COMPLICITY, RESISTANCE AND AMBIGUENCE IN TANZANIAN LITERATURE: A POSTCOLONIAL READING OF TANZANIAN SELECTED TEXTS.

A THESIS

Presented as Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement to Obtain the Magister Humaniora (M. Hum.) in English Language Studies

By

Juma D. Imamu

Student Number: 176332015

THE GRADUATE PROGRAMME OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE STUDIES
SANATA DHARMA UNIVERSITY
YOGYAKARTA
2019
COMPPLICITY, RESISTANCE AND AMBIGUITY IN TANZANIAN LITERATURE: A POSTCOLONIAL READING OF TANZANIAN SELECTED TEXTS.

A THESIS

Presented as Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement to Obtain the Magister Humaniora (M. Hum.) in English Language Studies

By

Juma D. Imamu

Student Number: 176332015

THE GRADUATE PROGRAMME OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE STUDIES
SANATA DHARMA UNIVERSITY
YOGYAKARTA
2019
COMPLICITY, RESISTANCE AND AMBIVALENCE IN
TANZANIAN LITERATURE: A POSTCOLONIAL READING OF
TANZANIAN SELECTED TEXTS.

By

Juma D. Imamu
Student Number: 176332015

Approved by

Paulus Sarwoto Ph.D.
Thesis Advisor

A THESIS

COMPPLICITY, RESISTANCE AND AMBIVALENCE IN TANZANIAN LITERATURE: A POSTCOLONIAL READING OF TANZANIAN SELECTED TEXTS.

Presented by
Juma D. Imamu
Student Number: 176332015

Defended before the Thesis Committee
And Declared Acceptable

THESIS COMMITTEE

Chairperson : Novita Dewi, M.S., M.A. (Hons), Ph.D.

Secretary : Paulus Sarwoto, Ph.D.

Members : 1. Tatang Iskarna, Ph.D.
2. Sri Mulyani, Ph.D.

Yogyakarta, May 9, 2019

The Graduate Program Director
Sanata Dharma University

Dr. G. Budi Subanar, SJ
STATEMENT OF WORK ORIGINALITY

This is to certify that all ideas, phrases, sentences, unless otherwise stated, are the ideas, and sentences of the thesis writer. The writer understands the full consequences including degree cancellation if he took somebody else’s ideas, phrases, or sentences without proper references.


Juma D. Imamu.
LEMBAR PERNYATAAN PERSETUJUAN PUBLIKASI KARYA ILMIAH UNTUK KEPENTINGAN AKADEMIS

Yang bertanda tangan di bawah ini, saya mahasiswa Universitas Sanata Dharma:

Nama : Juma D. Imamu
NIM : 176332015

Demi pengembangan ilmu pengetahuan, saya memberikan kepada Perpustakaan Universitas Sanata Dharma karya ilmiah saya yang berjudul:

COMPLICITY, RESISTANCE AND AMBIVALENCE IN TANZANIAN LITERATURE: A POSTCOLONIAL READING OF TANZANIAN SELECTED TEXTS

Beserta perangkat yang diperlukan (bila ada). Dengan demikian saya memberikan kepada Perpustakaan Universitas Sanata Dharma hak untuk menyimpan, mengalihkan dalam bentuk media lain, mengelolanya dalam bentuk pangkalan data, mendistribusikan secara terbatas, dan mempublikasikannya di internet atau media lain untuk kepentingan akademis tanpa perlu meminta ijin dari saya maupun memberikan royalty kepada saya selama tetap mencantumkan nama saya sebagai penulis.

Demikian pernyataan ini yang saya buat dengan sebenarnya.

Dibuat di Yogyakarta


Yang menyatakan

[Signature]

Juma D. Imamu
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I thank God for His blessing and guidance for the accomplishment of my thesis. I give my gratitude toward my thesis advisor, Paulus Sarwoto, Ph.D for his insight, help, and correction during the writing of this thesis. I also thank my lecturers in English Language Studies especially Dra. Novita Dewi, MS., M.A. (Hons), Ph.D, Dr. Mukarto, M.S, Dr. BB. Dwijatmoko, MA, and Dr. J. Bismoko for their guidance during my study in English Language Study Programme, Sanata Dharma University. Through their classes and discussions, I learned a lot.

Special thanks to my late parents Imamu Daudi Mdoe and Leah Imamu for their parenting and bringing me up to becoming who I am right now. I also would like to thank my aunt, Asma Daud and my best friend Salome Michael for their tireless motivation and company, even though we are physically apart but my frequent communication with them made me feel cherished and cared for especially in my first time experience as a student in a foreign country.

Many thanks are also attributed toward my friends in English Language Studies especially Elizabeth Thadeus Mashao and B Class of 2017. I would like to thank my friends in literature class Mike Chandra, Gregorious Subanti, Dian Windri, Christiana Anandya, Antonius Yo and Elizabeth Mashao. I would also like to thank my seniors Gerald John Mallya, Mas Adit, Mas Indra and Desca for their advices at different points of my thesis. Lastly, I would also like to thank Mbak Marni, administrative staff of ELS and the international office of Sanata Dharma University.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE .................................................................................................................................................. i

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE ......................................................................................................................... ii

THESIS DEFENCE APPROVAL PAGE .......................................................................................................... iii

STATEMENT OF WORK ORIGINALITY ...................................................................................................... iv

LEMBAR PERNYATAAN PERSETUJUAN PUBLIKASI KARYA ILMIAH UNTUK KEPENTINGAN AKADEMIS .................................................................................................................. v

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .............................................................................................................................. vi

TABLE OF CONTENTS .................................................................................................................................. vii

ABSTRACT .................................................................................................................................................... x

CHAPTER I .................................................................................................................................................. 1

INTRODUCTION ........................................................................................................................................ 1

A. Complicity and Resistance in Tanzanian Literature ............................................................................. 2

B. Structure of the Study ............................................................................................................................. 13

CHAPTER II ............................................................................................................................................... 15

POSTCOLONIAL THEORY AND TANZANIAN COLONIAL EXPERIENCE ...................................................... 15

A. Tanzania’s Colonial Experience in a Nutshell ...................................................................................... 15
B. Privileged Position of Indians and Arabs in Colonial Tanganyika and Zanzibar

C. Academic Standing of the Texts under Discussion

D. Orientalism and its Manifestation in Tanzania

CHAPTER III

TANZANIANS’ COMPLICITY WITH COLONIALISM

A. Colonial Complicity

B. Dependency Complex

CHAPTER IV

TANZANIANS’ RESISTANCE AGAINST COLONIAL DOMINATION

A. Violent Resistance

B. Negotiation

C. Ideological Resistance

CHAPTER V

REVELATION OF AMBIVALENCE OF BOTH THE COLONIZERS AND THE COLONIZED BY THE SELECTED TEXTS

A. The Propagation of the Binary Opposition in Colonial Discourse

B. The Colonizer’s Propagation of Binary Opposition and Ambivalence

C. Ambivalence as a Loophole for Tanzanians’ Resistance

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION
ABSTRACT

This study aims at analysing alliance and resistance of Tanzanians to colonial exploitative mission as presented in four Tanzanian texts set in colonial period namely Ebrahim Hussein’s *Kinjeketile* (1970), Hamza Sokko’s *The Gathering Storm* (1977) and Shafi Adam’s *Vuta N’kuvute* (1999) and *Kuli* (1979). It further analyses how the colonial encounter resulted in ambivalence among both the colonizer and the colonized. This research finds its niche in two senses, firstly in terms of detail as it gives a detailed analysis of Tanzanians’ reaction to colonial rule and cultural aftermath of colonial encounter as reflected by the selected texts and secondly, the gap is apparent in the case of theoretical approach used since this study combines four theories namely Edward Said’s Orientalism, Homi Bhabha’s ambivalence, Louis Althusser’s state ideology and Michael Foucault’s power and knowledge. The combination of the four theories under the umbrella of postcolonial theory gives the researcher a wide picture of power and cultural relations in colonial Tanzania and hence make the thesis of this study a worthwhile academic contribution.

This study has found out that colonial complicity and dependency complex are the two main reasons for Africans alliance to colonial rule. While some Africans are depicted allying with the colonial mission because they are trustworthy and willing partners of the colonizers, other characters submit themselves to colonial mission because they are economically dependent to the colonial system hence they have to ally in order to fit for employment and earn their daily bread. Depiction of Africans’ resistance to colonial rule in the selected texts are manifested in three ways: Violence, negotiation and ideological manifestations. However, nature and extent of violence differ from one text to another. Their differences are determined by nature of the European colonizer that the text is depicting, how long has the colonizer stayed in a colony, and nature of the natives depicted in the text.

The selected texts depict various ways that the colonizers propagate their sense of superiority hence placing race, culture and everything that concern the identity of the colonizer and the colonized into two binary oppositions. As a result the colonizer ridicule and subjugate the culture of the colonized. However, ambivalence comes as the colonizers, in the process to propagate their superiority, make actions or exhibit kind of reasoning (thoughts) that contradict with propagation of their superiority or contradict with their holy books and teachings that they themselves use as the justification for their superiority. Ambivalence also comes as the colonizers try to make European replicas out of the colonized Africans, however, that replicas should not be as westernized as the westerners themselves hence they create a thought and actions that is contradicting, hence ambivalence.
ABSTRAK


Kumpulan teks ini menggambarkan berbagai cara yang digunakan penjajah untuk menyebarkan superioritas mereka sehingga menempatkan ras, kebudayaan, dan segala hal yang berhubungan dengan identitas penjajah dan terjajah menjadi oposisi biner. Sebagai akibatnya, penjajah merendahkan dan menundukkan kebudayaan masyarakat Afrika yang terjajah. Ambivalensi muncul seiring penjajah dalam proses menyebarkan superioritas mereka, melakukan tindakan atau menunjukkan semacam penalaran (pemikiran) yang bertentangan dengan penyebaran superioritas atau buku-buku dan ajaran-ajaran kitab suci mereka yang digunakan sebagai justifikasi atas sensasi superioritas tersebut. Ambivalensi juga muncul seiring penjajah mencoba untuk membuat replika Eropa dalam dunia orang-orang Afrika yang terjajah. Meskipun demikian, replika tersebut tidak sama dengan replika yang dibuat Eropa sendiri; dengan demikian, penjajah menciptakan pikiran dan tindakan yang bertentangan yang akibatnya mengarah kepada ambivalensi tadi.

PLAGIAT MERUPAKAN TINDAKAN TIDAK TERPUJI
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The primary goal of colonization of Africa by Western Europe was economic exploitation. Africans were exploited in multitude of forms from forced labour in mining, plantations, infrastructure construction, and processing industries to working in white collar jobs and fighting as soldiers in European wars such as WWI and WWII. European colonial regimes managed to subject Africans to these forms of exploitation since they took control of the most important device which is power. This fact made African colonial subjects politically, socially, economically, and culturally weak over Europe. In view of this study, all kinds of racism, legal oppression and suppression, humiliation, political and military operations in African colonies and Tanganyika in particular were done with one central focus and that was to create conducive environment; discourse, for smooth, successful and maximum realization of Europeans colonial supreme motive which was economic exploitation.

Literary texts by writers from former colonized nations tend to reflect this discourse. This study aims at analysing alliance and resistance of Africans as presented in four Tanzanian texts set in colonial time: One play named Kinjeketile 1 authored by Ebrahim Hussein (1970); three novels named The Gathering Storm by Hamza Sokko (1977); Vuta N’kuvute 2 (1999) and Kuli 3 (1979) both authored by Shafi Adam Shafi. The study also goes further by analysing how the colonial

---

1 The title and story is related to Kijeketile Bokero Ngwale who was the leader of the 1905-1907 Maji Maji resistance against German colonizers in Southern Tanganyika.
2 Vuta N’kuvute is a Swahili word for tug of war
3 Swahili word for porter
encounter resulted to ambivalence among both the colonizer and the colonized. I declare that translations of *Vuta N’kuvute* and *Kuli* in the analysis chapters are my own translations while *The Gathering Storm* is originally written in English and for *Kinjeketile* a study is using the English version by the author himself.

A. Complicity and Resistance in Tanzanian Literature

The use of literary works to depict East Africans’ reaction to colonial rule has not started with the focus to German and British colonizers. It can be traced in Swahili literary works dating as far back as 1830s with the poet called Muyaka bin Mwinyihaji from Mombasa (Topan, 2006, p. 105). By this time East African states were not in the modern countries of Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda. They were recognized in a form of city states such as Lamu, Pate, Zanzibar, Buganda, and Malindi. In the year 1828, Omani Arabs successfully took control of Zanzibar. They then aimed at expanding their areas of influence by trying to conquer other East African coastal city states. Muyaka composed a number of poems with defying of Omani invasion as the central theme. One stanza reads:

*Tumwi ukifika Zinji, Zinji la Mwana Aziza*  
*Wambile waje kwa unji, unji tutawapunguza*  
*Hawatatupiga msi jengo wakalitimiza!*  
*Wakija wakitekeza, maneno ni ufuoni.*

[O messenger! When you reach Zanzibar, the home of “Queen” Aziza,  
Tell them (the Omanis) to come in large numbers, so that we may take our toll of them.  
They will not lay the foundation of their empire here (in Mombasa) and thus complete their building (colonization of the Coast)  
If they do make good their threats we shall certainly meet them on the beaches!]

(Topan, 2006, p. 103)

This one stanza is an extract from a longer poem that was composed when the Omani had already conquered Zanzibar and so Muyaka writes to demonstrate resistance of people of Mombasa. He appeals to the indigenous Zanzibaris not to
ally themselves with the Omanis. He is also urging the Omani Arabs that if they want to conquer Mombasa they have to go in big numbers so that the people of Mombasa will kill them in as big number as they count.

With Topan’s study it is also discovered that the first Swahili novel though was written by African, has its themes supporting British colonial rule. James Mbotela’s *Uhuru wa Watumwa* unlike Muyaka’s poems, was written in 1934, 48 years after splitting of Africa into modern states in 1886 by Europeans. However, it shares features with Muyaka’s poems in its scope of reactions to colonial rule as it was not confined to Kenya but to East Africa in general. The novel recounts experience of slavery by the Africans and the way British people rescued them when they were on the way to being sold. The slaves were taken care of and some of them excelled to education. The novel therefore exploits the question of slavery in a way that advances the propaganda of the colonial agenda. It describes the British with positive connotations while the Swahili and Arabs are given negative connotation.

Even though the novel has received controversial reactions from East African scholars on its quality as the novel and whether it qualifies as the first novel in Swahili language, which majority of scholars do not accept but the position accorded to it by British colonial government makes it a significant text as far as the topic of reaction of Tanzanians to colonial rule is concerned. Topan (2006, p. 107) argues that despite its lack of literary elegance, it was made a reader in schools, entailing numerous reprints and editions over the years. It was later
translated into English by C. G. Richards as *The Freeing of the Slaves in East Africa* who paid glowing tribute to the book’s literary status.

