We were hopeful that we could sharply reduce the incidence of malaria on the islands of Pemba and Unguja owing to their distance from the mainland and their relatively small populations.

The islands of Zanzibar (chiefly Pemba and Unguja) are part of Tanzania, as you know. They constitute quite a distinct society, however. The population is solidly Muslim and the political culture was more Marxist as compared to the mainland brand of Socialism, which has been described as Fabian in character and definitely non-Marxist by knowledgeable observers. One had the feeling on Zanzibar that big brother was watching you. There was a kind of militant feeling to the place. The Zanzibari Director of the Malaria Project was a youngish man named Dr. Juma Muchi. He had received most of his higher education at the University of Kharkov in the Soviet Union. He was an excellent, hard-driving manager and a technically sound public health physician.

Q: Why would we have a project there?

GILBERT: Since Zanzibar was part of the country, USAID needed to have a project there and tackling malaria seemed highly appropriate. I found the project in place. I believe it was the only active AID malaria project in the world. The Zanzibar islands seemed to offer a reasonable hope of achieving lasting success in reducing malaria's incidence to an acceptably low level and keeping it there with only modest external help.

Q: The goal wasn't eradication?

GILBERT: Zanzibar is separated from the mainland by something like 25 miles. That would probably prevent infected mainland mosquitoes from spreading the parasite, but people go back and forth constantly and in considerable numbers. So there would always be some reinfection of the mosquitoes. The main activities were spraying houses and the environs of settled areas plus the draining some bodies of stagnant water near urban areas. I can't remember what role mosquito nets played. I think the treated mosquito net campaign came later once the project closed. We never even considered screening because that would require sweeping cultural change. It would be almost impossible to bring about.

Q: Well...

GILBERT: I guess the other thing I would say is that I thought Nyerere was one of the most admirable African leaders I ever encountered.

Q: Did you ever meet him?

GILBERT: Yes, I shook hands with him a couple of times. We never talked though. He was a very classy guy. As was so often the case among the post-independence leaders of former British colonies, he had no understanding of even basic economic principles. He freely admitted to making mistakes in a lot of areas, but could never bring himself to admit that his economic policies were wrong. This may have been an ego problem. I think it was so much a part of his personal belief system that he couldn't renounce his socialist beliefs any more than his Catholicism.

On the other hand if he was unable to say it he was able to perceive what he had to do to remedy the situation. He stepped aside. There aren't too many cases where African leaders prepared their own removal from power.

Q: That's right.

GILBERT: And he knew very well that this meant that new policies would be developed and applied. And once he was out of power, he mainly stayed in the background. I believe he was still head of the party for a period. As such, he would occasionally make a pronouncement on some national issue, but I don't think he ever undercut the more market-oriented policies that the new leaders put in place.

Before we leave Tanzania, I want to explain the philosophy that guided my approach to the program phase-out that Tanzania's Brooke status made necessary. The key fact to me was that we

had project agreements with the Tanzanians. I believe that when we sign an agreement we should live up to it, unless the cooperating country violates its terms or we are prevented by something akin to force majeure. Brooke falls into that category, but I felt that there was no reason for us to be any harsher than necessary. The Government may have become less deserving owing to its failure to service U.S. government debts and to undertake policy reform. But the Government as Government is only one partner and its stake in development projects is often rather indirect, abstract or, even, theoretical. This contrasts with the stake that counterpart managers and technicians have. Their professional fortunes are much more concretely linked to our programs. Neither they nor the humbler beneficiaries of our projects bear any blame for the shortcomings of the Government as Government. And both these professional and humbler beneficiaries have often bet their livelihoods and interests to some degree on the expectations created by our programs and projects. So I thought, and still think, that it is immoral to break faith with these real people unless there is no other choice, and, even then, only to the extent absolutely necessary.

As an AID officer, I never saw myself as responsible for defining or actively promoting U.S. interests. I saw myself as constrained to operate within the framework of U.S. interests as defined by the State Department or other appropriate authorities, but as otherwise obligated to promote economic development to the extent feasible and consistent with proper use of the taxpayers' funds. Of course, on the few and rather brief occasions when I was asked to serve as Charge d'Affaires, I considered that I ceased to be first and foremost an AID officer.

JOHN W. SHIRLEY
Ambassador
Tanzania (1984-1986)

Ambassador John W. Shirley was born in England to American parents in 1931. He graduated from Georgetown University in 1957 and served in the U.S. Air Force overseas from 1954 to 1956. After entry into USIA his postings abroad have included Yugoslavia, Trieste, Rome, New Delhi, and Poland, with an ambassadorship to Tanzania. Ambassador Shirley was interviewed in 1989 by G. Lewis Schmidt.

Q: I think we've probably pretty well covered now your period of time in USIA, and I guess you'd like to go on now to your experience as an ambassador in Tanzania. When you discuss this, not only would I like you to discuss many of the situations that came up with which you dealt, but also to the extent in which you feel your prior USIA experience was a value to you as an ambassadorial appointee.

SHIRLEY: A lot of people who have been ambassadors will tell you that being one is not everything it is cracked up to be. I differ. I think being ambassador is great fun. I liked being in charge. I liked having all the elements of the embassy working for me, and I enjoyed the fact that I had to think about AID problems, and Peace Corps problems, and other sorts of problems that I had not been asked to confront in the past.

I enjoyed the fact that during my tenure in Dar es Salaam Julius Nyerere was still President of Tanzania. I found him an interesting and extremely intelligent man. And since South Africa was in turmoil at the time, and because Nyerere was, to say the least, not particularly sympathetic to the policy of constructive engagement, my meetings with him were frequent, animated, sometimes sharp, but never acrimonious. It was as intellectually stimulating to deal with him, as it was to deal with Prime Minister Salim Salim.

Did my experience as USIA officer help me be a better chief of mission? Insofar as I was a good chief of mission at all, yes. A USIA Foreign Service officer who has had senior assignments abroad in USIA, and senior assignments in the Agency, is as well prepared to be a chief of mission as a political cone ambassador. If he is an intelligent man, a thoughtful man, a well-read man, if he knows history, and if he is a political animal, the USIA officer is as prepared to be a good chief of mission as the fellow who has spent his entire life in the political cone. In some respects, he is better prepared because he will have managed large amounts of money and large numbers of people, whereas plenty of political cone officers become ambassadors with virtually no management experience at all.

Q: While you were dealing with Nyerere, what language were you dealing with? French?

SHIRLEY: No. Nyerere's English was every bit as good as mine. He had been educated at the University of Edinburgh.

STEVENSON MCILVAINE
Political Officer
Dar es Salaam (1986-1989)

Born in Pennsylvania of Foreign Service Parents, Mr. McIlvaine was raised in Washington D.C. and abroad. He graduated from Harvard University and served in the US Army before joining the Foreign Service in 1947. His assignments abroad took him to a number of posts in Africa, including Kinshasa, Bissau, Dar es Salaam, and Lusaka, where he served as Chargé d'Affaires. At the State Department in Washington, Mr. McIlvaine dealt primarily with African issues. He was interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy in 2003.

Q: You were in Tanzania from when to when?

MCILVAINE: '86 to the summer of '89.

Q: Describe the situation in Tanzania when you were there.