Given the reference to Mbotela and Muyaka’s works, it is realised that the literary depiction of East African’s reaction to the domination by outsiders is as old as colonialism of the region itself. This depiction has proved its importance from the very beginning of European colonization of Tanzania since they were used to inspire patriotism and anti-colonial spirit. The study by Gunderson (2013) highlights the part played by popular literature and culture as far as the topic of Tanzanian’s reaction to colonial rule is concerned. His study demonstrates a series of music-related vignettes that were used by Africans in the resistance against German and British colonial rules especially in Sukuma speaking region from the late 1900s to the early 1960s. One of examples cited in his study is that of the Sukuma composer Kalikali Ng’wana Mbagule whom he describes as the fearless commentator who used his songs to present his anti-colonial message. Kalikali whose one of songs is “Bazungu Shetani” (The Whites are devils) had composed hundreds of songs, several of which have been cited as being instrumental in rallying supporters for Julius Nyerere in his successful bid for the Tanzanian presidency, which put an end to the British colonial era in 1961 (Gunderson, 2013, p. 161).

Examples from Mbotela, Muyaka and Kalikali’s works highlight the way literary depictions of colonial reality affect both the ruling techniques by the colonizers as well as the reactions by the colonized in Tanzania. Literary works are not mere imaginations of their writers but the imagination and re-imagination
that are aimed at making the readers reflect their past and present reality for the better present and future generations. Literary works foreground important historical facts for people to learn from them and hence keep reminding the people on the lessons that ought not to be forgotten. Greenstein (2010) points out that Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the leader of freedom movement in Tanganyika was also inspired by prophet led movements like Maji Maji which swept people into unity and provided a foundation for later national unity (p. 66). However, the important question comes, if such movements have already played such important part in the history of the nation, is it still relevant to discuss their literary interpretation? Kinjeketile, for example, which is also the text being analyzed on this study was written in 1969 addressing the MajiMaji experience referred by Greenstein. In my view, this topic is still important since it gives the Tanzanian community a chance to reflect on their history and experience of colonialism which is important for dealing with the current challenges as colonialism did not end with flag independence in 1961. There are still social, political and economic constraints that stem from colonial experience. This fact has also led to the writing of other literary works that address the case of colonial experience by Tanzanians and the way they respond to it.

This entails the importance of the topic in the literature of the region since colonialism as the historical fact has its effects influencing lives of the former colonized nations demonstrated in terms of individuals among themselves in their own countries as well as the political and economic relations between the former colonizers and the former colonized nations. Having such importance the topic
has also been addressed in literary works aimed for children. The author Mugwabuki Mulokozi, for example has two novellas addressing the issue. Such works are *Ngome ya Mianzi* and *Moto wa Mianzi* which are imaginary but also borrow from the historical events of anti-colonial struggle in the Hehe speaking community in southern highlands of Tanganyika in the final decade of nineteenth century and the first decade of twentieth century.

*Ngome ya Mianzi* is set in the year 1891 in South Eastern highlands of Tanganyika in Uhehe. A boy and a girl called Mugoha and Nyawelu are sent to the far village to summon a midwife for their mother who is facing prenatal complications. The old woman accept the call and goes with them to help their mother. However, on their way back home they realize that the road is blocked by the Dutch soldiers who have invaded and try to take Uhehe as their colony. The boy have to go back home to report on the invasion of their country and save their mother’s life. He is successfully making his way to the village and inform about the existence of an alien army in their village, the war drum is beaten and soldiers are summoned for the war against the Dutch. The war is fought and the Hehe soldiers win before dawn. The little Mugoha is credited for his bravely that saved the village.

*Moto wa Mianzi* on the other hand is like a continuation of *Ngome ya Mianzi* where the main characters are still Mugoha and Nyawelu but this time they are with the child called Semuganga whose mother passed on in the story of *Ngome ya Mianzi*. It depicts the invasion of the Kalenga fort in the year 1894. The chief of the Hehe, Mkwawa, flees to his father’s place in the county of Wanyigendo.
Mugoha, Nyawelu and Semuganga are given the responsibility to escort the Chief to the village of Wanyigendo. The story depicts the challenges they face on their way until they get caught by the Dutch army and the efforts shown by the Wanyigendo and Hehe to freeing the Chief and finally drive the Dutch out of their country.

The Children’s novellas add to the discussion of the Tanganyikan’s resistance to colonial rule as they depict Africans fighting as the defenders of the Uhehe kingdom while some other Africans are also fighting on the side of the Dutch invaders. The fact that the novellas are written for children readers implies the importance of the topic of reactions of Tanzanians as the symbol of patriotism and nationalism to young generation. Given importance of resistance to colonialism some scholars went far to theorizing the matter. One of the theories is negritude movement which was pioneered by Lepard Senghor, Aime Cesaire, and Leon Damas. The theory does not only emphasize on fighting colonialism but also fighting cultural impacts of colonialism to black people all over the world and urge them to reverting to their former pre-colonial African cultural practices. Even though the theory has been challenged by many scholars but it still offers a good picture of how far the colonized especially Africans can go in their fight against colonialism. On the same case, Gayatri Spivak’s “Can the Subaltern Speak?” adds up the list of theories on anticolonial domination. Coming back to Mulokozi’s two novellas, the novellas highlight the intrinsic value of the topic to raising awareness and patriotism to the young generation by teaching them practical patriotism through literary works.
Topan and Greenstein studies do not give satisfactory depiction of the topic. Although their studies focus on the reactions by Tanzanians to colonial rule but the intensity of their explanation is not satisfactory comparing to the importance of the topic. Topan is not specifically focusing on this topic but he touches the topic as he describes the reasons to why Swahili writers write. This makes his study to disregard some important issues. Greenstein on the other hand leaves a gap for this study since his study has a focus on popular culture in the Sukuma speaking region. Therefore this research finds its niche in two senses, firstly in terms of detail as this study is giving a detailed analysis of Tanzanians’ reaction to colonial rule and cultural aftermath of colonial encounter as reflected by the selected texts and secondly, the gap is apparent in the case of theoretical approach used since this study is combining four theories namely Edward Said’s Orientalism, Homi Bhabha’s ambivalence, Louis Althusser’s state ideology and Michael Foucault’s power and knowledge.

This study uses four Tanzanian texts set in colonial period as its object of study: one play entitled *Kinjeketile* by Ebrahim Hussein (1970); three novels: *The Gathering Storm* by Hamza Sokko (1977); *Vuta N’kuvute* [Tug of War] (1999) and *Kuli* [Porter] (1979) both authored by Shafi Adam Shafi. The four texts are chosen because they are considered as ones that give a proper reflection of both German and British colonial discourses in Tanzania. In combination, the texts offer variety of major colonial features such as divide and rule, land alienation, military expedition as well as religious and educational brainwashes used by colonial governments to earn the consents of Africans submission to colonial
economic, political and social subjugation. They also portray different means of alliance and resistance as reactions of Tanzanians towards such colonial discourse. Another reason is that the four texts perfectly cover the history of colonialism in Tanzania in both temporal and spatial terms. *Kinjeketile* covers the earlier colonial experience in Tanganyika under German rule while *Vuta N’kuvute, The Gathering Storm* and *Kuli* cover the latter colonial experience under British rule. In terms of geographical coverage, *Kinjeketile* and *The Gathering Storm* are set in mainland Tanzania while *Kuli* and *Vuta N’kuvute* are set in Zanzibar.

This study is set to meet three objectives which are to analyse the means and reasons of Tanzanian’s alliance to colonialism as depicted in the selected texts, to analyse the means and reasons of Tanzanian’s resistance against colonialism as depicted by the selected texts and lastly, to examine the way depiction of colonial encounter in the selected texts reveal ambivalence of both the colonizers and the colonized.

To meet the set objectives, this study focuses on answering three questions. Question number one is how the selected texts interrogate Africans’ alliance with the colonial rules? European colonizers would not be successful in their exploitative endeavours in Africa if it was not for support they got from some Africans. Different historical and anthropological studies address this issue of African’s alliance. Pesek (2007) finds that German colonial government was characterized by deficiency in the number of European officials hence it was necessary to find some African allies to make the colonial mission possible while Monson (1998) finds that German colonizers in Tanganyika allied with the
natives due to two reasons; lack of manpower and lack of knowledge of the environment. On the part of Africans, different motives triggered them to ally with colonizers. Studies done by Malloy (2014) and Stoner-Eby (2008) reveal that Africans collaborated with European colonizers due to fantasy of power while Andrew Zimmerman (2006) reveals that some African leaders had their political influence uninterrupted yet they collaborated with German colonial government in Tanganyika by shifting from areas which were under the domination of other colonial powers to German East Africa for reasons such as bad climatic condition or handsome financial benefits that the particular leader was offered.

The second question; how the texts interrogate Africans’ resistance to colonialism? The study by Pesek (2007) reveals that Africans’ resistant reactions to colonialism in Tanganyika were apparent at the very first stages of colonialism. He gives an example of resistance experienced by Carl Peters, a German explorer who wanted to establish the new German colony in Tanganyika under his company, German East Africa company (GEACO). Local population boycotted every attempt of the company to establish any sort of economic or political control; they rebelled openly and militantly (p. 245).

Of all the resistant incidents in colonial Tanzania Maji Maji resistance has attracted attention of many scholars. Monson (1998), Zimmerman (2006), and Rushobora (2017) have made it their major discussion in their studies while Rodney (1972) discussed it as an example in his discussion on African resistance. Different from this study, Zimmerman’s study discusses Maji Maji from the perspective of the field of anthropology. He finds that the major causes of uprising
were forced cotton growing as well as forced labour demands by German agriculture. Gunderson (2013) enlightens that Music and dance was also used as the means of resistance. His study is set in the Sukuma speaking community where all Sukuma labour associations had a seasonal recreational component that highlighted dance and dance competitions. Harshness of the German and British colonial policies further provoked Sukuma labour musicians to turn their musical play into a form of protest (Gunderson, 2013, p. 165).

Therefore this study analyses how the selected literary works imagine such facts of alliance and resistance to colonialism by Tanzanians. The two questions will be answered by reading the texts with postcolonial perspective specifically by using ideas from Edward Said’s Orientalism together with Michael Foucault’s power and knowledge and Louis Althusser’s state ideology.

Question number three is how the depiction of colonial encounter in the selected texts reveal ambivalence of both the colonizer and the colonized? Whenever people of two different cultures meet there must always be two way effects in terms of culture. However, the colonizers have propagated their culture as superior to that of the colonized. Through different means the colonizers have created an impression that the culture of the colonized is inferior and barbaric and therefore, to be deemed civilized, the colonized people should adapt cultural artefacts of the colonizers.

The colonized demonstrate ambivalence as they are adhering to the colonizers tactic of mimicry, so they tend to adapt the cultural artefacts of the colonizers. however, such mimicry becomes ambivalent in two senses, firstly,
some of the natives mimic the colonizers as the means to weaken colonialism while others mimic the colonizers culture while at the same time embrace their own African culture which contradict each other. On the part of the colonizers, ambivalence is also demonstrated in two ways. Firstly it is the contradicting will as far as Europeanization of Africans is concerned, the colonizers want the colonized to leave their culture and adapt the culture of the colonizers. However, they do not want the colonized to be typical Europeanised. The second demonstration of ambivalence by the colonizers is the way they find themselves consciously or unconsciously adapting cultural artefacts of the colonized which they use their own time and resources to prove it’s uncivilized and barbarity states. Having a trace of such cultural encounter in the history of Tanzania, question number three of this study is aimed at analysing how such reality is imagined by the writers of the selected texts. Homi Bhabha’s theory of ambivalence and Edward Said’s Orientalism are used in addressing this specific question.

There are both practical and theoretical benefits from this research. Theoretically, this thesis is expected to enrich discussion on colonial power discourse in Africa in broader sense and Tanzania in particular. It is hoped that this thesis can broaden the knowledge of other scholars on how the study of colonial power discourse enriches Tanzanian postcolonial literature especially as the topic has been relatively unexplored in literary studies comparing to other fields such as history and anthropology. Practically, the study of the four
Tanzanian colonial texts can increase the prominence of Tanzanian literature, and assert that Tanzanian literature is also worth studying in postcolonial field.

B. Structure of the Study

This study has a total of six chapters. Chapter one is an introduction to this study, it gives the background of the topic of reflection of reactions of Tanzanians to colonial rule as reflected in various literary works. The chapter is then pointing out the importance of this topic and the niche left out by the previous studies. The chapter further states research questions, research objectives and finally the benefits of this particular study.

Chapter two is about the applicability of postcolonial theory in the Tanzanian colonial experience. It makes a consolidation of the actual history of Tanzania and how such history apply in the major propositions of postcolonial theory together with Foucault’s power and knowledge and Althusser’s state ideology as the two theories used to further contextualize postcolonial theory with the question of Tanzanians’ reaction to colonialism. The chapter also offers a review of some studies which have included literary works which are under discussion in this study. The aim of doing such review is to trace the academic reputation of the selected texts and prove that they are worth this discussion.

Chapter three answers question number one which is about the how and why of the depiction of Tanzanian’s alliance to the colonial rule in the selected texts. Chapter four answers question number two which is about the reasons and means used by Tanzanians to resist colonialism as depicted in the selected texts. Chapter five addresses question number three that asks on how colonial encounter depicted in the selected texts leads to ambivalence on both the colonizers and the
colonized. Lastly, chapter six does conclusion of the study by giving an overview of the whole study and recommendations for further studies.
CHAPTER II
POSTCOLONIAL THEORY AND TANZANIAN COLONIAL EXPERIENCE

This part is aimed at proving that the study in question is researchable and also worth studying. This is done by reviewing some academic studies that have incorporated some literary texts which are also used in this study. By doing so, this study proves that the texts under discussion are worth academic discussion. On top of reviewing such studies, the current study states the gap that the previous studies have left which is going to be covered by the current study.

This chapter also gives an appraisal of colonial history of Tanzania before shifting to the review of the theory of orientalism which will be used as the theoretical basis of this study. By including the review of colonial experience in Tanzania, the chapter makes it possible for the readers to understand how apparent the main propositions of postcolonial theory are in the colonial history of Tanzania and hence its possibility in analysing Tanzanian literary texts set in colonial period.

A. Tanzania’s Colonial Experience in a Nutshell

The whole process of exploring, establishing and running colonial rule in Africa was primarily economic rather than humanitarian and therefore aimed at exploitation rather than civilization as is advocated by the proponents of colonialism. European companies were seeking for places where they could get raw materials for their industries at a cheaper price, Africa was their answer and so the scramble for Africa began. In the 1884 Berlin conference, this
scramble came to a head when the European economic powers partitioned Africa, not for Africa’s development but for Europe’s motive of exploitation (Rushohora, 2017, p. 481).

The preamble to colonial occupation was a series of treaties between European colonial agents and African rulers aimed at legitimizing colonization in accordance to international law and mark the region as a sphere of influence against European rivals (Pesek, 2007, p. 244). Since the primary purpose of colonialism is economic exploitation some other preliminary expeditions, as argued by Zimmerman (2006, p. 426) were also sent to German East Africa as experts and scientists to report on the geology, climate, soil, and vegetation.