MCILVAINE: Julius Nyerere, God bless his honesty, had finally recognized that what he was doing wasn't working and had stepped down. This is almost unheard of in political figures in Africa or in the West. His anointed successor was Ali Hassan Mwinyi, a Zanzibari Muslim,

Tanzania's first Muslim president. Nyerere was a patent leather pump. He was flashy, demonstrative, and he pinched probably a little bit to the Tanzanian foot. He was much too flashy and he loved an argument and he strode the world stage as a major figure. Everybody had heard of him. Mwinyi was the tattered old slippers chewed by the dog, very comfortable and virtually invisible. You would find out weeks later, you'd see something had happened and trace it back – maybe Mwinyi actually did something to make that happen. But he wouldn't announce it. He'd take no credit for it. He was just invisible. He was the true Tanzanian. He fit the Tanzanian personality. Nyerere did not. Nyerere was much more the West African style – in your face.

Q: Was Nyerere a presence all the time?

MCILVAINE: Yes, very much so. He lived just down the beach from me. I lived away from most of the other embassy people on the bay outside of town. Nyerere had his house and Jane Goodall had her house next door. A few doors down was me.

Q: What were the politics?

MCILVAINE: It was again how can we do this differently? The socialist model had come unglued. The answer after my 3 years there was, it was so ingrained they didn't know how to do it any other way. Maybe by today, major changes have occurred 10-15 years later. But during my time, the first 3 years after Nyerere, they still had all the Scandinavian donors pushing the same approach. Their mindset was so government dominated and government must do it and the elite must do it and we're the elite that even though they gave lip service to trying new approaches, it was pretty much the same. The economy continued to stagger along. This was a country with a large land area, relatively light population, plenty of fertile soil, not much in terms of real resources but it ought to be able to feed itself easily. If Kenya with only 10-12% arable land could feed itself and export, have booming agricultural exports, there was no excuse for Tanzania failing, yet it failed year after year. It couldn't feed itself. It couldn't come up with any exports. The failure has to be laid at government's door.

Q: Was this acknowledged?

MCILVAINE: Yes, not in the terms I just put it in, but Tanzanians, there was this endless argument with Kenya over the approach, Kenya being at least semi-capitalist and Tanzania being avowedly socialist… Tanzanians were very aware of it and very self-conscious of it and frustrated that they couldn't seem to get it right. They knew they should be able to get it right.

In terms of people, it was a great country to explore. Of course, it had game parks and Kilimanjaro and the beach and Zanzibar. I spent a lot of time in Zanzibar. It was my job to report on Zanzibar and that was great fun and also very different than the mainland.

Q: They had gone through quite a difficult time between the Arabs and the Africans. How had things settled down?

MCILVAINE: This was 15 years after overthrow of the government. The Omani sheikh had fled

to Muscat. The Chinese and the Russians moved in. They were still all there. There was a big Chinese embassy and a big Russian embassy or consulate. And the Omani sheikdom still had an embassy there. But it had become during my time a much gentler place. Everybody realized they had overdone it. There had been substantial bloodshed in '64/'65. I think they were a bit embarrassed over that. In my time, again like the mainland, they were looking cautiously around for ways out of the socialist mess they had put themselves in without abandoning the principles of it. How can we make a little money without giving up our ideas of what is equality and Third World solidarity and all the rest of it? There was some talk, most of which has now years later come true, Zanzibar now has a tourist industry, but when I was there, the only hotel was the government run Bwani and it was pretty awful. There had been a flood that had soaked all the industrial carpeting and it just stank. Plus, Zanzibaris have a tendency to bring in doriani, a spiky tropical fruit that has the most obnoxious smell. Zanzibaris like this. I never could stomach the stuff myself. But they liked it and so they would bring it into the lobby and the place would stink. The tourism industry was struggling when I was there. Since, I gather it's done a lot better.

Q: Was there a party system?

MCILVAINE: Very much so. The CCM, the Chama Cha Mapenduzi, the party of the revolution, ran everything. The next 10 years after I left, there were attempts to reform, modernize, and upgrade the CCM into something mildly democratic instead of an old Marxist style party.

Q: Were there any other parties?

MCILVAINE: Not then, but one of the guys I dealt with a lot, Sharif Hamad, is still a major opposition leader. He was the young rising star in the CCM. I guess he didn't rise fast enough for his satisfaction and broke ranks. Since then, he has been the leading dissident for the 10 or so years, leading the opposition and probably winning the election before last in Zanzibar and then having it stolen from him by the CCM and with international fussing.

Q: What was your impression of the government at that time? Was it corrupt? Was it responsive?

MCILVAINE: It was modestly corrupt compared to Zaire. Corruption didn't drive everything the way it did in Zaire. But there was corruption. It was basically just… There were a lot of bright, able, struggling government employees that I dealt with and a lot of Tanzanians gave up the fight and went off to the international bureaucracy – the World Bank, the IMF, the UN, and whatever – because they just couldn't handle the frustration of a government that didn't work very well. What I remember more vividly was the business side of it. We were trying to help Tanzania privatize and allow a little private enterprise because we thought that was important to their economic health. I particularly remember one American funded safari company coming in that was a professional company that was set up in Tanzania. They ran into the bank of Africa: the insider of the elite with excellent connections, a "businessman" who uses his political connections to grab the business, sees something that's a viable business out there that's brought in by outside money, and uses his political power to block it unless they pay him or turn it over to him. It was one of those things that was so insidious. Of course, once that happens and one business has it, the word gets out and American businesses don't come because they're not going

to put up with that. The answer is, "We'll drop that country from the list." Does the government realize that? Yes, probably intellectually. But does that mean they stop it or deal with it? No.

Q: Did you ever get any talks with any of your Swedish colleagues there about how things were going? Had the bloom gone off the Scandinavian rose by this time?

MCILVAINE: Sure. I saw a lot of them. Tanzania was littered with Scandinavian-financed projects. Mbaya by itself was a little town on the Zambian border in the west. There was the pottery plant, the toy plant, slaughterhouse, some other things that had all been funded by Scandinavian aid programs. They were all things that were needed that were good ideas. But nobody had figured out how to actually implement them so that they endured. They set up the usual government parastatal to run them which immediately ran them into the ground, either looted the premises or out of greed or incompetence destroyed the business, so there they sat. There were all these buildings scattered around Mbaya that were once great projects that were needed and could have done good under some other scheme.

We still have lots of very handsome dinner plates from this one project that we got to know… There was a German couple. It was Swedish financed but the Swedes didn't have any potters, so they hired a German couple to be their potters, sent them to Mbaya with all the equipment and all the money they needed for this great new, high powered electric kiln. There was only one problem. There was no money to pay the electric bill, so the parastatal electric company cut off the electricity, made the whole place useless. So this German potter is up there every night hot-wiring the electricity so they can steal electricity and run the kilns at night and make their pottery. He showed initiative and entrepreneurial skill. They made lots of great pottery which we bought and a few other westerners in Dar es Salaam bought. Then I'm sure it went bankrupt with all these beautiful kilns hardly used.

Q: We had put quite a bit of money into projects there, too, hadn't we?

MCILVAINE: We did. Ours were more traditional agriculture. The big one that everybody always reminded us of was the Tanzam railway, which we took one look at when Nyerere first proposed it in the '60s and said, "No, this can't be built. It's too expensive." So, the Chinese said, "Yes, that can be done." They built it. Now, by the time I got there, the Chinese engines wouldn't pull the hills, so AID was working a deal to get some American locomotives that would pull it. But it was still there and it was still always pointed out to any American as "This is the railroad you said couldn't be built." We did some agricultural stuff. We had an AID mission.

Q: What happened to all these resettled villagers?