At the time German was attempting to introduce her colonial rule, Tanganyika, like other parts of Africa, was highly underpopulated. Under such circumstance, the key to power was the access to people rather than access to territory (Pesek, 2007). This is possibly the reason to why German opted for direct over indirect rule system in many areas of Tanzania. Due to deficiency in the number of human power, administrative structures in many areas of the colony remained incomplete. German was strongest along the coast while in the interior she manifested herself in the stations (Pesek, 2007). These stations were responsible for carrying out all fundamental functions of the colonial state such as maintaining stability and collecting taxes (De Juan, 2015, p. 8). The stations in the interior had very few European officials, most often not more than three accompanied by some African troops.
Economic, social and political environment of creation of colonial discourse by Germans in Tanganyika can be explained by an agenda-cantered hypothesis which supposes that the more transformative A’s agenda, the more likely it is that A will impose a system of direct rule (Gerring, Ziblatt, Van Gorp, & Arevalo, 2011, p. 379). German’s agenda was transformative as it needed to interfere African’s economic, social, and government system and change them to suiting their imperial goals. For example, in the Sukuma speaking regions chiefs were no longer holding their positions by hereditary right but they were chosen and then manipulated by colonizers (Gunderson, 2013, p. 150). In Tanga regions between 1895 and 1905 the Germans hung chief Mputa of Kilindi since he was reluctant to accepting their terms while in the sambaa speaking areas they replaced some representatives of chiefs by Akidas and Jumbes (Huijzendveld, 2008, p. 384).

The main agenda of colonialism was economic exploitation. In order to make such agenda materialize, Germans had to create what Althusser (1970) named as relations of exploitation. To create efficient relations of exploitation colonial states had to start with what Zimmerman (2006) calls “Commodified labour power” where money economy was introduced. However, Rodney (1972, p. 28) finds that in many instances, Africans did not consider the monetary incentives great enough to validate changing their way of life so as to become blue-collar workers in colonial sectors. In such cases Germans in Tanganyika intervened by using law, taxation and absolute force to make
Africans adhere to their conditions. Landless Africans were made to work for their own survival and paying taxes.

Land alienation, forced labour and taxation were supported by legal, judicial, military, political and educational discourses. As part of legal discourse, German colonial government passed Imperial Decree of 1895 which deprived Africans of land rights declaring lands occupied by Africans as “un-owned land” (Sabea, 2008, p. 425). In Southern part of Tanganyika the colonial government introduced communal cotton schemes from 1902 that were based on systems of collective forced labour. These were also accompanied by state-sponsored economic regulations and price controls (Sunseri 2009; Larson 2010; De Juan 2015).

In his study on the first court hearing in Tanganyika under German colonial rule David Kim (2011) finds that some trials during German rule had nothing to do with finding Africans guilty rather they were intended at creating a discourse that would act as the German’s attempt to show up their power and repress anticolonial minds among Africans. Due to such agenda, German laws and courts were also characterized by double standards as some offences were deliberately left unpunished.

Andrew Zimmerman (2006) reports the case of Sultan Mataka, head of a powerful Yao group that had its strength through slave-raiding, long-distance trade, and banditry who had a plan to lead his twenty thousand subjects from Mozambique to southern Tanganyika. In accordance to the German colonial laws Sultan Mataka had to be prosecuted because of his “outlaw behaviour”
but instead in September 1900 the German colonial government concluded an agreement with the Sultan that they would give him a government salary to settle his people in southern Tanganyika and promised not to prosecute him for crimes he committed before coming to the German colony. The main reason for not prosecuting him is the huge manpower of his subjects that he would bring from Portuguese colony of Mozambique which would guarantee cheap labour in the German cotton plantations in southern Tanganyika as well as the reliable tax base.

While army, jury and law were used as repressive instruments of seizing and retaining German colonial power, religion had a tremendous influence ideologically. Missionaries as religious leaders had a great influence in penetrating western influence in religious, political and social lives of people in Tanganyika before and after the introduction of colonial rule. In southern Tanganyika, Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) had established relationship with chiefs and hence had an influence politically. But before the introduction of colonial rule their influence was limited as they were not in a position to change some key features of Africans’ cultural lives. For instance, the British missionaries were against Unyago and Jando, the Makonde cultural initiations to mark the shift of boys and girls from childhood to adulthood as they perceived it as barbaric and uncivilized practices. However, they were not in a position to avoid it as chiefs Nakamu and Matola, two chiefs in that locality were politically and military strong by then (Stoner-Eby, 2008, p. 174).
Chiefly control of initiation ceremonies was a very essential index and expression of political and ritual power. To have surrendered control of the initiation rites to British missionaries would have been to lose considerable prestige and a very real source of social control over one's people (Stoner-Eby, 2008, p. 174). Therefore it is found out that the missionaries stand against these rituals as uncivilized practices was one explicit reason but implicitly there is a mission for the grabbing, robbing and seizing of power and influence of these chiefs over their subjects; the goal which was realized with German’s full domination of the areas.

After the introduction of colonial rule European missionaries no longer needed to ally with local chiefs for security reasons; the Germans now provided security. Colonial rule provided an authority above the local chiefs to which the English missionaries could appeal in situations such as witchcraft that they were not agreeing with; that they felt were unsuitable in a European colony:

While Chief Matola and Chief Nakamu retained political authority under German rule and even greatly expanded their area of political jurisdiction, they were no longer independent agents. They now had to answer to the German Governor stationed at the coastal town of Lindi, collect taxes for him and refer all death penalty cases to him. The loss of political power by chiefs as a result of colonial rule made it possible for the church to gain control of the initiation of Christians at the expense of chiefs (Stoner-Eby, 2008, p. 175).

Having been assured of their security by German colonial governments, the European missionaries took a step forward in their Christianizing mission as they started to openly disagree with African initiation rituals, they used church platforms and African clergies to fight these practices.
Soon after German’s defeat in world war one her colonies were confiscated to the victorious powers; this brought Tanganyika under the domination of Britain. German and British colonialists had several differences in their approach to seizing and exercising of power; while German were using direct rule approach British colonial government opted for indirect rule. To ensure that their colonial discourse has maximum effects to individuals, British colonial government did not end with manipulation of representative nature of chiefs, it made a further distribution of power by creating local governments after the Second World War. This was an effort to integrate social groups that had little or no influence in local politics as teachers, government clerks, or traders into the executive branch of government. However, whatever democratic elements these reforms were intended to introduce, the aims were subordinated to economic interests (Eckert, 2004, pp. 98-99).

African chiefs and the newly established local governments were crucial for smooth securing of labour for mining and plantations. In north eastern Tanzania a Sisal Labour Bureau (SILABU) was established to recruit and regulate labour for plantations, while the part of local government in governing local populations was acknowledged in such a process (Sabea, 2008, p. 422). As local governments were used to secure labour they were also used to prevent resistant rebellions and implement the commands of top colonial officers. In Chagga speaking area for example, local chiefs were convinced to implement some restrictions on cultivation of millet as it was of no advantage to British colonial economy (Bender, 2011) while in Sukuma speaking
community, in an attempt to avoid resistance through dances the local authorities made a decision for Ngoma dancers to require permits for ngoma meetings and to subsequently fine violators (Gunderson, 2013, p. 159).

In terms of agriculture British rule terminated the expansion of settler owned plantations, and emphasized small scale production. However, land alienation was still taking place particularly for sisal plantations (Håkansson, Widgren, & Börjeson, 2008, p. 379). In Tanga region, for example, by 1924 almost 33 percent of land was alienated and only 28 percent was available for natives. On top of that the British colonial government passed the 1923 land ordinance which declared unused lands as “public lands” which gave the state the right to radical title in all lands (Sabea, 2008, p. 425).

By using propaganda through media, British colonial government could promote or disapprove crops or activities and shape the minds of Africans to incline with colonial interests. They encouraged cultivation of coffee, cotton, maize, and rice as food and market crops (Håkansson, Widgren, & Börjeson, 2008, p. 379). They used the same means to discourage cultivation of crops such as millet and sorghum. Around 1930’s in an attempt to promote maize cultivation, British colonizers discouraged cultivation of millet in Kilimanjaro. They called farmers to abandon the crop citing its inherent “immorality” (as it was used in making local liquor), its lack of market value, its likeliness to poison other crops, and its associations to water wastage and soil erosion (Bender, 2011, p. 191). However, the main reason for such discouragement is the fact that millet is not a strategic crop for British agricultural sector.
British colonial government did not only use media to spread their propaganda about crop cultivation but also they intended to affect perception of Africans on matters of ustaarabu (civilization), heshima (respectability). This was done through newspapers which were read by people such as railways workers, secondary school teachers and other professionals who were deemed as admired in their localities (Suriano, 2011, p. 41) hence whatever these individuals adapt in their social lives would also be taken by those who do not know how to read and write as a sign of modernity and civilization.

Since colonial government expected some sort of resistance especially from young people, ex-soldiers and African elites it also used media as well as formal and informal education to get rid of it. Colonial government gave priority to African WWII ex-soldiers who came from different parts of the world (Eckert, 2004, p. 103). However, the hidden motive is to brainwash their minds as it was dangerous if they could raise anti-colonial movements.

Police, army, and court of law were used to reinforce colonial goals. Stacey Hynd (2008, p. 404) finds that Penal violence was used with the aim of moulding Africans into obedient subjects. Hynd argues that throughout the colonial period in British Africa, the primary aim and function of the death penalty was one of deterrence rather than retribution against an individual; an execution was a didactic measure seeking to discourage others from challenging colonial mandate. This is evident in the way it was conducted where the condemned criminals were often executed in public before the assembled indigenous communities to maximize the spectators.
Exploitation of Africa and Africans could not be possible without the creation of necessary colonial discourse which gave and guaranteed power to the colonizers. To address the mechanism of this discourse in Tanzanian literary texts set in colonial time, this study uses postcolonial theories of as its theoretical base.

B. Privileged Position of Indians and Arabs in Colonial Tanganyika and Zanzibar

The history of Arabs in Zanzibar dates as back as tenth century. However, the year 1698 marks an important turning point as Zanzibar became part of the overseas holdings of Oman, falling under the control of the Sultan of Oman. The height of Arab rule in Zanzibar came during the reign of Sultan Seyyid Said who moved his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar in the year 1840. By using slave labour, he established a ruling Arab elite and encouraged the development of clove plantations. Said encouraged Indian business people to settle in Zanzibar which resulted into falling of Zanzibar’s commerce into the hands of Indian traders. The growing interest of European empires over Africa led the British Empire to gradually take over the influence in Zanzibar. This became formal by the year 1890 Helgoland-Zanzibar Treaty which secured the interest of British Empire in Zanzibar against their counterparts especially German. Britain ruled Zanzibar through the Arab Sultan as a vizier. From 1913 until independence in 1963, the British appointed their own governors.

In Zanzibar by this time the colonizers deliberately created three racial groups i.e. the whites, the Arabs and Indians as well as the Africans. The concept of
social division of labour as suggested by Althusser\footnote{Althusser sees division of labour as a social division and not racial division. However this study contextualizes Althusser’s argument to postcolonial theory which sees this division as racial division used to further unequal distribution of power and resources between the colonizer and the colonized} is reflected in this racial classes where the whites dominated decision making positions such as District commissions, governors, and jury. The Arabs and Indians were the overseers (not owners) of big business, they owned middle size business such as wholesale and retail shops while the Africans owned nothing but their physical power that they had to sell to the whites and Indians for them to earn their living.

Several studies have addressed the case of privileged position of Indians in the colonial history of Tanzania. Kalliney (2008, p. 7) attribute it to the Indians business experience in the coast of East Africa dating several years before the intrusion of Europeans. Therefore Asians had more skills and knowledge about how to conduct business in the region. They had more practical information and resources at their disposal, and they also possessed various commercial skills which Europeans lacked. Being aware of all these, German and British colonizers decided to exploit their knowledge by letting them act as their middle-men and labour recruiters.

This case is also addressed in literary works of East African Indian writers like Moyez Vassanji and Jameela Siddiqi. Vassanji’s two novels “The Book of Secrets” and “The Gunny of Sack” suggest that the privileged position that East African Asians had in the colonial time was ambivalent. The texts exhibit the success of colonial interpellation of East African Asians as subjects of empire who believed in the superiority of the colonizers and powerlessness of the
colonized. The texts also depict the panic that these East African Asians exhibit at the time Tanzania gained her independence which led most of their first generation to departure from East Africa (Simatei, 2011, pp. 60-61). This also explains why few Asians supported the Tanganyika African Union (TANU) by the time of independence struggle (Steiner, 2011, p. 133).

C. Academic Standing of the Texts under Discussion

The selected texts used in this study are not taken from the vacuum. They are literary texts reflecting situations in Tanzania and therefore they have also been studied by other Tanzanian scholars and other scholars beyond the borders of Tanzania. This gives an impression that the texts are worth scholarly attention. The following few paragraphs elaborate studies that have used the selected texts as the objects of their study:

Wafula (2013) uses four Kiswahili novels namely: *Vuta n’kuvute* (Shafi, 1999), *Kufa Kuzikana* (Walibora, 2003), *Kipimo cha Mizan* (Burhani, 2004) and *Tumaini* (Momanyi, 2006) to examine how narrative voice and focalization strategies are organised in the narration of the theme of generational conflict. Her study has several findings; firstly, two novels, *Vuta N’kuvute* and *Kufa Kuzikana* capture inter-generational conflicts on ethnic/racial prejudice, political ideology and governance; secondly, most of the inter-generational conflicts are presented from the protagonists’ ideological position. She gives an example of Yasmin and Denge in *Vuta N’kuvute* as the vehicles through which the implied author’s ideology is conveyed.
Another finding is that inter-generational conflicts on ethnic prejudice in *Kufa Kuzikana* and racial discrimination in *Vuta N’kuvute* are politically motivated adding that the social, political and economic contexts in which the novels are written and read expose a political struggle between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have not’ in the depicted communities. The study also reveals that the four authors have been influenced by their respective gender and historical backgrounds in the narration of specific generational conflicts. Wafula has used *Vuta N’kuvute* as one of her texts to be analysed but her study differs from this study in two senses firstly she uses narratology as her theory while this study uses postcolonial theoretical standpoint. Secondly, Wafula’s study focusses on depiction of generational conflicts in the texts while this study analyses on how the texts depict alliance and resistance to colonial rule.

On his Ph.D thesis Kisurulia (2012) does analysis of the rendering of point of view and the meaning of such rendering in selected Kiswahili texts namely: *Utubora Mkulima* (Shaaban Robert), *Rosa Mistika* (E. Kezilahabi), *Walenisi* (Katama G. C. Mkangi), *Vuta n’Kuvute* (Shafi A. Shafi), *Babu Alipofufuka* (Said Ahmed Mohammed), *Nguvu ya Sala* (K. W. Wamitila) and *Kufa Kuzikana* (Ken Walibora). His study covered four planes of point of view namely: phraseological, ideological, perceptual and psychological as well as the two main types of point view (internal and external). His study comes up with several findings first, All aspects of point of view are existing in Kiswahili novels although some are accorded more emphasis than others by different writers. Second, Perceptual and psychological points of view are equally pervasive in Kiswahili novels while
phraseological plane is less pervasive compared to the two. Third, whereas most planes of point of view are explicitly and frequently used in Kiswahili novels, the ideological plane in most cases is implicit and not obtrusively used. Kisurulilia’s study has also used *Vuta N’kuvute* but his study differs from the present study. While his study focuses on how Kiswahili texts make use of point of view, this study focuses on how African characters in the novel reacted upon the discourse of power established by colonizers.