MCILVAINE: That was a classic case of what I'm talking about. This was Nyerere's great socialist dream that he would pull together villagers into villages that would have all the infrastructure – the school, the clinic, the well, everything else – and because they were concentrated, it would be economically feasible to put the school, the clinic, and the well there. So they would have government services. Then they would farm prosperously. Well, the villagers hated it because they wanted to be where the fields were. Villagers all over don't like being moved. So, all over the country, you would go through these Ujamaa villages that hardly

anybody lived in anymore and have the ruins of a school, the clinic, and the well because, like the poverty project, it was a good idea in theory, but the practicality of it was going against instincts and there was no mechanism to make sure that the school was staffed and maintained, that the clinic got medicine, was maintained, and that the well was fixed when it broke. They all eventually were abandoned.

Q: When you left there in '89, what was your feeling about whither Tanzania?

MCILVAINE: I thought it would probably slumber along in the same half-life for a long time to come. I did not expect – and I'm still not sure it really has – for it to reform itself and become a functioning democracy. It at least tried more than I expected it to under a guy I worked with who was then the foreign minister and is now the president. But there is no indication that Tanzania is ready to join the front ranks of countries that are making…

DONALD PETTERSON
Ambassador
Tanzania (1986-1989)

Ambassador Donald Petterson was born in California in 1930. Petterson served in the US Navy for four years before graduating from the University of California Santa Barbara. Petterson joined the Foreign Service in 1960 and has served overseas in Mexico, Tanzania, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, South Africa and as ambassador to Somalia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, and Sudan. In Washington, DC Petterson served on the Policy Planning Staff and as a deputy assistant secretary in the African Bureau. Ambassador Petterson was interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy and Lambert Heyniger in 1996.

PETTERSON: I presented my credentials to the president of Tanzania, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, in December 1986. Julius Nyerere, who had been the president of that country for many years, had stepped down voluntarily when his term of office was over, and Mwinyi had been elected.

Q: Am I mistaken, or is Ali Hassan Mwinyi Zanzibari?

PETTERSON: Yes.

Q: Did he remember you? Did you remember him? [Laughter]

PETTERSON: Yes. I didn't know him well in Zanzibar, but he had been a high-level civil servant in the ministry of education. I knew him, although not as well as I knew some other Zanzibaris. When I-

Q: But the fact that you had lived and worked in Zanzibar must have counted for a good bit with him.

PETTERSON: I suppose it did. And it didn't hurt that I was the first American ambassador who spoke Swahili.

When I said, "Mwinyi was elected," it was an in open, honest election. But there was only one party. Tanzania was still living the fiction that a one-party state could be democratic. This is what Nyerere believed, but he was wrong. Not only was it undemocratic, it led to a great deal of corruption, as the party ossified over the years. Nyerere's economic vision for Tanzania included a heavy dose of state controls, which inevitably had led to an economic decline. The country was an economic basket case by the time I got there. It was beginning to climb out of the deep pit it had fallen into by late 1986, but it had a long way to go.

That year the United States and some other Western countries, the World Bank, and the IMF (International Monetary Fund) were urging the Tanzanians to change from the state run economy to a free-market oriented system. A lot of work that I did in Tanzania centered on assisting the government to make that change. We also helped facilitate American investment. In addition, I spent considerable time on our economic and humanitarian AID programs. One project involved providing locomotives, made by General Motors, to help in the rehabilitation of the TanZam Railroad.

Q: Which had been built by the Chinese.

PETTERSON: Yes. This was somewhat ironic because in the 1960s the United States had refused to build the railroad and then strongly opposed the Tanzanian decision to accept the Chinese offer to do the job. So there I was meeting with the Chinese and the Tanzanians, toasting each other, and hoping to get that railroad back on track. Pardon the pun.

Julie, Brian, and I traveled up-country whenever we could. Our daughter Susan had finished college while we were in Tanzania, and she came out and lived with us for our last year there. Tanzania's game areas were some of the most spectacular in the world. We visited as many of them as we could in the three years we were there. It was sad to see how much they had deteriorated - that is, the infrastructure, the roads leading to them, the lodges at them, and so forth. But they still were well worth seeing, and we didn't mind the sometimes-rudimentary accommodations.

Q: Some of the resort lodges were terrific.

PETTERSON: They had been, but they had fallen into disrepair. You had to bring your own light bulbs, your own toilet paper.

Q: Really? How come?

PETTERSON: The country was economically ruined and was strapped for foreign exchange. Imported items, and that meant things like light bulbs, were hard to find and very expensive. The lodges had been taken over by the Tanzanian government, which devoted next to no resources to their upkeep. In their current rundown condition, the lodges did not attract tourists, and tourism had gone way down in Tanzania.

Q: Really?

PETTERSON: Yes. People preferred to go to Kenya, where there were good lodges and no shortage of amenities, as there was in Tanzania.

Q: So this is a big change from when you were in Zanzibar?

PETTERSON: Yes. We also traveled for other reasons, besides going to the game areas. For example, the first trip that Julie, Brian, and I made was to Bukoba. We drove to Mwanza and took a night steamer across Lake Victoria to Bukoba, which was ravaged by AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) even then. It got much worse later on. We went there to see the coffee production, to meet with American citizens, missionaries who lived in the area. We did this sort of travel to other parts of Tanzania too, during our tour. Julie and I became good friends of Jane Goodall, who lived near us in Dar es Salaam.

Q: Yes.

PETTERSON: Julie organized some events to raise money for Jane's work. One highlight of our time in Tanzania was a trip to visit Jane at Gombe Stream on Lake Tanganyika, the site where he did her work with the chimpanzees. We stayed in tents in her camp on the shore of Lake Tanganyika, a place of striking beauty. On the second day we were there, Julie, Brian, and I had the great good fortune to be with Jane when we encountered in a forest clearing some of the chimps she had been working with for years. It was incredible to watch them interact with her, a wonderful experience for the three of us.

Julie and I traveled to Zanzibar as often as we could. It was, and remains, her favorite place in the world.
Q: Really? [Laughter]

PETTERSON: Yes. [Laughter] It was our first assignment in Africa, two of our children were born while we were there, and we had an adventure and many good times. It wasn't just the memories. It was the Zanzibaris themselves. It was the setting. Everything about Zanzibar made it her favorite place.

Q: Before you quite get to there, I'd like to ask you, you were in Tanzania for three years when the country had been going down quite badly economically.

PETTERSON: Yes, it had reached its lowest point just before we got there.

Q: The "Ujamaa" (program of rural development that involved the creation of cooperative farm villages) movement was over.

PETTERSON: Yes. It had failed.

Q: What were you and the United States government doing to try to work with Tanzania during

the time you were there?

PETTERSON: We, as you would expect, endeavored to get the Tanzanians to agree with us on international issues. I remember talking with Foreign Minister Ben Mkapa a lot about southern Africa. At that time the new prime minister of South Africa was F. W. de Klerk. I knew him from my South African days, and I knew that he was, in South African terms, a "verligte" or moderate Afrikaner, instead of a "verkramte," a conservative hard-liner on apartheid. I believed he was sincere in what he was doing to eliminate apartheid. Mkapa was skeptical, but I was right, as history has shown. But you have to remember that the Tanzanians were distinctly suspicious of South Africa, which, after all, had mounted intelligence operations within Tanzania. They had assassinated…

Q: Eduardo Mondlane.

PETTERSON: …Eduardo Mondlane in Dar es Salaam. So the Tanzanians had no reason to trust the white South Africans. But change was taking place in South Africa, and De Klerk was playing a very important role in that.

JOSEPH F. STEPANEK
Mission Director, USAID
Dar es Salaam (1987-1991)

Mr. Stepanek was born in Houston, Texas and was raised primarily abroad. After earning degrees from the Universities of Colorado and Minnesota, he joined USAID and was sent to Bangladesh as economist. Subsequent assignments took him to Washington DC in USAID's policy bureau and as Chief or the Development Planning Office for Latin America. His foreign assignments were to Indonesia as Mission Economist, to Tanzania and to Zambia, where he was USAID Mission Director. He was interviewed by W. Haven North in 1997.