Adam (2014) used psychoanalysis, semiotic theories and functionalism in analysing *Kuli* and *Vuta N’kuvute*. The study finds that the most recurring themes in *Vuta N’kuvute* are classes in the society, forced marriage and generosity while in *Kuli*, wisdom, the importance of education, poverty, culture and its transformation, social liberation and reproductive issues are the most recurring themes. The research also finds that artistic techniques used by the writer in his presentation of intent are narratives, subtitles, tactics, phrases, quotes, pictures, motives and letter usage. Adam’s study use *Kuli* and *Vuta N’kuvute*, which are also used in the present study but this study differ from that of Adam since Adam’s study focuses on social and cultural themes from the two texts while the current study is focusing on how actions by African characters in the two texts demonstrate alliance or resistance of such characters to colonial discourse.

Wakota (2014) incorporates the text, *The Gathering Storm, Kuli* and *Vuta N’kuvute* in the study that examines the fictional representation of gender relations in novels set during five historical periods in Tanzania – the pre-colonial, colonial, nationalism, Ujamaa, and the current neoliberal period. Wakota’s study observes
the following issues in relation to the depiction of gender relations: Firstly, gender relations in the traditional society are largely shaped by patriarchal kinship practices which regulate the entire society in the pre-colonial period. Secondly, in the other eras (colonial, nationalist, Ujamaa and post Ujamaa), in addition to gender relations being shaped by patriarchy, the state (both the colonial and the post-independence state policies) is portrayed as being the major factor that shapes gender relations. Thirdly, due to endless borrowing and interaction between the pre-colonial, colonial and Ujamaa periods, there is no radical change in gender relations. Lastly, the study has demonstrated that gender relations, in all the temporal settings, are about restoration of the past and or transformation of the existing gender relations. However, Wakota’s study differ from the current study in the sense that Wakota’s study analyses gender relations in the sampled texts while this study analyses alliance and resistance of African characters to the colonial discourse of power.

Kinjekitile was included as a sample for analysis by Fadhili (2014). His study uses library, interview and questionnaire to gather information on the differences and similarities in authorial norms of the authors of the two plays i.e Morani and Kinjekitile. The research found that the two authors differ in creative techniques. Also the two texts presents the history of Tanzania in two different historical periods. Morani presents history in the post-independence period so it discusses the history of neo-colonial era while Kinjekitile is set in colonial era hence it presents the African’s anti-colonial struggle. The study also found that the two playwrights are similar in presenting content of their work where they both
discuss various issues in society namely; corruption, liberation movement, betrayal, exploitation and oppression.

Fadhili’s study differ from the current study since it makes comparative analysis of Morani and Kinjekitle focusing on the style using stylistics as his theory while this study focuses on the alliance and resistance of Africans to colonial discourse. Although Fadhili’s study touches the issue of resistance at some point, his focus is different from this one as the two studies differ in their theoretical approach of the topic; this study views the resistance in the eye of power and knowledge, state ideology, and postcolonial theories of orientalism and ambivalence while Fadhili’s study looks at the resistance with historicism as its theory.

Two of the selected texts are written in English while the other two are written in Swahili. This raises the question of language as far as Tanzanian literature is concerned. Tanzanian literature is predominantly written in Swahili. Wakota (2017) shares his views on why Swahili is the dominant language in literature of Tanzania comparing to English. He mentions factors like the country’s shifts in political and economic ideologies especially with Arusha declaration which advocated self-reliance of the country. This went hand in hand with the country’s efforts to promote writing in Swahili language. He gives an example of Gabriel Ruhumbika who started his writing carrier by writing in English before shifting to Swahili as a support for the Ujamaa course (52). Another factor mentioned by Wakota is the role of Tanzania’s publishing industry where the government monopolized publishing industry in the sixties and seventies through the
Tanzania Publishing House (TPH) which most adversely affected literary works written in English because they were written in a language with colonial implications. Another factor is readership. Since Tanzania is predominantly a Kiswahili state, majority of Tanzanians do not have access to the fiction written in English. This has negative impact on the markets for the texts in English. As a result, authors and the publishing industry in general favoured the Kiswahili literary works because they were easily sold to Kiswahili speakers (52).

According to Wafula (2013) the linguistic situation in Tanzania has led to the trend of self-translation where writers translate their own works into another language (p. 62). Examples are William Mkufya who wrote *Wicked Walk* (1977) in English and later translated it into Swahili under the title *Kizazi Hiki* (1980); Aldin Mutembei's *Kisiki Kikavu* (2005) was later translated into *Dry Stump* (2009); and Paschally Mayega wrote *Mwalimu Mkuu wa Watu* (2003) and later translated it into *The People’s Schoolmaster* (2004). The same is the case with Ebrahim Hussein whose play *Kinjeketile* written in 1968 was later translated from Swahili to English by Hussein himself in 1970.

Fieback (1997) enlightens that gaining mass readership was one of the reason for Hussein's decision to translate *Kinjeketile* as it sold more than 20,000 copies within few months and it later became a secondary school textbook (p. 24). However, the English translated version of *Kinjeketile* has raised academic interest of some scholars as far as translation as a discipline is concerned. Kuloba (2013) investigates inadequacies made by translators in translating literal texts with specific reference to the English Version of *Kinjeketile*. Her study comes up...
with the following findings. Firstly, the difference in culture between the SL and the TL makes the process of translating a real challenge and therefore lead to inadequacy. Secondly, a translated text can be inadequate if the subject and the theme of the ST is missing or if the translator has not captured the skopos or purpose of translation. Another finding is that there are additions in the English Version of *Kinjeketile* whereby the number of words in the TT exceed the number of words in the ST. the study also observes that there are translation inadequacies in translating similes because most of them are culture based and as a result, there are no equivalent similes in the TT. Finally, proper names were inadequately translated by using most of them just the way they appear in the ST. The impact they have on the ST audience is not the same as the effect they have on the TT audience.

Tanzanian literary works which are written in English or which have been translated from Swahili to English enjoy relatively wide readership comparing to the ones that are written in Swahili. This is mainly due to the fact that English language is the widest spread language. Although Swahili is the widest spread African language which is spoken in around twelve countries in east and central Africa, the texts written in Swahili cannot compete with the ones written in English as far as readership is concerned. *The Gathering Storm* for example, has been translated into Bulgarian language (Ilieva, 1990, p. 184) while the English version of *Kinjeketile* has been performed in some universities outside Africa, especially in German. *Kinjeketile* has also gained scholarly attention of non-East African scholars from Nigeria, United States and German. An example is the
study from Ajayi Crowther University in Nigeria by Solanke (2013) with a title “Deploying Myths through Facts and Fictions in the Struggle for Tanzanians’ National Soul in Ebrahim N. Hussein’s *Kinjeketile*”.

Three of the selected texts were written in 1970’s while only *Vuta Nkuvute* was written in 1990’s. Tanzanian literary works written in 1970’s and 1980’s had one common feature thematically speaking, which was realistic social criticism of local problems (Gromov, 2014). On the other hand, texts written in 1990’s, in their formal and stylistic aspects are marked by tangible links with post-modern writing criticizing globalization, imperialist ambitions and individualism. They reveal rather scarce links with the classical dystopian texts of Western writing. Examples are *Babu Alipofufuka* (At Grandfather’s Resurrection) and *Dunia Yao* (Their World) both by Said Ahmed Mohammed, *Nagona* (I dream) and *Mzingile* (Labyrinth) by Ephrase Kezilahabi.

Khamis (2005) shares views with Gromov as he argues that a quick glance at the development of the Swahili novel reveals that a number of Swahili novels written from the 1990s to date, have detached themselves in various ways from hitherto Swahili novels written following the mainstream realist mode (p. 91). According to Khamis, this new trend seems to "pervasively" adopt the fantastic, magical, and postmodernist tendencies that in his interpretation, they adequately capture the cacophony and decay of the East African societies. His study further enlightens that a drastic socioeconomic and cultural change in a society "may" influence artists and impel them to innovate so as to subvert a mode that "may" have become inadequate in capturing the contemporary reality. His study samples

However, the case is different with *Vuta N'kuvute*. While Swahili novels of its time depict apocalyptic and dystopian pictures of the world before and after the global catastrophe, dominated by dictatorial powers, struck by hunger and drowning in the abyss of ecological and economic hardships (Gromov, 2014), *Vuta N'kuvute* revisits the socio-political and economic situation in Zanzibar at the time of British domination. This raises an interesting question to why Shafi Adam has refused to go with the flow in terms of thematic and stylistic features of *Vuta N'kuvute*. However, such question is not in the scope of this study.

The researcher of this study deliberately chose three novel and one play as objects of this study. It is admitted that the text has not considered balance of genres in the sense of having an equal number of plays, novels and poetry as objects of this study. This is due to three reasons, firstly the question of language in Tanzanian literature, the question of details by which the genres can offer, as well as geographical nature of Tanzanian literature. Since Tanzanian literature is in Swahili and English, this study has considered the need to have two texts written in English and the other two texts written in Swahili. Considering the depth of details, this study chose three novels since novels offer a lot of details comparing to plays and poetry. On the other hand, the availability of poetry and
plays that fit in the current study was also a challenge. Lastly, considering the geographical nature of Tanzanian literature, Tanzania is made up of two countries; Tanganyika and Zanzibar. The two countries have similar but not the same colonial history. Tanganyika was firstly colonized by German and later by Britain after the WWI. On the part of Zanzibar, Oman Sultanate ruled Zanzibar with close cooperation with Britain. In this sense, having a play which describes such colonial situation in Zanzibar was a challenge and that is a reason to why the text chose two novels that are set in Zanzibar while on the other hand, one novel and one play that depict colonialism in mainland Tanzania were chosen as the objects of this study.

D. Orientalism and its Manifestation in Tanzania

Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) can be said to have laid a systematic foundation of postcolonial theory (Sarwoto, 2012). Said’s *Orientalism* borrows a lot of its foundation from the French theoretician Michael Foucault especially on the concept of discourse. In summary of Foucault’s writings, it can be said that discourse is rendered by three considerations which are taboo, madness versus sanity as well as institutional rectification. This paper is much interested in the third condition of discourse which is institutional rectification. This means that discourse made is rectified by certain institutions made by people believed to be authorities over certain matters. For example, one can have a claim on issues concerning economy but it is the person believed to be expert in economy whose views will be more considered by the public comparing to a person who is not believed to be an expert. The same
applies to issues pertaining education, politics, health, history and other disciplines. However, such authority over certain matters can be used as a tool of power and that is from this point where Foucault develop his concept of power and knowledge which is also applied in this study.

Foucault does not state any clear definition of power neither does he focus on the questions of who possesses the power, how he gets and uses it instead he focuses on how the power functions in the society. To Foucault power is not that which makes the difference between those who exclusively possess and retain it, and those who do not have it and submit to it. He analyses power as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localised here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. He further explains it that:

Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation. In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application (Foucault, 1986, p. 98).

From the above Foucault’s proposition it can be hypothesized that everyday practices by Africans in the colonies whether knowingly or unknowingly were the practice of colonial power and Africans were the vehicle through whom colonial power was exercised, spread and function to achieve the imperial goal of economic exploitation. Therefore it is not only the natives who worked as police, clerks, and labours that were part of colonial power network but also those who claimed and believed to being neutral, those who resisted in one way or another together give the feature of power in the colonies.
Foucault does not give ownership of power to anyone but this does not disqualify the fact that for power to exist there must be the oppressor and the oppressed; the possibility that one actor in a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will. This means that such individual actor is more powerful than others. Even if power is not particularly owned by them. Relating with Foucault’s circulation of power, one is in the position of control and authority and able to subjugate the powerless others or manipulate their practices for his own good.

This brings our discussion to the next concept relating to power and that is knowledge. If power is circulatory, if power lies in people’s practices then how do the powerful prosper out of this circulation of power? The answer is, in relation to power and knowledge the powerful create discourses suitable for their prosperity at the expense of the powerless’ people. The discourse created is aimed at producing necessary knowledge which is vital for retaining and circulation of power. Power and knowledge depend on each other, it is through production of knowledge that the European colonizers managed to colonize not only Tanzania, but Africa and other colonies in Asia and Latin America. Foucault theorises that the exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power. He further postulates that:

Modern humanism is therefore mistaken in drawing this line between knowledge and power. Knowledge and power are integrated with one another, and there is no point in dreaming of a time when knowledge will cease to depend on power; this is just a way of reviving humanism in a utopian guise. It is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power (Foucault, 1986, p. 52).
Edward Said configures his ideas on *Orientalism* by borrowing from Foucault especially on interplay between knowledge and power. However, Said narrows his scope to the relation between the West and the East. In Orientalism, Said explores how the west created the myth of west as the centre and east as the peripheral and how such myth have been used to justify unequal power relation between the west and the east. Orientalism has become an academic discipline which studies and produces knowledge on the areas of linguistics, history, sociology, and art and consistently, coherently, and collectively picture and depict the east or non-western people and their culture as primitive, irrational, violent, despotic, and fanatic in contrast to the west who are rational, peaceful, liberal and logical (Said, 1978, p. 49).

Said argues that for many generations, Orientalism has become a body of theory and practice where a significant material has been invested. It has had paradigms of research, learned societies and hence professorships in oriental studies which, consequently, led to the multiplication of the quantity of knowledge as well as expansion in the available means for propagating Orientalism (Said, 1978, p. 43). But Said insists that the Orient is not an inert fact of nature, in short, it does not just exist unproblematically what is popularly known as Orient is the result of such material investment by the west in an attempt to create discourse which differentiate them (the whites as superior) from the east (and non-westerners) as the other and inferior.

Said theorises how imperialist power produces imperialist discourse and knowledge through western canonical texts. Since tremendous academic
investments have been put in the field of orientalism, it has earned authoritative
reputation to the extent that whatever orientalists say about the orient is regarded
as holy writ. Said argues that Orientalism borrows and has frequently been
informed by strong ideas, trends and doctrines such as Darwinism and Freudian
studies (Said, 1978, pp. 22-23). Such strong academic authorities had produced
statements, theories and publications which were regarded as the standard of
correctness and truth. However, association of such orientalist statements with
truth have been used as the weapon by the west to maintain their power over the
east as truth has an integral effect on power.

Said’s thesis in orientalism is regarded as one of the masterpieces in the field.
Having such reputation, the ideas from orientalism are not only used in the
discussion of relation between the West and the East but they can be applied in the
context of other colonized countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Said for
example, mentions as his examples, different books and subfields of study that are
used under the umbrella of orientalism to coherently propagate the myths of
West’s superiority over the East. Such case can also be exemplified in Africa
though not in a wider scope as presented by Said. Joseph Conrad’s Heart of
Darkness can also be mentioned as an example of how writings by Europeans are
used to further cement the claim of Africa being the uncivilized and barbaric
continent. Having such reason, this text uses Said’s argument of Orientalism in
the context of the selected Tanzanian texts.

What the society regards as truth is not necessarily “true”; some statements,
idea, and concepts have been regarded as true due to effects of some political
influences behind them. Since the effect of truth is integral for power and domination it then is produced and transmitted under the control of the dominant political and economic apparatuses, in Orientalism sense, such apparatuses include universities, army, writing, and media. It is in this sense that Said’s study is related to Althusser’s state apparatus since all myth of colonizer’s superiority is manifested and propagated by the colonial state apparatuses.

In his theorization of state ideology Althusser revises Marxist traditional definition of state which define the state as “repressive machine”. Althusser enlightens that the state is not necessarily repressive and of course the state use force only when necessary but most of the time it seeks consents from the dominated. However, such consents are not asked for but there set some discourse which affect the disposition of the minds of the dominated people to produce suitable ideology. He theorizes this by adding the concept of ideological state apparatus to the primarily “repressive” state apparatus. He defined ideological state apparatus as:

A system of defined institutions, organizations, and the corresponding practices. Realized in the institutions, organizations, and practices of this system is all or part (generally speaking, a typical combination of certain elements) of the State Ideology. The ideology realized in an ISA ensures its systemic unity on the basis of an ‘anchoring’ in material Junctons specific to each ISA; these functions are not reducible to that ideology, but serve it as a ‘support’ (Althusser, 1970, p. 77)

By adding the concept of ideological state apparatuses in the functioning of state power, Athusser implies that power is not only seized, run and retained by the use of repression rather includes both repression and persuasion. The function of ideological state apparatuses is to serve the interest of the class in power by creating a discourse which make the minds of the dominated class in the
disposition which guarantees the conditions for their exploitation and reproduction of such conditions of exploitation by the dominant class. It is this disposition that is created by the state ideological apparatuses that make the dominated class submit to the domination by their own will.

In the context of Tanzania, Orientalism is manifested at the level of colonial ideological and repressive apparatuses as the colonizers propagated the myth of their superiority by using colonial education, media as well as army and jury. However, the functions of all the mentioned apparatuses and strategies were directed around one main goal which was smoothening exploitative endeavour of the colonizers. The study by Suriano (2011, p. 41) enlightens that British colonial government used media to manipulate perception of Africans on matters of modernity, ustaarabu (civilization) and heshima (respectability). This was done through newspapers which were read by people such as railways workers, secondary school teachers and other professionals who were admired in their localities.

In his study on the first court hearing in Tanganyika under German colonial rule David Kim (2011) finds that some trials during German rule had nothing to do with finding Africans guilty rather they were intended at creating a discourse that would act as the German’s attempt to show up their power and repress anticolonial minds among Africans. Police, army, and court of law were used to reinforce colonial goals. Stacey Hynd (2008, p. 404) finds that Penal violence was used with the aim of moulding Tanzanians into obedient subjects.
The primary goal of colonialism was economic exploitation however, the colonial encounter between the European colonizers and Africans in Tanzania did not solely end up in relations of economy and relations of power. So long as the two sides lived together and had frequent encounter, there happened cultural encounters too. However, the cultural relations in colonies have happened to reflect unequal power relations as well which resulted to what Homi Bhabha termed as ambivalence.

Ambivalence is a term first developed in psychoanalysis to describe a continual fluctuation between wanting one thing and wanting its opposite. It also refers to a simultaneous attraction towards and repulsion from an object, person or action. Bhabha adapted the concept of ambivalence into postcolonial studies to describe the mix of attraction and repulsion that features the relationship between colonizers and colonized.

The reading of Bhabha’s location of culture reveal that the colonizers propagate their superiority over the colonized in the area of culture. They attribute Europeans and everything associated with their culture as superior to that of the colonized hence the colonized have to abandon their cultures and their practices and embrace that of the colonizers. It is in this discourse of creating cultural and racial superiority where colonial ambivalence becomes apparent. Colonial ambivalence becomes apparent through what Bhabha calls mimicry where the colonizers try to create a discourse where the colonized, out of inferiority complex, mimic the culture of the colonizers.

Bhabha argues that colonial mimicry is constructed around ambivalence since it desires to label the colonized as the other who is almost the same but not quit the same (Bhabha H. K., 1994, p. 122). As an example of colonial mimicry,
Bhabha cites the imperial mission of Charles Grant in India in the year 1792 as follows:

Grant's dream of an evangelical system of mission education conducted uncompromisingly in English was partly a belief in political reform along Christian lines and partly an awareness that the expansion of company rule in India required a system of "interpellation"—a reform of manners, as Grant put it, that would provide the colonial with "a sense of personal identity as we know it." Caught between the desire for religious reform and the fear that the Indians might become turbulent for liberty, Grant implies that it is, in fact the "partial" diffusion of Christianity, and the "partial" influence of moral improvements which will construct a particularly appropriate form of colonial subjectivity. What is suggested is a process of reform through which Christian doctrines might collude with divisive caste practices to prevent dangerous political alliance (Bhabha H. K., 1994, pp. 124-125)

In the above example it is found that Grant was trying to create a discourse through which the colonized would mimic the colonizer and hence act as a strategy of reproducing compliant subjects who would fit to colonial assumptions, habits and values. However, caught between the want to maintain colonial power and to serve his Christian religion, he ends up compromising Christianity with imperial vision which is also ambivalent and mockery to Christianity as the Bible itself forbids any tolerance of heathen faiths.

Therefore mimicry is ideally the act of the colonized to imitate the culture of the colonizers. The colonizers use mimicry as a strategy to signify the colonized as inappropriate by strategically employing the technique of slippery where the colonized will struggle to appropriate themselves with the colonizers but they will never be typically similar to them. As a result there happens a duality that presents a split in the identity of the colonized which makes them hybrid of their own cultural identity and the colonizer's cultural identity.

The study by Stoner-Eby (2008, p. 174) offers a good example of the colonizers attempts to instil mimicking mindset in Tanzanians. The study reveals
that the church under Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMC) strongly fought against traditional initiation rituals of girls and boys of Makonde tribe in Southern Tanzania. At first they agreed with tribal leaders to Christianise the ritual where the teachings had to be refined to suit the Christian teachings. However, when the Europeans got the full control of power the church banned the whole ritual and people who were practicing it were penalized or disowned by the church. As such, some Africans abandoned the ritual in favour of Christian practices.

This thesis has incorporated four theories: Said’s Orientalism, Foucault’s power and knowledge, Althusser’s state ideology and Bhabha’s ambivalence. Said’s Orientalism is used as the major theory being backed up by the other three theories. The argument of this study is that colonialism was primarily meant for economic exploitation of the colonies and its people. Therefore, although Orientalism together with power and knowledge as well as ambivalence seem not to be related to economy or Marxism, the incorporation of Althusser’s concept of state ideology will help to describe how the arguments of the selected theories can be linked to economic exploitation of Tanzanians in the selected texts.
CHAPTER III
TANZANIANS’ COMPLICITY WITH COLONIALISM

European colonizers managed to retain their colonization in Africa for seven decades, some other colonies like South Africa and Zimbabwe counting almost a century of colonization. This means Africa, Tanzania being one of them has been naked and vulnerable to exploitation, humiliation, and dehumanization by Europe for all this time. But all this was possible because Europeans managed to take control of and have an influence of the very vital entity in human interaction, which is power. Talking of power in the context of this paper, does not mean power in the sense of police repression and brutality and if such acts are involved in any part of this paper they are used as the means to reach one desired end, which is the manipulation of mind of the colonized to make an effects in their acts, choices and ways of thinking that are desirable to the colonizers. Therefore citing examples from postcolonial theories, I argue that the power that the colonizers from the selected texts are claimed to have stem from the alliance they earned from the colonized. To put it in the other simple statement is that the colonizers were powerful because they got allies from the side of the colonized whose actions, thoughts, choices, and dispositions were in a way that make the colonizer’s ultimate goal of economic exploitation possible.

The colonizers were few in number, they were ignorant of African environment, and even the resources they had were not enough to forcefully make the colonized submit to their rules. One of the techniques was to play with the minds of the colonized through the creation of discourse. The discourse created not only made the colonized submit to the colonial rule but also ally with the
colonizers mission whether consciously or unconsciously. In power and knowledge, Foucault states that “the exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power”. In connection to Foucault’s statement, I argue that the colonizers were powerful because they created knowledge that affected the colonized in a way that their modes of thinking, actions, fears and behaviours were in manners that produced the effects that were desired by the colonizers. The depiction of African’s alliance to colonial rule in the selected texts can be summarised into two main reasons which are colonial complicity and dependence complex.

A. Colonial Complicity

Colonial complicity is the state of the colonized to comply with colonial mission, to be in a disposition that make the colonizers’ mission in the colonies realized. Colonialism was possible because there were some willing partners on the side of the colonized. In other words, colonialism would never be possible if there was no support of the colonized. The willingness of the colonised to support the colonizers for the reasons known or unknown to themselves, in the context of this study, is termed as colonial complicity. The selected texts depict the colonized complying with the colonizers through seeking employment from the colonial government and paying taxes to the colonial authorities.

The selected texts depict Africans complying with colonialism through working as employees of the colonial system. The number of the colonizers in the colonies are not sufficient for all the positions to be covered by Europeans, due to this fact, the Europeans cover high and executive positions, delegating
administrative duties to Indians and few Africans while the lower rank and probably the most toiling, productive, and operational responsibilities are performed Africans. In this sense, the positions such as governor, district commissioners, heads of police, and chief justices were covered by Germans and English in their respective times of domination of the country. The Indians were the managers of factories, port activities, and the owners of wholesale and retail trades while Africans worked as miners, soldiers, police, spies, and other white collar jobs.

This alludes to the argument by Althusser that the people in power create the myth for the exploited to think that the delegation of responsibilities in the workplaces are the technical division of labour, that the top rank worker is in his position because he has a qualification to hold the position and the same applies to the workers below him until the least paid lowest rank worker. However, Althusser contends this myth, arguing that such is not technical but social division of labour. It is the division created in such a way that some people are ensured to be in the dominant position and others in the dominated position which in our context one is the colonizer and the other is the colonized. This case is also addressed by Rodney in *How Europe underdeveloped Africa* as he argues that colonial governments discriminated against the employment of Africans in high-ranking categories; and, whenever it happened that a white and a black occupied the same post, the white man was sure to be remunerated considerably more (Rodney, 1972, p. 4).
Vuta N’kuvute depicts Koplo Matata as the typical example of the African compliant complying through working with the colonial government. Koplo Matata works as the secret spy of the colonial government in Zanzibar and he reports to inspector Wright the issues and people who happen to be the threat to the British colonial government in Zanzibar. The novel depicts Koplo Matata working hard to arrest Denge, the person who is suspected by the British colonial government of importing newspapers and flyers that spread anticolonial propaganda in Zanzibar. Koplo Matata is working hard and invests much of his time and energy in the investigation of this matter because he believes that if he makes such task successfully the British masters will be pleased hence he will be promoted to the higher ranks as narrated in the following quote:

Koplo Matata alijiunga na jeshi la polisi miaka kumi na tokea kuanza kwake kazi alikuwa askari kanzu akishughulikia upelelezi wa mambo mbali mbali ya uhaliifu. Kupanda kwake cheo kulikuwa ni kwa bahati nasibu tu, labda kwa elimu yake ndogo, lakini jinsi alivyokwega na hama ya ukubwa alijifanya kazi yake kwa bidii na hakawa na nsamaha kwa yeyote yule aliyewahi kumtia mkononi. Alivuma nei ngima kwa ukali wake uliochanganyika na utovu wa huruma (Shafi S. A., 1999, p. 65). Koplo Matata joined the police force fifteen years ago. He has been working as a spy from the start of his work conducting investigations of various crimes. His promotion to upper ranks was simply lucky, maybe because of his little education, but his eagerness made him work hard and he did not have any pardon for anyone he had ever put in his hands. He was known in the whole country for his strictness.

The illusion in Koplo Matata’s mind that he will make his British senior officers happy reflects the kind of illusions that some Africans had over the colonizers that they worked hard to please the colonizers hoping that they may one day be granted their freedom but in real sense that hard working was what the colonizers desired for continuation of their rules hence instead of granting freedom they got desire to stay even more. An example can be alluded from statement by Rodney (1972) that a number of Africans served as colonial soldiers
because they mistakenly hoped that the army would be an opportunity for displaying the bravery and dignity of Africa, and, perhaps, in the process, even earning the sovereignty of the continent, by making Europeans delighted and appreciative. Rodney’s comment on this is further more supporting the argument made in this study as he says that the hope by African soldiers was without foundation from the outset since the colonialists were savagely using African soldiers as dolls to preserve colonialism and capitalism in general.

*Kuli* also depicts Africans working as employees of colonial system. Africans in *Kuli* mainly work as porters who carry the cargo to and from the ships owned by Smith McKenzie Company. Although the novel depicts some conflicts of interests between the porters and the officials of the company but the fact that they still do job and some other people seek to be hired by the company implies that there is part played by Africans in making the colonial exploitative system last. Europeans are few in number so they cannot manage to do everything by themselves, if the Africans decided not to work with the Europeans it is clear that the Europeans’ mission in Zanzibar would not be successful. However, Africans seek for jobs and work with Smith McKenzie Company where they experience exploitation, humiliation, oppression, and suppression.

*Kuli* goes further by presenting the character called Mzee Tindo as an example of typical African colonial compliant. He is the leader of small group of Africans who carry the belongings of Indians who own retail and wholesale shops in Zanzibar. Having his father died and his mother not earning enough for the daily needs of the family, the protagonist of the story, Rashidi is talking to the old man
asking to be recruited to the group. After being admitted to the group and working with the group for some time he realises that the money that they are receiving is little comparing to the job and time they devote to the job. He talks with his fellow workers but they seem not to support him because they are afraid of their leader, Mzee Tindo. They are afraid that he may report them to the Indians and get fired. This is proved by the conversation between Rashidi and one of the members of the group called Farjalla when they meet in absence of others. Farjalla tells Rashidi:

“You know” started Farjalla, “today I have come earlier so that I can talk to you privately. What you said yesterday about the work we are doing and the payment we receive is absolutely true. We are agreeing with it and every day we wish to tell Mzee Tindo about it but we are afraid that he may be offended and make us fired”

Rashidi agrees with Farjalla that he will raise again that matter and he will volunteer to talk with Indians about the complaints of the group. After the matter being raised, Mzee Tindo alerts Morarji one day before that some workers are not satisfied with the payment and therefore they will come the next day to discuss about it. Mzee Tindo is given ten shillings by Morarji and goes away. The next day Rahidi, Farjalla, and Mzee Tindo meet Morarji at his home place. After being introduced to the matter that brought the three Africans there, he asks the three men who among them, specifically thinks that the money they are paid is not enough, Farjalla and Mzee Tindo remain silent while Rashidi raises his voice to tell the Indian that he is the one. After some intimidations the Indian fires Rashidi and insists that he will fire many more of them if they try to question about the
payment. Mzee Tindo is a colonial compliant in this context as he makes his fellow Africans do a tough job under meagre payment while him, as a leader, is receiving more payment without the knowledge of his people.

**B. Dependency Complex**

Dependency complex is another reason for Africans’ alliance to the colonial rule. The selected texts depict Africans finding themselves allying with colonizers because it was the prudent decision for survival of themselves and their families. Colonial institutions are the only places where they can find employment and salaries for paying taxes, feeding their families and meeting other necessary needs. *Kuli* depicts two examples of this dependency of Africans to colonial system. The first one is the family of Majaliwa and Bibi Majaliwa. The couple is poor without any source of income for their day to day living. This makes the husband, Majaliwa do the job as a porter for more than fifty years until his last breath. Majaliwa is facing a lot of discouraging situations including insufficient wages, poor working condition, oppression and humiliation by white men but he keeps on holding on to his job because it is the only one that he depends on. After the passing away of Majaliwa life at home becomes unbearable, Bibi Mashavu is struggling by selling some cassava and snacks to earn some few penny for herself and her son, Rashidi but the situation develops from bad to worse as days go. Sometimes they pass the whole day without food, at the same time the landlord is pressurizing her wanting the rent for some past unpaid months. This pushes young Rashidi to seek for job where, like his father, he is employed as the porter. He is facing similar kinds of challenges faced by his father when he was a porter but he
finds no alternative since that job is the only source of income that his family is depending on. Under such a situation, Rashidi finds himself working for the colonial system because he does not have another source of income.