STEPANEK: I agreed to go to Tanzania as the USAID Representative for a Mission that supposedly had one person assigned to it. As I had been in Kenya, I was interested in neighboring Tanzania. I was obviously delighted to be in charge. I felt that, as I had been a Program Officer for four years in Kenya, I knew something about USAID. I had worked very closely with the three USAID Mission Directors in Kenya and knew the full range of things to do. Also, I knew about relationships with the Embassy and all of the other U.S. agencies there.

Q: What was the situation in Tanzania at that point?

STEPANEK: Visually, it was like the last scene in the film, "On the Beach." There were broken windows, newspapers fluttering in the wind, dust, and the dead and dying. It was still very quiet, very poor and desolate. The USAID Mission had not been closed. I found that, as one of USAID's great secrets, they claimed that the Mission had been closed. In fact, it was doing quite well. There were about 40 FSN [Foreign Service National] employees. They were handling

various projects. There was a lot going on. It took me a little while to appreciate the fact that there was a lot going on.

Q: What was the issue which had put the USAID Mission in this condition?

STEPANEK: The issue was whether the Tanzanians, for once, would stay "on board" with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. This time around they did. So very gradually, step by step, and person by person, we rebuilt the USAID Mission. Ultimately, it qualified as an USAID Mission, and I became an USAID Mission Director. The budget gradually grew. I inherited some useful projects. One of them was to support "TAZARA" [Tanzania-Zambia Railroad Authority]. Another was to support a roads program. We designed a family planning and a scholarship program and terminated a Zanzibar malaria control project. During all of this time I worked closely with Ambassador Petterson and then with Ambassador DeJarnette. The assignment proved to be a very rewarding experience.

One of the highlights was to recognize that our FSN's had not had their salaries adjusted for about 10 years. On average, their salaries were about 10 percent of what State Department comparability reports claimed they should have been. It took me three years to fight this issue through the State Department. However, ultimately, I had the immense satisfaction of standing in front of our FSN employees and telling them that they were about to get an average salary increase of about 800 percent! I still get "thank you letters" for that.

Q: I can imagine. Well, let's take some of these programs, like family planning, for instance. Wasn't there a family planning program before that?

STEPANEK: The Tanzanians had kept family planning at arms length. There was no public family planning program, but there was very modest public support for a family planning NGO [Non Governmental Organization], called "UMATI" and recognition of the leadership, what it took to keep that going through the "thin years." Other aid donors were involved in public health and a little bit of family planning. I knew that I was there as an American diplomat and was regarded by many senior Tanzanians with great suspicion. They wondered why we were in Tanzania. Why did we support the "TAZARA" [Tanzania-Zambia Railroad Authority]? Were our aid technicians just "spies"? Regarding family planning, their attitude was that, "You guys are only interested in controlling our numbers." So I did not barge into family planning. However, I also knew instinctively that somehow, some way, it would be very important to get a family planning program going.

My assistant, Paula Tavrow, was instrumental in working in the fields of health, malaria, and scholarships. She got to know the Tanzanian health people and the health aid donors very well. One fine day I was informally asked if I would come to a family planning meeting if I was invited. I said that I certainly would. Also, I was asked if I would agree to provide resources to support a family planning program if a request for such resources were made. I said, "Absolutely. Yes."

I checked this out with a key Tanzanian official, Peter Ngumbulu. Later, I was invited to an informal meeting with the then Tanzanian Permanent Secretary for Health. This all worked out.

This is one of the stories I am most pleased with. We knew that we would be working on a very sensitive subject. So we tried to think of everything carefully, including how to approach groups and people, how to deal with issues, how to pave the way, and how to make it very clear that we didn't have any ulterior motive in supporting family planning.

Part way through this process, Paula Tavrow's birthday came up. So we decided that we were going to have a birthday party. We suggested to Paula that she invite everybody that she had been working with. I asked Paula how many that would be, so that my wife, Caroline, could plan for it. We thought that it would amount to about 30 or 40 people. Well, about 200 people showed up! It was very interesting. It turned out that it was the first time that all of these people had gotten together. It was the first time for me to say, "Thanks" to everybody.

Q: Were all of these people Tanzanians?

STEPANEK: They were mostly Tanzanians, with a few foreigners mixed in.

All the while, well, I won't mention any names, but people in Washington were calling me up on the telephone and saying, "Are you going to sign this family planning agreement or lose the money?" In other words, they were saying, in effect, "Get off your backside."

I stalled for one annual budget cycle. It wasn't until 18 months later that we actually signed a $20 million program for Tanzanian family planning. The biggest surprise about it and the most gratifying aspect of it was that by the time I signed the agreement, I finally realized that we had 18 months of implementation under our belt before the signing. The "collegial work" had really paid off. It was all negotiated, understood, learned, and sorted out well in advance of the signing ceremony.

Q: What was the stress in the program?

STEPANEK: It was primarily the expansion of public sector supplies and services, through the public system, to every nook and cranny of Tanzania, with a private sector role through condom advertising and sales. At the time, we had been "leading the charge" to pave the way. Anyway, at the time, one of the documents that I signed was pm am jpmpraru or pro forma basis. That was for the Demographic Health Survey (DHS). The thing that was so wonderful about that is that, at the time, I knew that this was going to be a very major contribution, because Tanzania was very proud of its "social achievements." The truth of the matter is that all of Tanzania's "social indicators" had gone to hell. The DHS survey would document for the first time what was actually going on in the country.

Sure enough, five years later, this survey documented the acceptance of family planning. This proved a lot of things to me. One is that we don’t need money to handle development. Secondly, "collegiality" counts for a lot. Thirdly, you can get results fast if you're all pulling in the right direction. So that was pretty powerful stuff, and my time in Tanzania was a very rewarding time.

Q: What was the situation in the other sectors that you worked on?

STEPANEK: One that I mostly inherited from Satish Shaw was a roads program. The Tanzanian roads had gone to hell. They were all in the public sector. They were all donor provided "turn key" roads. USAID and the World Bank had built some roads twice and even three times. The government capacity to maintain the state system of roads had just fallen apart. I don't recall how the first step to improve this situation was taken. However, Satish and his "gang" visited Tanzania before I arrived. One of the subjects that came up was the privatization of roads.

At some point somebody in the Ministry of Communications and Works must have said: "We know that this is a mess. We know that we're to blame. Let's try something else." Satish presumably said: "Amen!"

Q: Who was he?

STEPANEK: He was the Senior Project Officer in REDSO. I think that he later became Director of REDSO.

Q: That's right.

STEPANEK: In any event, Satish "latched on" to that wonderful opportunity. We put together a roads program which was really a "feeder roads reform program" or a "feeder roads privatization program." The Ambassador and I went to see President Mwinyi of Tanzania to explain what we had in mind. President Mwinyi said: "Roads, roads, roads. I need roads and I don't care who builds them." At this point the Ambassador was kind enough to stand up and walk away, leaving me "to feed the bear," so to speak. So I got the pleasure of explaining to President Mwinyi why it was so important for Tanzanians to be building their own roads, rather than having foreigners doing that. The upshot of that meeting was convincing President Mwinyi to go out on tour and see the roads for himself.

President Mwinyi did this. He stood on the hood of his Land Rover and talked to rural people. He said: "Years ago the Americans gave us food aid and then they taught us how to grow our own food. Now they're teaching us to build our own roads." This program is a partial success. The World Bank is still building "turn key" roads, and so are the ILO [International Labor Organization] and the other aid donors.

Q: What was the thrust of what you were trying to do in your program?

STEPANEK: It was an effort to try a new way of building feeder roads. The sequence of events was as follows. We used the promise of about $25 million to reinforce the Tanzanian Government's commitment to experiment. Part of this foreign exchange was used to support an American team in the Ministry of Works to design a system of roads in which spare parts for road equipment were brought into Tanzania . Under the USAID program, vehicle spare parts were purchased by public and private entities. The cash value of those parts went into a fund to pay private Tanzanian contractors to build and maintain feeder roads. So the actual contract work was done only by local firms and was paid for out of the cash paid for the imported spare parts.

Again, good luck counted for a lot. The Caterpillar Company [of Peoria, Illinois] had been investing in Tanzania for years and years. They had 600 tractor "carcases" in Tanzania but no foreign exchange to buy spare parts. All of a sudden, Caterpillar equipment and that of other tractor makers were up and running for the first time in many years. They were forever grateful for this American program. The fact was that the owners of the broken-down tractors paid Tanzanian shillingi [shillings] for the spare parts. The proceeds of the sales went into the fund and made this program work.

Q: Was there private Tanzanian road-building?

STEPANEK: Well, that was the "hook." The problem is that the big contractors were Tanzanian Asians. However, we designed the road-building program in such a way that there was a lot of subcontracting encouraged. My understanding is that, at any one time, there were 30 or 40 Tanzanian subcontractors that worked on segments of the roads. This involved the construction or repair of culverts, grading, clearing, and so forth. So this represented a start on black-owned Tanzanian small businesses repairing the road network.

One of the reasons, to be perfectly frank, why Tanzanian President Mwinyi was happy to let the World Bank build roads on a turn key basis was that he got sick and tired of paying all of that money to Tanzanian Asians. It was the old dilemma. He had been suspicious of commerce and industry run by minority groups in Tanzania during his whole career, as business tended to go "offshore."

Q: Was that road development program associated with the big World Bank loan of $800 million? Was this what they called the "sector program approach?"

STEPANEK: Yes, it was part of that. However, I don't think that the World Bank showed much willingness to be innovative. I think that most of this program was handled on a turn key basis. I could be wrong and I hope I'm wrong in that regard.

In the case of family planning the cooperation approach worked very well. When we get to Zambia, I can tell you a similar story. In the case of the road building program people would say the right things at meetings, but in practice they were mostly interested in spending "their" money on hiring "their" contractors. They didn't really much care about Tanzanian ownership or sustainability. It was disheartening.

Q: There were a lot of aid donors involved.

STEPANEK: There sure were. There were easily a dozen aid donors. I cite the example of the ILO having 10 expatriates out on a works project supervising Tanzanian workers. That's the kind of unsustainability which I find appalling. We had one foreigner and one only. He sat in the ministry, not with us. He was out in the field most of the time. The Tanzanians loved him dearly.

Q: What about other programs in Tanzania?

STEPANEK: I used the collegial approach in a different kind of decision. I "terminated" USAID's last malaria control program. I worked hard with the Zanzibaris, with my staff, and with experts in and out of Tanzania to figure out what this malaria control project was contributing. The answer was, "Zero." Nobody had the courage to "turn it off," so I went ahead and turned it off myself.

Q: Why wasn't it contributing to the control of malaria?

STEPANEK: Well, because in the "bad old days" the malaria control program required a military kind of program to mobilize people, spray villages, drain culverts, and so forth. Furthermore, mosquitoes had become partially resistant to DDT. The mosquito parasite was partially resistant to chloroquin. The Zanzibari project officer was busy using the vehicles and money for his own, personal use for his houses. Also, I believe he had "burned his bridges" with his own political structure in Zanzibar.

Q: He was a Zanzibari?

STEPANEK: Yes. In a situation like this, Haven, I found that we were simply carrying all of the "water." I had a fine Project Officer who were carrying all of the burden. I found that thoroughly unbecoming. We spent about a year and a half, trying to move the burden back into the hands of the Zanzibaris. This simply did not work. They just assumed that they'd get everything that they wanted and perform on none of the requirements. I finally decided that "enough was enough."

I found terminating this project painful to do. However, it was a period when people were starting to talk about "impregnated bed nets" and, of course, a malaria vaccine which has yet to be developed. It was at that time that Mike Wallace came to town. I gave Mike 90 minutes of tape. Thank goodness for me, he boiled that down to 22 seconds. He was a little flabbergasted that I was prepared to turn off a malaria program, when babies were dying like flies across Africa and still are.

I also turned off a Title II program through Catholic Relief Service. Again, I spent a lot of time with staff in the field and with the Ambassador, checking all of the strategic points. I found that this program was mostly political, not nutritional, not allocated on the basis of need. There was some corruption. CRS' [Catholic Relief Service] own director in Tanzania had tried to turn off this program. She had been shot down by CRS headquarters. I inherited this mess and decided to turn this program off.

Q: Were there problems in doing that?

STEPANEK: Not as much as I expected. In that particular case the phone did not ring. Our Ambassador was tired of being "poked in the eye" by other Ambassadors who "goosed us" over dumping food aid. People knew that it was Catholic Church politics involved.

In Indonesia one of the things that I forgot to mention is that I put a lot of time into an evaluation of a CRS-operated, Title II program. I found that it was quite disappointing. I'm sure that you're aware that on the health side of things there is a lot of empirical capacity to evaluate the impact

of nutritional interventions. So it's fairly easy to say "Yea" or "Nay" to a particular program. This was not inherently because of Title II. However, Title II, plus CRS, led to a rather costly and ineffective program. I admired the CRS representative greatly for having taken the stand that she did before I got to Tanzania. I felt that, finally, I had to honor her original decision to close this program down.

Q: Were there other, food assistance programs?

STEPANEK: Yes. We took the Title II program and "monetized" it to liberalize the food and grain trade. Quite frankly, that effort was not successful. Later on, we decided not to extend it, because the Tanzanian Government did not have the budgetary discipline to deposit the money for food grain landed in Tanzania. This was quite a disappointment. It should have alerted me to the weaknesses of the banking system. I guess that it alerted me to other problems that I got into later on. That was a pilot program that did not work.

Since then, I think that the Tanzanians have liberalized their grain trade. Maybe we planted a seed that took root, although this is hard to say.

Q: Were there regional parts of the aid program?

STEPANEK: Because of the racist regime in South Africa, the U.S. Congress, USAID, and the State Department developed close ties and a special program for the so-called "front line" states [i.e., countries close to or bordering on South Africa]. Tanzania's share of this was $50 million. Actually, we had access to up to $50 million. I think that Allison Herrick and others in Washington were having a hard time trying to figure out how to spend the money. Satish Shaw had sent a team down to talk to TAZARA and look at possible USAID support. The team figured out that they needed some parts and a lot of management to "clean up" this binational, parastatal entity. Well, that wasn't good enough. Allison said: "Well, you've got to spend some money."

Q: This was a parastatal company for what?

STEPANEK: I'm sorry. The TAZARA railroad line was built by the Chinese. It connected the Zambian copper mines with the port of Dar Es Salaam, so that Zambia would not have to rely on rail lines that passed through South Africa to export copper. The binational, parastatal company has been jointly owned and operated all this time and still is. The railroad was Chinese-built and equipped. By this time their locomotives were worn out. There were some German "re-engineered" locomotives, but basically what the railroad really needed was to be privatized and commercialized. However, they didn't take that step.

Because of political pressures we decided that we had to spend money on procuring new locomotives. There were several, unrecorded phone calls in which Satish Shaw was simply ordered to buy new locomotives. The regional team had said that it would be unwise to bring in locomotives under these circumstances. However, we all know USAID. I landed in Tanzania in time to sign an agreement for 17 new locomotives.