Dependency as the reason for Africans to be complicit with colonial mission is also addressed by Kuli at the group level through organization of port workers. Under the leadership of Bakari and Farhani the organization is putting pressure to the authority of Smith McKenzie Company to solve their complaints including addition of wages, payment for overtime works, creation of good and safe working condition, and respect for the dignity of all port workers as human beings. However, the organization is not receiving any positive response from the leaders of the company which leads to rioting. The porters just report to their work stations but they do not perform any duty as a way to pressurize the company to work on their complaints. However, the organization is facing challenges in the organization of the riot as the workers bankrupt as days go on. This forces the organization to accept the promise of the leaders of the company that they will work on their complaints. Even though they accept the promise but they truth is they would not accept if there were no pressure from workers who find themselves in need to go back to work because their families need money.

Dependency of port workers to the job given by colonial system is more apparent when the authorities of the company do not work on their promise even after the passing of long time since they promised. The leaders of port workers organize another strike to make workers stop doing their jobs but they have to work even hard asking for grants from well-wishers in and outside the country so
that they will be able to financially help any member of the organization when they face economic problem at the time of striking. They are doing all these because they know that the workers are poor and the employment by the company is the only hope that they have hence it could be easy for them to be trapped into going to work again when they run out of money. However, the dream of the leaders never come true as they always fail to get enough money to accommodate all the workers at the time of striking. This means the majority still work with the colonial company as the leaders are struggling to find money, which in other language can be termed as the success on the side of colonizers.

*The Gathering Storm* shows that the Indians who are the beneficiaries of the exploitative system are aware that the Africans are dependent economically. This makes the situation worse as they mistreat them and exploit them in whatever way they wish since they already know that Africans are unable to resist. This can be exemplified by an incident where two Indian businessmen, Jayandra and Charan are in discussion about the servant called Ally. Disregarding the fact that Ally is not paid enough for his work at Jayandra’s place, Jyandra is not satisfied by the performance of Ally and he talks with Charan about it. Charan, with knowledge that Ally is totally dependent to Charan’s place he advices CHaran that:

“It is easy to deal with them. Threaten to dismiss. They just can’t risk their jobs. You know most of these people long to live in town. They take up service for whatever you offer them. Just do so. Ah, it won’t take a day before you get another” (Sokko, 1977, p. 111)

Charan claims that the Africans are longing to stay in town that is why they cannot risk losing their jobs. Charan judges the natives without putting himself on their shoes, he states that as the Indian in the African colony talking of the native
which is apparent that he talks with the sense of superiority, with the mind of the arrogant boss who thinks that Africans are irresponsible and lazy while himself forgets his responsibility of paying them salaries. My interpretation is that they find the mess they experience in town worth taking than the difficulties they will be experiencing at home. For example, even though they are paid low but sometimes they can manage to pay head tax which is mandatory for every one of Africans. Sometimes they find themselves exempted from the punishment for not paying tax only because they work at the Indians’ house. This is proven at the time Juma was running trailed by some messengers of the DC wanting him to show the tax chit but when Juma enters Charan’s house, they leave him only because they meet Charan who told them that Juma is his servant.

Dependency complex is also evident in *Vuta N’kuvute* through Koplo Matata. Koplo Matata being employed by the colonial government as the policeman he puts his brain ad heart into the working hardly expecting to get more economic incentives because of his outstanding performance. Having worked for more than fifteen years with the colonial government he totally depend on the salary he receives from the office to run his life. This is proved when he is fired since he cries like a child knowing that the only place he depends for his daily income is now disowning him.

Colonizers created conditions that not only ensured cooperation from the colonized but also the continuation of such cooperation. Using Althusser’s concept of reproduction of means and relations of production, the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized is taken as the relation between the
bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The bourgeois are strong and continue to be strong economically, socially and politically because they have created the condition that define their position in their relationship with the proletariat and they work hard to make sure that such position and relation is maintained day in day out. The same line of thought is applied in this study on the relationship between the colonizers and the colonized that the colonizers have put themselves in the bourgeoisie position and exploit the colonized because they are positioned on the side of the proletariat and the colonizers have created discourses which ensure the reproduction and lasting of such relationship. Referring the depictions by the selected texts, the colonizers manage to maintain this relation by using techniques of taxation, manipulation of native leadership and rulers as well as racism.

*The Gathering Storm, Vuta N’kuvute, and Kinjekitile* depict Africans’ complicit with colonialism by paying taxes or the equivalent of taxes to the colonial authorities. *Kinjekitile* depicts Africans lamenting among themselves over taxation imposed by German colonizers. They are not satisfied by the situation as they find it exploitative and unfair but the fact that they pay taxes and provide their labour power to the colonial farms it can still be regarded as they ally with this exploitative system. In *The Gathering Storm* and *Vuta N’kuvute* the authors address the issue of taxation by using messengers who instruct their fellow Africans to show chits that prove that they already have paid taxes. An example can be taken from *The Gathering Storm* as follows:

_Befroe Nganda had ceased speaking, Kamuyuga was caught by the arm in a bony grip and he was made to swing round._
“Show your tax chit” the familiar messengers mumbled at him. The soldiers of the D.C. panted heavily. Sweat streamed down their cheeks.

A train of victims trailed behind them. Kamuyuga fumbled in his pockets, fishing out a small bundle of papers. He held it out to one of them. The other snatched the chits and turned them over and over in his hands without looking. He replaced them in the hands and, pushing his victims before him, they walked away (Sokko, 1977, pp. 7-8).

Taxation in the context of the selected Tanzanian texts can be interpreted in two senses, as the means of exploitation as well as the means to condition Africans to comply with other forms of exploitation. An allusion can be made to Walter Rodney’s statement in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* where he argues that Colonizers introduced monetary economy in Africa, but Africans did not find monetary incentives a reason enough to become labourers in the plantations of the whites. As a result, the colonizers set laws and regulations including taxation which made Africans find it necessary to sell their labour to the whites in order to pay taxes as well as run their own lives and families by providing basic needs.

Another techniques used by colonizers is manipulation of African leadership to their own advantage. With the introduction of colonialism, African rulers lost their mandate over their own people instead they only became the bridge between the majority and the white men. This is depicted in *The Gathering Storm* where Chief Gumwele of Bulembe becomes the subordinate to the colonial district officer. The text shows that the chief still have an influence over the African majority but such influence is used for the smooth running of colonial activities in Bulembe. In other words, the colonizers use the chief’s influence as they dictate their activities to the Africans by the shadow of the chief.

One example of how colonizers take advantage of chief’s influence is when Samuel is in need of having his stuffs carried to his uncle’s new house. Samuel
goes direct to the chief and ask him to provide with five strong men to carry the stuffs without any payment. Without any second thought, because it is something that the chief is used to, he is pointing some people from his area and command them to go and help the white man. The loads they are commanded to carry are very heavy and they carry it over a long distance while the whites have already arrived long ago by the car as it is narrated:

It was about ten at night when the men arrived at Nganza. They put down their monstrous loads and stood in the open yard of the house of Samuel. Their necks stayed bent despite of great effort with which each tried to stretch his (Sokko, 1977, p. 86).

This is a typical exploitation made smooth by the help of the African chief. The five men easily accept the task, they carry a heavy load over a long distance without any payment. Worse enough is that the whites, the owners of such loads they comfortably travel to the same destination by using car. It is true that the whites could pick any people in the streets and command them to carry the loads but they decided to make it simple by passing through the chief since if the command comes from their chief it could be easily obeyed as chieftainship by this time was associated with spiritual powers and hence to Africans disobeying the chief is the same as disobeying the gods.

The selected texts also depict racial hierarchy as the technique used by the colonizers to earn support from the natives. The hierarchies were in such a way that the whites occupied the higher rank, the second rank occupied by Indians and Arabs while Africans belong to the lowest of ranks. This racial hierarchy was apparent in social, political, and economic spheres of life in the colonies. This does not only make the natives less privileged but also inflict inferiority complex
in them something which makes the natives take oppression, humiliation, and exploitation they are subjected to by whites and Indians as something which is normalized in their psyches only because they belong to African race. However, such hierarchy is not natural and they are merely political propaganda through which the Europeans have succeeded to subjugate Africans to the inferior position so that they could easily dictate their commands, exploit their physical, mental as well as natural resources from their surroundings, most of the times by the Africans own assistance. Edward Said (1978) sees this as he argues that Orientalism is not the fact of nature neither is the occident. He argues that they are all the products of white man’s creation.

*The Gathering Storm* addresses this case by showing whites holding important posts such as District commissioner who is Mr. John White, the whiteman, lawyers, and positions of members of important decision making bodies filled with other white men; Indians such as Mr. Jayandra and Charan own big shops in town while Africans such as Lubele, Juma, Ali and many more do not have any job and earn their living by struggling and favour of people of other races. Since Africans do not own means of production, they are subjected to exploitation as they find themselves working in the shops of Indians with very little payment and sometimes breakfast, lunch, and dinner as their payment. The novel depict both Indians and whites taking this racism for granted as they exploit Africans on racial bases. One example is when the Indian woman who is the wife of the boss of Zayumba tells Zayumba a story that in the past God created three people:

The three people were European, an Indian, and an African. Then God asked each of them in turn. He said, “What do you want to have on earth?” Then, the European said,
“I want wisdom and power”. God gave him. Next came the turn of Indian. He said “I want shops and coins”. And God gave him. When the turn of African came, he asked God saying, “I want drums and women” (Sokko, 1977, p. 141)

Of course there is no truth in what the Indian woman is saying but it reflects the effects to racial ranks that not only the Africans but also the whites and Indians are the victim of. I say the whites and Indians are victim of this line of thought because not all Europeans participate in creating these myths of supremacy neither Indians.

Edward Said in his Orientalism (1978) makes a distinction of racial discrimination into two level which he calls latent and manifest orientalism. He argues that latent orientalism is almost unconscious and in my interpretation it is always in the minds of the laymen of the people who consider themselves of the superior race. Manifest orientalism, on the other hand, is the various stated views about the culture, history, and other general life and identity of the near east (in this context, Africans too) observed in the academic fields and writings such as sociology, linguistics, and literature of the westerners.

This means that statements and stereotypes about the seemingly inferior races are created at the level of experts in manifest orientalism, activities which most of the people in it are doing consciously while in latent orientalism, such statement and stereotypes are observed at the level of consumers who, in my interpretation, are also the victims of such statements by manifest orientalism since they have just internalized the hatreds, superiority complex, and views which they do not have any knowledge about. In this case, since the Indian woman is the beneficiary of the colonial system, since she is also on the side of the dominant, she is just the victim to be grouped on latent orientalism.
CHAPTER IV
TANZANIANS’ RESISTANCE AGAINST COLONIAL DOMINATION

The selected texts depict Africans’ resistance to colonial mission in different manners. *Kinjeketile* depicts the most violent resistance whereby Africans are organizing a large scale anticolonial warfare which covers a large part of southern Tanzania. *The Gathering Storm* on the other hand depict the least violent resistance where Africans use the political party to peacefully present their complaints against the colonial rule and their claims for independence. In general, the Africans’ resistance to colonial rule as depicted in the selected texts, grouped according to their modes of manifestation can be summarized into three types which are violent, negotiation as well as ideological manifestations of resistance.

A. Violent Resistance

Three of the selected texts i.e. *Kinjekitile, Vuta N'kuvute*, and *Kuli* depict violence as the mode of resistance applied by the colonized against the colonizers. However, nature and extent of violence differ from one text to another. Their differences are determined by nature of the European colonizer that the text is depicting, how long has the colonizer stayed in a colony, and nature of the natives depicted in the text. As considering the nature of the colonizer and the time that a particular colonizer have spent in a particular part of the colony, it is obvious that German colonializes faced more violent resistance than British colonizers. This is depicted by *Kinjekitile* where the native Africans team up and wage a bloodshed war against German colonial regime.
Kinjekitile, the leader of the revolt is possessed by Hongo, the tribes’ god and he is instructing people to use Maji (water) which will disarm the German bullets and therefore they will easily win the fight against the alien oppressor. Kinjekitile, after coming to his consciousness, is told about what Hongo said but he is not certain about the water and therefore he urges people to be patient, not to start the war until he gives further notice:

**KINJEKITILE:** I said that? (He shakes Kitunda) Tell me, please tell me. Tell me all that I said.

**KITUNDA:** You said that we should unite. After we are united, then we can declare war. And that we will win. You said that the ancestors at Bokelo give us their support. You also said that after our victory, we will be the children of Seyyid Said.

**KINJEKITILE:** After winning the war we will be under Seyyid Said? I said that?

**KITUNDA:** Yes. Are you ill…? Your face… where are you going?

**KINJEKITILE:** I've been cheated. They have killed me—no I have killed myself! No, no, no, no! I have been cheated! No (He gives a terrible cry and falls down) (Hussein, 1970, p. 21).

This gives an implication that Kinjekitile does not follow religion blindly. As the political leader, he is also endowed with spiritual powers which connects the tribe’s people and the ancestors. This is why his body is possessed by Hongo to communicate to the majority. But Kinjekitile saying that he has been cheated in reference to his words when he was possessed implies that he is the man of questioning; he does not follow religion dogmatically. Being the man of reason, Kinjekitile organizes the execution of fighting for freedom but not totally believing on the power of water as suggested by Hongo when he was possessed. He believes in the power of the will of individuals and the unity among them.

Having such belief, Kinjekitile together with his assistant, Kitunda, make an initiative to unite tribes of southern Tanzania and gather strong men, give them
some training as the preparation to start the war. However, his authority is challenged by the impatient and angry people who cannot wait any longer to fight the German who was oppressing and exploiting them. The two leaders insist that they need some time to recruit some more people from different tribes and give the available recruits more training since facing the highly trained German colonial army without preparation would be an attempt to suicide but the majority, on their side, push Kinjekitile to give them a go-ahead to start the war.

Delegates from Wamatumbi, Wazaramo, Warufiji, Wangindo, and Wandengereko, and other tribes arrive at Ngarambe with the message that their Chiefs have agreed to join force with Kinjekitile to fight the German. The majority feel that they are many and powerful enough to start the war while Kinjekitile thinks the contrary, he thinks that they need many more people with intensive training prior to the beginning of the fight. Due to pressure from both the local population and the soldiers from other tribes Kinjekitile instructs Kitunda to start the war:

KITUNDA: (Commanding) be quiet! I have been asked to lead this army, and to conduct the attack. I have every intention of doing so. This war will be fought in accordance with my orders. Or else, relieve me of my command. 