In this context I learned more about being a PDO than I ever wanted to learn. On the personal, as well as the professional side, it was necessary for me to learn about railroads and railroad management and technology. It was absolutely fascinating. I met some wonderful Tanzanians and am still in touch with them. I am very proud of the relationships that I built up. Sadly, this railroad is still a mismanaged, parastatal entity. There still is not much justification for the locomotives. However, to see something real land...

Q: And the locomotives are still there?

STEPANEK: They are there, and half of them are in use. The rest have been wrecked. I've been back to Tanzania since then. I've stayed in touch with the Tanzanian side of the railroad by virtue of being in Lusaka [Zambia]. I went back to see friends, see the locomotives, and see the workshop that we built in the southwest corner of Tanzania. From such visits I learned, grudgingly, that the locomotives were not being well maintained. This was a source of great disappointment. A well-maintained locomotive can last for at least 50 years.

The sad truth of the matter is that the economies of both Zambia and Tanzania, having enjoyed their "socialist experiment," have been "trashed." The load factor for the railroad has remained a very small fraction of what it was projected to be. So the demand for the locomotives never really grew to meet the new "load." The new locomotives filled in for the older ones that were being "trashed." Now, the new locomotives are being "trashed," in turn, and so I'm not sure who's going to be the next "sucker" to supply new locomotives.

Q: Just to keep the railroad going.

STEPANEK: Yes.

Q: But our side built a road, and it wasn't that perfect, was it, at that point?

STEPANEK: We did. There was a race. Not surprisingly, there was privatization of truck traffic, and privately owned trucks were allowed to circulate on the highway during this whole period. We built a road, as you know better than I, which was literally "neck and neck" with the construction of the railroad.

There's a wonderful story about a crossing where the road was supposed to cross the railroad, which the Chinese were building. Apparently, one of the Americans working on building the road had a bulldozer which was in the way of a Chinese survey engineer, who happened to be a woman. She asked the American to move his bulldozer. He didn't move it. So the story goes that she went over and "slugged" him! Maybe because of surprise, she knocked him on his rear. The story has it that he up and left the construction site. He couldn't take this. Anyway, that story is still famous. The crossing is still known as the site of this incident.

I have to stay, on the personal side, that I lived in China as a kid. My parents stayed in touch with China, and my brother speaks Chinese fluently. My working with the Chinese who worked for TAZARA [Tanzania-Zambia Railway Authority] was a wonderful experience.

I will gloss over the signing ceremony for the subsequent procurement of American locomotives for this railroad. This project was worth some $46 million. The Tanzanian and Zambian Governments said that they would not sign the agreement, which had to be signed during the last week of the U.S. fiscal year, or the allocation of the money would become invalid. The Tanzanians and Zambians had $46 million "swinging in the breeze." I found out that the reason for the delay was suspicion of Americans. They wondered why the U.S. would want to send technicians to work on a Chinese built railroad. Key Tanzanians and Zambians had suspicion of our motives. The Ambassador and I had to spend a lot of time convincing them. We said: "You people approve the 'scope' agreements. You know what they're doing. We are not here to 'spy' on you, the Chinese or anybody else." The Tanzanians and Zambians finally signed on the last day of the U.S. fiscal year. USAID Washington had been "beside itself" over the delay.

Two days before the signature of the agreement, somebody in the Tanzanian Government finally said to me: "Joe, you've been patient with us, and your patience is going to 'pay off.' We will sign the agreement." Boy, it was close!

Q: Yes, I know that situation.

STEPANEK: The relationships with the Chinese worked quite well, partly because of my own background. I went out of my way to meet them and involve them in everything. When there were ceremonies, they were right there. So that was a very nice experience.

Sadly, they saw the railroad as we see it today. They saw mismanagement and felt terrible disappointment over this project, despite the huge investment that they had made in it. It was truly an heroic feat of Chinese engineering in Africa. No doubt about that.

Q: And now the circumstances have changed, and so forth, so the demand for the use of the railroad is not as great.

STEPANEK: That's right. I've written about this in the chapter on African agriculture in my book. That rail line still runs through a gorgeous part of Africa. Some day all of those little stations will be bustling, booming market towns. It won't happen in this century, but it may happen by the middle of the 21st century. The railway line itself is "indestructible." There is a trained cadre of Tanzanians and Zanzibarians working on it. Administrative and management rules, in some cases, with respect to the desired labor conditions, are set in law. It will take another generation of political courage to relax those rules.

Anyway, one of the "thrills" of that particular assignment to Tanzania was to be able to stand on the beach in Dar Es Salaam, knowing that the ship with the American locomotives aboard was about to come over the horizon. Sure enough, it did. It came right at us and turned into the harbor. The next morning we went down to the port and watched the American locomotives being unloaded. There was a great ceremony.

Q: You didn't get into any procurement difficulties in the purchase of the locomotives?

STEPANEK: Oh, thank you for raising that! I was lucky in that I recruited Zach Hahn and then John Starnes as PDO's [Project Development Officers]. We did two things. We made sure that the locomotives were precisely what the Tanzanians wanted for the railroad. The technical specifications we received from the railroad were lengthy. The chief engineer for TAZARA was Lucas Chogo. Without a doubt he was the technical brains of the whole operation. He wrote and negotiated those specifications so that we knew precisely what TAZARA's needs were. Having said that, thanks to Zach Hahn and to John Starnes, we also worked to set forth "generic" specifications for the locomotives, so that there would not be any arbitrary "bias" toward either GE [General Electric] or GM [General Motors].

Again, we had good luck in that we had negotiated those first two sets of requirements very carefully. GM and GE both thanked us later for the quality of the work of preparing the specifications. More because of luck than anything else, GM was "flooded" with orders, and GE was not. The GE bid was well below GM's bid, so it was an "open and shut" case. However, as I was USAID Mission Director at the time, this was one of the few times that I felt that this was like a "shoot out at OKAY Corral." I got to cut the seals. I got to look down the line and see the costs. It was a little nerve-wracking because we knew full well that many of these large contracts were contested. However, in this particular case good homework and good, commercial relationships between the two company representatives at that time explained why this was a "peaceful agreement." The agreement was completed, there were no contests, and there were no "hitches."

Q: Particularly with the American attitude and a potential Canadian involvement...

STEPANEK: Quite honestly, I think that GE and GM would have chosen a Canadian place of final assembly, using American made components. Anyway, it gave me an excuse to join Lucas Chogo and go to the GE plant in Erie [PA] and see the locomotives being assembled. It was quite impressive. It was very exciting, and I was very proud to see how the African engineers were being trained and how they put the "final touches" on the locomotives when they arrived in Tanzania.

In the aid business there are always wonderful stories to tell. They are never the whole story, but at least there are things to talk about.

Q: Well, are there any other dimensions to the program?

STEPANEK: I should mention my wife Caroline. We had "inherited" a famous German mansion to live in. We also inherited the strained relationships between Tanzanian socialism and American capitalism. Caroline and I sensed that we needed to spend a lot of time on official "representation" activities. So, over the course of four years in Tanzania Caroline organized and ran about 400 business get-togethers, receptions, parties, breakfasts, and luncheons. I have to say that USAID Washington and the State Department didn't even bother sending us a "thank you" letter for these efforts. I know that this is typical.

Q: These social events were for whom?

STEPANEK: They were for Tanzanians, for our development work in Tanzania. You know as well as I that this is a very common story with USAID spouses, worldwide. They put in an immense amount of work and deserve a lot of credit. In fact, I wrote up a cable nominating Caroline for an award, but that didn't go anywhere, either. That's a "sour note" but only one "sour note" in what was otherwise an incredibly good experience.