(Pause)

We will divide ourselves into three groups. Kibasila, you will take your men and attack the enemy from the west. Ngulumbalyo, you and your men will remain here, and some of them will attack from the east. These will attack openly but they will be greatly assisted by the sun. The sun, which will be behind us, will dazzle the Germans at the fort. Their soldiers won’t be able to see properly against the sun (Hussein, 1970, p. 46)

The approach used by Kijekitile and Kitunda are typical of guerrilla type as it fits to the description of guerrilla given by Mao Tse-tung in his *On Guerrilla Warfare* who says that guerrilla warfare basically derives from the masses and is supported
by them, it can neither exist nor flourish if it separates itself from their sympathies and cooperation. Quoted by Carotenuto and Shadle, Mao’s further comment on importance of mass support is:

> With the common people of the whole country mobilized, we shall create a vast sea of humanity in which the enemy will be swallowed up ... The popular masses are like water, and the army is like a fish. How then can it be said that when there is water, a fish will have difficulty in preserving its existence (Carotenuto & Shadle, 2012, p. 136).

Like Mao, Kinjekitile believes in the power of people as he mobilizes people from different tribes and insist them to put aside their differences and focus on fighting the German oppressor. The war is fought for two years, the natives win several battles but at the end of the day they lose as they run out of resources, food and man power. One among the reasons for their defeat is also lack of uniformity and unity in their approach as some people believing totally in water they stepped into war not fully prepared believing that the water will do the magic of disarming the German bullets while other people obeyed Kinjekitile and hence they took water but also took some precautions of the bullets.

While *Kinjekitile* is set in Southern Tanganyika at the first seven years of twentieth century, *Vuta N’kuvute* and *Kuli* are set in Zanzibar fifty years later. This means the two Swahili novels written by Shafi Adam Shafi depict the situation under the colony which had the interaction of British colonizers, Arabs, Indians, and native Zanzibar people. This makes the nature of violence depicted by the two texts to vary from that of *Kinjekitile*. Violence presented by the two novels are of small intensity with small population. It includes natives’ personal physical fighting with some Europeans, destruction of the white man’s properties as well as organized violence by small groups and workers union.
*Vuta N’kuvute* depicts violence organized by a small group of five young Africans in British Zanzibar who destroy properties owned by the British colonial government, properties of individual colonial officers as well as official documents. One instance of violence is when Denge, Mambo, Sukutua and some other young men enter Karimjee club, the club meant for whites and rich Indians only and destroy infrastructures and injure people:

*Denge na Sukutua walichukuana pembeni wakaanza kunong’ona na baadaye kila mmoja wao alimua chupa ya bia na kwenda kusimama katika pembe yake, Limbo lilikwa linazidi kustawi na watu wote walikuwa wametekwa akili zao na binti yule aliye kwa akikatika na kuni yamburuka. Wakati wapo katika starehe ile, ghafla ilirushwa chupa ya bia kwenda mmoja ya milango ya vioo vya ukumbi ule na chupa ile ilipasua kioo kikalia kama mzinga. Lilianza varumai kabwa na hapo ilirushwa chupa nyinge iliyofuatwa na mawe kutoka katika kila pembe (Shafi S. A., 1999, p. 121).* [Denge and Sukutua moved to the corner, they conversed in whispers for some moment and then everyone of them moved to a different corner. Everyone was enjoying the song and the sight of beautiful girl dancing mischievously. While they were in that comforts, suddenly the beer bottle was thrown and burst into one of the glass doors of that hall. It was followed by another bottle thrown to another glass door and then stones coming from all the corners of the hall].

While *Vuta N’kuvute* depicts small groups of people secretly organizing violence which result into injuring the people in power and their properties, *Kuli* depicts violence at the level of individual and the level of workers organization. Violence in *Kuli* is not done in secret as the individuals fight some white colonial officers openly. In two incidents, the porters at the Zanzibar port openly fought George, the British overseer for the activities of Smith McKenzie. At the level of workers organization it is shown that workers were also offended by the colonial police force as the police beat them in the middle of their peaceful gathering for the discussion of their welfare at their workplace.

Although the three texts depict incidents of violence, the intensity of violence in *Kinjekitile* is bigger ad covers larger geographical area with big number of
people comparing to the ones in *Kuli* and *Vuta N’kuvute*. This, I argue, is due to two factors i.e. the violent nature of German colonizers and the time span of colonialism that the text is set. The play *Kinjekitile* is set in southern Tanzania in 1905 to 1907. This means that it is set at the time when colonialism in Tanzania was less than 15 years old since its introduction. This time justifies the violent nature of both the colonizers and the colonized in the text as the colonizers were at the stage of transforming the colonized people’s governments, social systems, economic system and other entities of life to suiting the colonial exploitative goals. On the other hand the colonized become violent as they are forced to adapt new social, political and economic positions which they are not used to. This adheres to agenda hypothesis which states that:

The more transformative A’s agenda, the more likely it is that A will impose a system of direct rule. Only by grasping the levers of power will A be able to engineer a thorough transformation of B’s economy, society, or government (Gerring, Ziblatt, Van Gorp, & Arevalo, 2011, p. 379).

*Kinjekitile* is depicting the situation in Tanzania where German colonialism was in its infancy stage, almost all the natives have experienced pre-colonial freedom before the introduction of colonialism which makes them more reactive as they know how much the German colonialism is depriving them of. The natives’ grudges stem from exploitation, humiliation, and oppression they are subjected to by the colonizers. One major reason is forced cultivation as the natives are forced to work free of charge on the farm of the German colonizers which makes the people suffer from hunger and poverty since they do not have time to work on their own fields hence they do not have source of income:
**BIBI KITUNDA:** I know anyway, famine is inevitable all the men are working in Bwana Kinoo’s plantation and not on their own. So of course, there must be famine.

**BIBI KINJEKITILE:** What you say is true, all the men are spending their time cultivating for Bwana Kinoo, and not for themselves (Hussein, 1970, p. 2).

This makes people angry and want to react actively against the German colonizers. the leaders, Kinjekitile and Kitunda are aware of the dangers of stepping into battle ground without preparation so they insist people to be patient until they have all the man power and resources prepare for the war, but they face challenge as the people are too fed up to wait any longer:

**MKICHI:** Then why are you so hesitant about declaring war on the white man?

**KITUNDA:** The people who will die. I see thousands and thousands of people dying.

**MKICHI:** But it is better to die than to live like this. We are made to work like beasts in the cotton plantation. We are forced to pay tax. We die off hunger because we cannot work on our shambas. I say death is better than this life (Hussein, 1970, p. 8).

The play also depict humiliation as another reason for violence. Kitunda, the man who was pursuing people to wait until they have enough resources and man power to start the war becomes impatient to wait any longer and he joins the group of people who force Kinjekitile to give a go-ahead for the war to begin. He does so after the incident of his daughter being sexually violated by the colonial police while he together with his wife are beaten to the extent of going unconscious when trying to protect the daughter. This is depicted by the following conversation between Kitinda and Kinjeketile:

**KINJEKITILE:** How many people do you have?
**KITUNDA:** If we say we are ready to start the wa, we will have more that three hundred peole. We will get more once we start the war.
**KINJEKITILE:** And with three hundred people you will defeat the white man?
**KITUNDA:** Yes
**KINJEKITILE:** you are lying! Why are you so enthusiastic to go to war all of a sudden? Weren’t you the one who we should wait, until we were stronger? Now you have changed. You can go could go to war even with four people.
**KITUNDA:** That is not true.
KINJEKITILE: Why then this hurry, this enthusiasm?
KITUNDA: We have the water, and now we have the people, and what's more we are united.
KINJEKITILE: Come on, don't lie. You are lying. The truth is that your daughter was raped by the Askari and you want to revenge. You want to use those people to fight your private battle (Hussein, 1970, pp. 26-27).

*Vuta N’kuvute* shows that Africans also used violent measures as the means to revenge violence by the whites. Denge and his group make destruction of properties at Inspector Wright’s residence and Karimjee club as their reaction to the destruction done by the colonial police who invaded Denge’s house broke the properties and some other destructions when they were searching for flyers and newspapers that they thought Denge was the one distributing them.

While *Kinjekitile* and *Vuta N’kuvute* depict organized and deliberate violence by the colonized, *Kuli* depicts the contrary as all the violence done by the natives were the result of temptation and emotional disturbance done by the whites to the natives who work as porters. The natives have long time complaints and grudges over the leaders of Smith McKenzie Company who are part of the colonial exploitative system. They are well aware that they are being exploited; they are paid meager wages, they do overtime job without extra payment, they are harassed by the whites, and they have neither social nor physical assurance of their safety at work but they are holding all those grudges with the hope that their leaders will successfully pursue the white men to considering their complaints. However, with all those pain they always hold, some whites still physically harass them as they beat them when they find something is not going well. This causes anger among them and most often they react and fight back as in one of the incidents quoted below:
Mara George alitokea kwa ghafla na kuwafumia wafanyakazi wale wamezama katika mazungumzo.

Suddenly George is appearing and finds the two workers talking

Ninyi mazungumzo tu hapana fanya kazi George aliuliza kwa kisirani.

Why do you keep on speaking and you do not do your job? Asked George with apparent anger

Sikiliza weve wacha kutupigia kelele kama watoto wako mmoja aliruka na kumwambia George.

You listen, do not talk to us as if you are talking to your children. Said one porter facing George

Funga mdomo yako, you bloody fool huku anamsogelea mbele yule mfanyakazi George alipiga kelele amewiva, mwekundu.

[“Shut your mouth, you bloody fool”. Said George while moving towards the porter, his face reddened because of anger]

Nani unamwambia blal ful ng’ombe we yule mfanyakazi alijibu na hapo George na mfanyakazi huvo waliwa na maungoni na kuanza kabuburushana. Yule mfanyakazi alimzidi nguvu George na haikuchikua muda alimtupa chini. Wafanyakazi waliokawa wakishuhudia ugomvi ule walipobaini kwamba George ataumizwa walianza kuamua ugomvi ule (Shafi A., 1979, p. 150).

[“Who do you call blal ful (meaning bloody fool) you stupid cow” replied the porter and faced George, they started fighting. The porter overpowered George and in no time he threw him down, the other porters interrupted after seeing that George was going to get hurt]

Humiliation, dehumanization, oppression, racism, religious beliefs, temptation, and exploitation are the reasons for violent resistance depicted in the three texts. However, some Africans seem to hide their violence behind some irrelevant or immediate reasons. In Kinjekitile for example, it is obvious that the majority take water suggested by the possessed Kinjekitile as the starting point of their movement. Denge and his friends in Vuta N’kuvute make destruction of white man’s properties as the reaction to the destruction done by colonial police at their home. In Kuli the porters seem to be overreacting to whatever wrong is done by the police and white colonial official. This tells the grudges, complaints and dissatisfactions that they hold for long time where the smallest spark of initiation could produce the greatest fire of violence.

Contrary to Kinjeketile, Kuli and Vuta N’kuvute, The Gathering Storm does not depict violence as the means of resistance used by the natives. There are several
factors that can be the reason but I think dependency complex is the main reason. *The Gathering Storm* depict majority of African characters being in extreme poverty that their day to day income is highly dependent on the little salaries they receive from colonial offices where they hold the lowest ranks or else they depend on working in the houses of the Indians who exploit their man power to the extreme paying them little and sometimes giving them food and shelter as their salaries. Africans who make their fortune, like Kamuyuga are depicted as domestic or black colonizers as they are also exploiting their fellow Africans the same way that Europeans and Indians do. Another reason for lack of violence in *The Gathering Storm* is having educated characters like Simon who organize and lead Tanganyika African Union, the political party which has chosen peaceful way of fighting colonialism.

B. Negotiation

Negotiation as a means of resistance is depicted in two out of four selected texts. This is evident in *Kuli* and *Vuta N’kuvute*. *Kuli* depicts negotiation as the peaceful approach used by Africans to resist colonial rule when organization of port workers in Zanzibar try to pursue the authority of Smith McKenzie to settle some issues that the port workers deemed unfair and find that the authorities need to give them some consideration for the welfare of the workers. This is manifested through talks between the representatives of organization of port workers and leaders of Smith McKenzie Company, the demonstration of port workers, as well as rioting.
One incident of peaceful resistance is depicted in *Kuli* when Manafi, one of the porters is dying at work due to dangerous working condition. The fellow workers are asking the company to rescue the body of Manafi which has sunk in the ocean and take care of the funeral since the deceased was the long-time worker of the company. The company authority is reluctant to accepting the proposition and in the process of pursuing the white men, Faraji and Bakari, the leaders of the port workers association are locked up as the punishment for organizing unlawful gathering which was discussing about the death of Manafi and their general mistreatment. The other port workers do not give up, Chum and Ubwa represent their fellow port workers in another attempt to negotiate their interest with the leaders of Smith McKenzie but they still face intimidation:

_Bwana mkubwa sisi hatukufanya fujo wala hayuna haja ya kufanya fujo. Sisi tuna mgogoro wa kikazi tu hata siifu yaliikutajaje hata ikabidi mambo ya kutiana ndani?_ (Shafi A. , 1979, p. 92). [Boss we are not here to cause any mess, we are here to see how we can negotiate on how to settle our complaints. I am wondering where the idea of locking up people is coming from].

Apart from negotiation with the top leaders of Smith McKenzie company port workers also use strike as another peaceful means of presenting their complaints to company authorities. With the failure of their negotiation with the leaders, they decide to stop working hence they only report to their work stations but they do not perform their duties as the narrator states:

_Sasa habari za mgomo zilikuwa zimeshatapaka Ng’ambo nzima. Wafanyakazi wa bandarini waliikuwa wamekwisha kutoa onyo kali kwa wale wasiokuwa na kazi wasiende kutafuta kazi huko gatini. Wakati wa alfajiri mfanyakazi mmoja alijitolea kupita mitaani akipiga upatu kuwaela wao wasiende gatini._ (Shafi A. , 1979, p. 88). [Now the news about the strike was all over the streets. Port workers had already warned the jobless not seek for employment at the port. Early in the morning one port worker volunteered to pass on the streets pursuing people not to go to work].
Negotiation with colonial rule is also depicted in *Vuta N’kuvute* where workers do peaceful demonstration on a May Day. However, workers use such chance to displaying posters urging fellow workers to unite in their condemnation of colonialism while others hold posters asking British colonizers to leave the country as the narrator states:

Kibali cha maandamano walikipata kwa taabu polisi, baada ya kuahidi kwamba hapana fujo itakayotokea. Saa mbili asubuhi mamia ya wafanyakazi walianza kukusanyika Mlandege na ilipofika saa nne maandamano valianza. Wafanyakazi walibeba vitambaa na mabango yaliyoandikwa maneno ya kuhimiza kuungana kwa wafanyakazi na kulaan i ukoloni (Shafi A. D., 1999, p. 123). [After a great struggle they got permission to stage a strike from police with the condition that no mess would happen. At eight in the morning hundreds of workers had already arrived at Mlandege grounds, ten o’clock the demonstration began. Employees carried fabrics and posters written words to encourage workers’ collaboration and colonial condemnation].

It can be argued that the peaceful negotiation for liberation of African countries is the philosophy of the writer Shafi Adam Shafi whose texts *Vuta Nk’uvute* and *Kuli* depict this means being used by the oppressed against the oppressors. One likely reason for this view by Shafi may be the fact that he has the lived experience of the effects of violent resistance. As a Zanzibarian he was already born at the time Zanzibar was doing armed resistance against the British and sultanate of Oman where the natives with traditional weapons such as machete, arrows, and spears against the colonial soldiers armed with most advanced arms such as guns. Despite of the fact that Zanzibar attained her goal of independence but the process left lifelong trauma to both natives and colonizers as people died and some other people were left disabled.