Q: Well, you were a Mission Director now. Now that you had finally arrived as a manager, what did you think about being a manager?

STEPANEK: I thought it was glorious, absolutely glorious! At the time and now I would be happy to say that if I had known that it was going to be so exciting, I might have been ambitious! I had never had any interest in being an USAID Mission Director. I did not know that this job could be so interesting, so challenging, and so rewarding.

Q: Well, perhaps this is time for a pause. Is there anything else regarding your Tanzanian experience that you would like to mention? What was the economic situation at that time in Tanzania? How did you relate to that more generally? You were an "old hand" in the economic policy business.

STEPANEK: The Embassy Economic Officer and I, as well as an FSN economist, followed and reported on the macroeconomic situation. We worked with representatives of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. We were not "big time players" but we certainly had a point of view as to what was working and what was not working. Very slow progress was being made. In retrospect, I think that you'd have to say that there was precious little progress. Tanzania is still finding it very hard to move ahead. There are frequent interruptions in the supply of water and electric power. Investment, and particularly foreign investment, is very modest. It's been a very tough time for Tanzania since independence in 1960.

Q: Why has it had so much economic difficulty, compared to other African countries which seem to have been torn apart with ethnic crises and so forth? Tanzania has been free of that, yet still can't move along.

STEPANEK: Maybe the seeds of corruption and disillusionment, and maybe more of the latter than the former, have "disemboweled" the bureaucracy in Tanzania. However, their mistrust of Tanzanian Asians prevailed, and there was tension with Zanzibar. Despite the fact that the Tanzanians are very agreeable people, possibly they are just too "relaxed." It's very hard to know why this should be so. It was instructive to have served previously in Kenya and to feel, as a white "European" in Africa for the first time, that the Kenyans tended to "hate" me because of the very fact that I was a white. Therefore, I should just have learned to live with that. At the end of my first six months in Kenya, I concluded that that wasn't true. The fact was that the Kenyans really hated the Kenya Asians. The Kenyans weren't really focused on the Europeans. I thought that they hated the Asians. That explained the level of animosity that I sensed.

By the end of the first of my four years in Kenya, I decided that I was wrong again and that the Kenyans really hated each other. They didn't have time to waste, hating Europeans or Asians, because the tribal friction within Kenya was so severe. I tell that story purposely because, after

living in Tanzania and then in Zambia, it was like night and day, being in a country where the people were so congenial, friendly, warm, and sincere. However, all of that natural "resource," if you will, doesn't get turned into mobilizing growth.

One of the many tragedies that befell Tanzania was that Julius Nyerere had decided that the Tanzanians were not going to be "money grubbing," middle class people. The Asians living in Tanzania would be tolerated to handle trade and commerce, while ethnic Tanzanians would be rural and communal in their outlook. They would only train enough Tanzanian students through secondary school and the universities to supply the few, civil servant positions needed. For that reason Tanzania actively discouraged secondary school education. To this day Tanzania still has the lowest, secondary school enrollment of eligible students of any country in the world.

Q: I have never heard that. I presume that they were discouraged from attending secondary school.

STEPANEK: It's true, even though it's an appalling fact which describes the penalty that is paid by some of this "economic philosophy." To be crude and fair, I think that most of the aid donors, most of the time, subscribe to this philosophy. This view even included USAID. In the case of USAID, subscription to this philosophy may have gone on for fewer years than in the case of other aid donors, but the fact is that we were there, too, supporting this socialist "Paradise on earth." We were doing rural development and all sorts of things which were basically state-controlled. On reflection, it was not a pretty picture.

Q: Did the World Bank also subscribe to this view, from the early days and through the time that McNamara was its President?

STEPANEK: Yes, it did.

Q: Have the massive investments supported that outlook?

STEPANEK: That's right. Now they're faced with, not only corruption, but HIV/AIDS [Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome] and international debt. And this pertains to a country that is inherently rich, wealthy, diverse, and wonderful.

Q: And relatively at peace.

STEPANEK: Absolutely. Tanzania is more than at peace. Tanzanians are justifiably proud of the work that they do to keep peace in the region. You may not agree with all of it, but the truth of the matter is that they spend the resources that they don't have to look after refugees and foster peace in Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, and Mozambique.

Q: But you would attribute to Nyerere's socialist approach the "dampening down" of a more entrepreneurial approach to development that you found in other places? Do you think that this is the reason why the people are not more entrepreneurial, compared to other countries?

STEPANEK: Yes. This probably says more about me than anything I've ever learned. I just had a unique belief that the entrepreneurial spirit is evenly distributed around the world. I think that, depending on parents, culture, and educational and market systems, this spirit is reinforced or discouraged as the case may be. I've met plenty of Tanzanians who are full of life and would "blossom" in a market economy. On the other hand, if a government spends more than 20 years putting that spirit down, inevitably there's going to be an impact. Tanzania may yet be one of the few cases where the impact of this effort is basically devastating.

Q: But you made the point that there is such a small percentage of young people in secondary schools. I suppose that that concept then applies at the university level. Everybody says that education is really the "power" in a society that drives the economy?

STEPANEK: That's right.

Q: If education has really been "dampened" down, is that a major factor in the results in Tanzania?

STEPANEK: I think so. The donor aid program in Tanzania is huge. We all spend very large amounts of money on foreigners, not Tanzanians. The money is tied to debt repayments and to importing commodities. Very little of the money actually goes to institution building or rebuilding the spirit of the country.

Q: We were not involved in an education program?

STEPANEK: No. As I recall, I actively kept us out of agriculture and education, because I considered them to be such a nightmare that I could not compete with other donors who were funding what I thought were the wrong things. I couldn't possibly reform the Tanzanian Government. That was not the case in Zambia where, I found, the time was more than ripe to get into the health field because there was a systemic change under way. In Zambia we were involved in health and agriculture.

However, in the case of Tanzania, it was easy for me as USAID Mission Director, with a limited budget, to find reasons for staying out of agriculture and education. I think that there were good reasons. USAID Directors and programs are marvelous at getting into things more deeply than they should. Yet, sometimes, even a little "seed money" can go a long way. And USAID Directors "love" that sort of world. I think that it's one of the nice things about USAID generally and about the USAID presence in a given country. You see opportunities where one trip, one scholarship, one adviser, or one idea may not amount to much. On the other hand, sometimes it does.

Q: We've been in Tanzania for a long time. Were there any remnants left over from previous USAID programs? There must be something hanging around that showed some results.

STEPANEK: Yes, and there was a lot of pressure on me to fund agricultural training, extension, and universities, because we had done this in the past. In fact, the only time I ever received a direct "order" to do anything in USAID was from Charles Gladson, then Assistant Administrator

in the African Bureau, to sign an agreement between Sokoni Agricultural University and Tuskegee Institute. My staff and I felt that there wasn't much in such an agreement to contribute much one way or the other. However, I was "ordered" to sign the agreement, and so we did it.

I cite that as an example. You can work in USAID for 25 years, most of the time overseas, and survive, if you will, or at least "do well," receiving only one order like that. It's a remarkable commentary on the USAID system.

Q: This was an agreement between Tuskegee Institute and whom?

STEPANEK: Sokoni Agricultural University, the Tanzanian agricultural university.

Q: Did that agreement go ahead?

STEPANEK: It did go ahead. I still don't know what they're doing.

Q: Does this involve the training of faculty members of Sokoni University?

STEPANEK: Yes, faculty training and exchange arrangements between the two universities, plus a little bit of "overhead."

Q: I see.

STEPANEK: Oh, my, what else? After I left Tanzania, my successors got involved in democracy, through the funding of "political" NGO's [Non Governmental Organizations].

Q: However, apart from the roads program, you weren't involved in any private sector initiatives?

STEPANEK: We laid the foundations for them but we did not get involved. Again, I looked at it and felt that it was premature for any such initiative really to work. The foreign exchange system had not been liberalized. The banking system was collapsing. The investment code was state-run, if you will. Let me give you an example. The Tanzanian Government was very proud of its investment center and its Investment Director, and they displayed this gentleman around Dar Es Salaam. However, if you went to the Investment Center, the Director would say: "See all of these projects sitting on the floor? All you have to do is pick one." That's all I needed to know. No, I just didn't see the point of that.

The country's overhead just continued to collapse. Private business in Tanzania, to this day, has a very hard time keeping generators and electric power going. Piped water is running short. The Japanese rebuilt all of the roads in Dar Es Salaam. These roads are now full of potholes, less than five years after they were rebuilt. It's kind of disheartening. There are disputes with Zanzibar which consume a lot of time.

Q: Did you have any contact at all with Nyerere? He was not President at the time.

STEPANEK: I never met him and had no contact with him. I personally didn't seek contact. I guess that I felt that he was sufficiently to blame for the problems of Tanzania. I didn't feel inclined to go and get his autograph, or anything like that.

I have to tell you a Nyerere story through the eyes of his chief "buddy" from Edinburgh of Fabian socialist days, Joan Wicken. Joan followed Nyerere back to Tanzania after he was a student in Great Britain and served as his confidante and personal secretary for years and years. I heard a lot about her and thought that the least I could do was to go and say "Hello" to her. I had a marvelous time. She was as lovely to meet as anybody's favorite aunt, until she opened her mouth. Then you got quite a blast about the glories of socialism and the dangers of capitalism. I said to myself: "Well, I've managed to step on all of the land mines," and I thought that I'd get onto a safe subject. So I started to talk about computers and their value in modernizing Tanzania. She said: "No way. Computers put people out of work, and, besides, Tanzania is about to be self-sufficient in typewriters."

Q: Oh, my!

STEPANEK: Yes, it was lovely.

Q: Well, I gather that they're going into computers now.

STEPANEK: She had one on her desk. At this stage in world history growth in Tanzania should be like India, not only assembling computers but writing the software. They're not. India has a revolution going, writing software. This is a wonderful story. I wish I knew more about it.

Q: What about the food situation in Tanzania?

STEPANEK: I would have to say that it is pretty good. Tanzania has many different "crop zones." In that climatic diversity is safety for the food supply. They have liberalized marketing, trucking, and storage controls, so I think that prices now rule more than they used to. My impression is that, although harvests are still subject to the rains, generally speaking Tanzania is in a good situation with regard to food. Tanzania came to Zambia's rescue in late 1995. The Zambian Government in Lusaka was wringing its hands over the scarcity of food at that time and turned to the traditional aid donors for help. They found that the Tanzanians had a huge harvest in Southwest Tanzania, right on the border with Zambia, as did the South Africans. So those private deals to purchase food ultimately served Zambia well. Of course, there needs to be a great deal more of such private trading.

Q: Anything else you care to mention on your Tanzanian experience?

STEPANEK: Oh, I have a lot of personal and developmental stories. Unlike in Kenya, while I was in Tanzania, I tried to get out into the country on business trips. I had the excuse of following the development of the "TAZARA" [Tanzania-Zambia] railroad and the roads. I went to Zanzibar several times in connection with the malaria control program to try to understand that myself. I went to Sokoni University two or three times to meet with people. I was involved

in emergency seed distribution and drought relief, just to see, at first hand, what the problems looked like.

I managed an office move, which was a very nice, personal experience. I pretended to handle this collegially, but the truth of the matter is that I didn't do that. I designed the floor plan in such a way that the Tanzanian staff and secretaries would have their fair share of windows and light. I enjoyed doing that for my USAID Mission. I was also able to have wood paneling installed on the walls, which looked very good. The office is in the airlines building. It was a nice experience to "map out" the space involved, so that form would follow function and seniority according to substantive criteria, and not according to whether you were American or Tanzanian.

Q: You had now become a full "manager."

STEPANEK: I did not apply this term to myself. I stopped short of dumping all of the local currency into a "Stepanek Memorial Fund," as some of my colleagues have tried to do.

RAYMOND C. EWING
Chargé d'Affaires
Dar es Salaam (1992)

Ambassador Raymond C. Ewing was born in Cleveland, Ohio in 1936. He graduated from Occidental College in 1957 with a degree in history. Ambassador Ewing's Foreign Service career included positions in Japan, Pakistan, Italy, Switzerland, Cyprus, Tanzania, and Ghana. He was interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy on November 29, 1993.

Q: Then what did you do when you left Ghana?

EWING: My wife and I had a great week, hiking in Switzerland in the Alps. Then I came back to Washington on a weekend in late August, without any idea of what I was going to do next, without any onward assignment. I went into the State Department on Monday morning to the Bureau of African Affairs. They said to me, "How would you like to go to Tanzania as chargé d'affaires for a period of time?" They said that the ambassador in Dar es Salaam, Ed DeJarnette, "Was very much needed and wanted in Angola as quickly as possible, as there would be an election there. We want him to go first as the head of the US Interests Section. We hope, eventually, that he will be chargé d'affaires and then ambassador, when full diplomatic relations are established. So we need him to leave Dar es Salaam. Pete De Vos, who has been nominated, confirmed, and actually sworn in as Ambassador to Tanzania, is not ready to go, because we need him to do a special job on Somalia. We can't let him go. There's no DCM there. When DeJarnette leaves, the chargé will be the Administrative Officer. He is due to go on R&R [Rest and Recreation] with his wife, who is the consular officer. And we'd like you to go."

I said, "Well, that sounds kind of interesting." [Few words unclear.] With regard to Tanzania I asked three things. First, how long would this assignment be? They said, "We really don't know.

Maybe till the end of the year [1992]." They had to hold on to De Vos because of Somalia. I said, "Okay." The second thing I said is that I'd like to have at least a little time to move into our house. Could I go in a few weeks instead of tomorrow? They said, "Yes, that will be fine. September should be fine." I said that I would very much like to take my wife along, if I'm going to be there for several months. They said, "Well, we think that we can arrange that, too." I said, "Fine." So I went to Tanzania for what turned out to be about two and a half months. I came back in mid-December [1992].

Q: How did you see Tanzania at that time?

EWING: In many ways Tanzania was like Ghana, but several steps behind. They were beginning to adopt an economic reform and stabilization program. They were working closely with the World Bank and the IMF. However, the privatization aspect of the program and the results of the program had not yet become apparent to the extent that they had in Ghana. On the political side they were also moving toward a more open system, including elections, but I don't recall that elections had yet been scheduled. Political parties were beginning to organize and to be active. The process was clearly behind that of Ghana.

Q: So then you came back to Washington?

EWING: Yes, I came back. It was really an interesting experience. I had never done this before. When you're a chargé, you're only there for a short time. People really don't need to take you too seriously, either in the Embassy or outside it. But I was given a good deal of respect within the Embassy. They were glad to have me there. The Embassy was very short-staffed, compared to our Embassy in Accra. It was very inadequately staffed, partly because of these vacancies, but also because the staff wasn't as good as it should have been. But the other diplomatic missions and the Government of Tanzania paid [suitable] attention to me, and I had a chance to meet with the President and various other officials before I left. I had contacts with the other ambassadors. I came back in mid-December by way of Moscow, where I had a chance to visit our son, who was doing graduate work.

End of reader