The newly established independent governments of the countries which attained their independence through armed struggle had to deal with a difficult situation caused by three facts firstly, economic sectors were in shamble as
productivity stopped during the war. Secondly, the governments had to deal with the great majority who were affected by the trauma of the war, and thirdly, these countries were vulnerable in terms of security. This is due to the fact that these countries got their independence during the cold war where both the capitalist and socialist giants were struggling to penetrate their influence in these newly established countries.

The influence of great powers in cold war times resulted into political instability in the infant nations especially the ones which secured their independence through violence. For example, Nigeria experienced her first coup d'état in 1966, six years after her independence through armed struggle. Cameroon experienced a coup attempt in 1984, twenty four years after independence. The same is the case with Congo, Angola, Mozambique and many other African countries where some of them like Congo experience political instability to the present. Although the effect of neo colonialism is evident in many independent African countries but its effects are more hectic in these countries as the former colonizers still create environment to prosper on the resources of the former colonized nations.

Negotiation as a peaceful attempt to resist colonialism is not new to Africa as some countries such as Tanganyika, Uganda, and Ghana got their independence through peaceful negotiation. The writers’ depiction of Africans trying to employ peaceful means to independence can be termed as a postcolonial mocking to the former colonizers. This is so because it refutes colonizers claim that the colonized is Barbaric and uncivilized. However, negotiating peacefully with someone who
has oppressed and exploited them for years, proves uncivilized status to be on the side of the colonizers than that of the colonized.

While *Kuli* and *Vuta N’kuvute* depict Africans resisting through negotiation, *The Gathering Storm* and *Kinjeketile* do not depict so. However, the two texts have different reasons for not having such theme. For *Kinjeketile*, it is possibly because of the cruel nature of German colonizers. The text depicts Africans being subjected to intensive exploitation, beating and sexual abuse. As a result social relationship between the German and the Africans become worse comparing to other texts which becomes a reason for intensive fear and hatred of the Africans over the German colonizers. Nevertheless, Kinjeketile is set in early colonial period which means Africans Tanzania were disorganized and they were acknowledging their small chiefdoms and Kingdoms than the country as a whole. This is evident from the text as Kinjeketile, who is the leader of wamatumbi is trying to organize other tribes to come together to fight the German. However, the organization becomes difficult as the tribes have differences among themselves. One of the reason is superiority complex as depicted by the following quote:

**KITUNDA:** I am eady to make peace with Mkichi. However, let us not fool ourselves that even if we manage to unite our people, we can go to war by ourselves. We must get the other tribes. Let us approach Wazaramo.

**MINGINDO:** The Wazaramo made their stand a long time ago. If it is a question of fighting, they will fight alone, but they won’t fight side by side with the Wangindo. They think they are superior—lets forget them. Who needs them anyway? (Hussein, 1970, p. 7)

With such antagonistic mindset it becomes even difficult for the Africans in *Kinjeketile* to have a common goal that they can present to the colonial
authorities. As a result they opt to use violence as the way to drive the German colonizers away which proves failure at the end.

*The Gathering Storm* does not depict Africans using negotiation for some reasons too. The text is set in 1950s colonial Tanzania which means it shares some features with *Kuli* and *Vuta Nkuvute* so it was possible to see some negotiation between the colonizers and the colonized. However, the fact that the text is set in the small rural town can be a good reason for the text not having negotiation as the means of resistance. Set in rural area, the African characters in *The Gathering Storm* exhibit more fear over the European characters. This can be caused by lack of education and exposure among the African characters hence difficult for them to confront the whites to discuss with them about their interests. Even the African characters who engineer resistance had firstly to deal with ideology of their fellow Africans since they are pretty aware that there is much fear in them. Lubele is an example of Africans who are fearful as he thinks that it is impossible for the African to speak in front of the white, he is even awed when Bangama, the TANU reader exhibits confidence in front of the European district commissioner as depicted below:

The crowd kept their eyes turned towards Bangama. But the words the TANU man spoke had not so much effect as did the person of Bangama himself. Everybody kept wondering how the fellow could so fearlessly speak in front of a white man. Lubele looked at Simon constantly. His boy also made the same fearless impression. Then he noticed that all those with him had the same air about them. No fear for white men and even the D.C.s. Did it mean that once someone was a TANU man then he had no fear of anything? (Sokko, 1977, p. 126).

With the depiction of mindsets like Lubele’s Sokko reveals an almost impossible circumstance for negotiation. For negotiation to take place in a colonial discourse there must be a certain level of confidence and awareness among the colonized.
*Kuli* for example presents Rashidi and the readers of African porters at Zanzibar port as confident and people who are never shaken by the colonizers’ intimidations. This gives the Africans ability to dare questioning the colonial injustice albeit in a peaceful way. However, the situation depicted in *The Gathering Storm* in the above quote reveals that Africans have not reached that level of confidence like their counterparts in *Kuli* and *Vuta N’kuvute*.

**C. Ideological Resistance**

The selected texts also depict Africans resisting colonial hegemony through ideological tools. This is apparent in all the four selected texts. It is manifested in the creation of political parties by the oppressed, use of information media such as newspapers, fabrics, and posters as well as the denial to give public statements which would make the Africans believe the myth of European superiority.

The use of newspapers, flyers, and posters to contend colonial ideology is depicted in *Vuta N’kuvute* and *Kuli*. *Vuta N’kuvute* depicts this by using Denge with his friends Mambo, Sukutua, and others. The five young men have connection with some publishers in Dar es Salaam where they secretly go during the night to collect some newspapers and flyers with some anticolonial messages and distribute them among the Africans in Zanzibar. Being the most educated and someone with exposure to Eastern Europe education especially by the time of cold war, Denge is also writing articles to be published to the newspapers that him and his group are distributing in Zanzibar. The main topics of his articles are colonialism in Zanzibar and Africa in general, its evils, and how the Africans can
liberate themselves from it. This is observed through his conversation with Yasmin:


“Habari”

“Habari gani?”

“Habari za kuwakishifu wakoroni wa Kiingereza na vibaraka wao jinsi wanavyowatesa wananchi, siyo Zanzibar bali Africa nzima” (p. 106)[Yasmin laughed very much and recalled that day their conversation about love began in Mwajuma’s place. He went in and shut the door. He drew near to the table and looked at the scattered papers there. “What are you writing?” She asked.

"An article"

"Article on what?"

"It is an article that criticizes British colonializers and their African puppets; how they torture the people, not only in Zanzibar but all over Africa”]

The use of written media is also observed in another novel by Shafi Adam, *Kuli*. As the colonial police prohibits gatherings and the distribution of any newspapers with exception of those that support colonial ideology, the organization of port workers in Zanzibar is coming up with another way of communicating their complaints among themselves and this is through flyers which are secretly distributed in their cycles. The papers communicate issues like what the porters are deprived of, what actions have been taken by leaders and the measures that the leaders recommend including strikes. One of the papers distributed before their general meeting was read:

Wafanyakazi wa bandarini tumechoka kudhiliwa. Siku kadha wa kadha tumea madai kadha wa kadha bila ya kufanikiwa. Kampuni ya Smith McKenzie imekwisha tuonyesha wazi kama havana nia wala azma yoyote ya kalea mabadiriko ya aina yoyote kwa manufaa ya wafanyakazi..... (Shafi A., 1979, p. 153)[We, porters are tired of being deprived of our rights. We have tried several peaceful means but all have proved to be vain. Smith McKenzie's company has already made it clear that they are not interested in any effort to bring any kind of change to the benefit of staff.....]
The above quote reveals ideological battle between the colonial government and the organization of port workers. The colonial government prohibits any kind of newspaper that does not belong to the colonial government because it wants to monopolize the flow of information and ideology to the colonized people which will ensure the success of their exploitation as the Africans will be manipulated repeatedly and uninterruptedly by the colonial propaganda. Being aware of it, the organization of port workers is using such secret means as the way to spreading counter-ideological doctrines.

While *Vuta N’kuvute* and *Kuli* depict distribution of newspapers and flyers as the way to counter colonial ideological discourse, *The Gathering Storm* shows Africans using political party as the means to present their counter colonial ideologies. Tanganyika African Union is formed under the leadership of Julius Nyerere as the national leader. In Bulembe, the place where the text is set. TANU is establishing her branch in 1958, three years before independence is attained. TANU as the political party is succeeded in demystification of white superiority to the Africans in Bulembe as people were conditioned to acting and responding in ways which reflect their sense of inferiority towards the white people:

The crowd kept their eyes turned towards Bangama. But the words the TANU man spoke had not so much effect as did the person of Bangama himself. Everybody kept wondering how the fellow could so fearlessly speak in front of a white man. Lubele looked at Simon constantly. His boy also made the same fearless impression. Then he noticed that all those with him had the same air about them. No fear for white men and even the D.C.s. Did it mean that once someone was a TANU man then he had no fear of anything? (Sokko, 1977, p. 126).

Another Ideological resistance is seen in *Kinjekitile*. After a defeat in the war Kinjekitile who was the leader of Maji Maji war on the side of Africans is locked in a prison cell. The German officers want him to tell the public that the idea of
magic water that could make German bullets harmless was a lie. They promise him that if he does so he will be set free. However Kinjekitile is reluctant to accepting the condition. The German officers in collaboration with African soldiers working with colonial government give him a torture to make him speak but Kinjekitile is not breaking as he stands firm on his position.

The incident in Kinjekitile is a typical ideological battle as Kinjekitile is aware that the Germans are powerful not because they have physical strength or they have enough missiles to kill all the natives in southern Tanganyika but because they have inflicted fear in the heads of individual Africans. Kinjekitile also knows that his idea of magic water has shaken the power of Germans as Africans dared to fight the German something which has never happened before. Having all these facts in mind, Kinjekitile is ready to take the pains hoping that his idea of water has sowed the seed of anti-colonialism in the minds of the current and future Africans this is proved when he says:

Do you know what they will say tomorrow? The officer will say that we were wrong. He will tell our children that we were wrong in fighting him. He will tell that to our children, Kitunda. That to fight him is wrong! That to fight for one’s country is wrong! And he wants me to help him by retracting all that I said. He wants me to say that the water was a lie. Do you know what that means? The moment I say that, people in the north, south, east and west will stop fighting. They will fall into hopeless despair—they will give up. I will not say that! A word has been born. Our children will tell their children about this word. Our great grandchildren will hear of it. One day the word will cease to be a dream, it will be reality. (Hussein, 1970, p. 53)

This resistance by Kinjekitile is of spectacular importance in the ideological war on the side of the colonized. Its implication is manifested in several historical studies and fictional texts. Although the actual incident happened in 1905 and ended in 1907 in the actual history of Tanzania the incident was used as a reference fifty years later in 1950’s when Tanganyika African Union (TANU) was
fighting for independence of the country. This is proved by Greeinstein (2010) when he states that “the Tanganyikan nationalists that pushed for independence in the 1950’s also emphasized the distinctly African character of the Maji Maji revolt and its opposition to European colonization, only this time invoking it in defense of African liberation and as a source of legitimacy for the fledgling Tanganyikan nation” (p. 64). In this line of thought, it can be said that Kinjeketile’s view of never retracting his words on the power of the magic water and accepting the pain for the liberation of the future generations as he did in the play was realized fifty years later when it was used as the reference of standard fighting spirit against the colonizers.

Foucault defines resistance in a more plain way believing that resistance is expected as far as there is what we call power relations. He argues that there are no relations of power without resistances. Power is always there and no one is ever outside of power. However, saying that one can never be outside power does not mean that one is trapped and condemned to defeat no matter what (Foucault, 1986, pp. 141-142). To Foucault, relations of power are interwoven with other kinds of relations including family, kinship, sexuality and production. Their domination is functioning in a more coherent and unitary way. Since the relations of power is in such complicated, interwoven web of relations the concept of resistance is also observed in the same interwoven manner. Having that in mind, Foucault rejects the binary opposition between resistance and non-resistance which in my point of view implies that someone can ally with a dominant class at one point of time and then resist at another point. Such case is also apparent in the
selected texts as they depict some characters complying with colonial mission at some points and resisting to it at another point.

An example can be taken from *Vuta N'kuvute* and *Kuli*. *Kuli*, for example, depicts the porters cooperating with Smith McKenzie as they are working hard albeit the difficult condition and clear exploitation. At another time the very same workers are depicted resisting against exploitation of the company including rioting and some individuals physically fighting against whites. The same is the case in *Vuta N'kuvute* where Africans cooperate by working with the colonial government in the white collar jobs as well as blue collar jobs, however, the same people are later holding posters and fabrics demonstrating their resistance to colonial rule and urging other Africans join the condemnation of it.

While Foucault is proposing that there is resistance as far as there is power relations, Althusser sees resistance as class struggle which I think is just another way of saying that resistance is part and parcel of human life since class struggle will never cease. In the class society the relations of production are relations of exploitation and therefore relations of antagonistic classes. In this sense, what is seen as technical division of labour in class society is actually social division of labour as it guarantees certain people to hold higher ranks than others. As such the ruling class to reproduce the relations of production there must be a constant struggle between the two (Althusser, 1970, pp. 270-271)

Unlike Foucault and Althusser, Said’s interpretation of resistance is failure on the part of the colonizers. This is seen from his description of opposition to orientalism as he argues that Orientalism should be opposed because it has failed
to consider human reality. Orientalism, according to Said has set its stereotypical and racial doctrines that were aimed at ensuring no resistance from the other, however, resistance is still there and is ought to be there because orientalism itself has failed to consider human reality of those it is stereotyping:

I do believe-and in my other work have tried to show -that enough is being done today in the human sciences to provide the contemporary scholar with insights, methods, and ideas that could dispense with racial, ideological, and imperialist stereotypes of the sort provided during its historical ascendancy by Orientalism. I consider Orientalism's failure to have been a human as much as an intellectual one; for in having to take up a position of irreducible opposition to a region of the world it considered alien to its own, orientalism failed to identify with human experiences, failed also to see it as a human experience (Foucault, 1986, p. 328)

Said enlightens that Orientalism hide behind the common Eurocentric claim that a purely academic claim should not be political. Such claims make Orientalism corrupt and blind to human reality. He gives an example that there are individual scholars working in such field as Islamic history, anthropology, civilization, and religion and such scholars have gained reputation as authorities while mostly they use such authorities to place their influence in the politics of race and geographical oppositions of the self and the other. Saying so he argues that Orientalism must be challenged intellectually, ideologically and politically (Foucault, 1986, p. 326). He thinks that Orientalism should be refined to reduce the conceit of its scholars so that we can have the kind of scholars whose scholarly contributions are aimed for the development of mankind and not on racial, ethnic and national distinctions.

Said’s point is reflected in the selected texts. Through Lubele for example, *The Gathering Storm* enlightens on how TANU, the natives’ political party formed in Tanganyika in the late 1950s opens up the minds of Africans and
demystify Europeans’ superiority. *The Gathering Storm* depicts Lubele wondering how his fellow Africans can dare condemning colonialism before the European district commissioner who was feared by every African in Bulembe. The fact that the myth of European superiority set by European colonizers is demystified by the TANU leaders, in Said’s line of thinking, can be interpreted as the failure on the part of colonial racist propaganda.
CHAPTER V

REVELATION OF AMBIVALENCE OF BOTH THE COLONIZERS AND THE COLONIZED BY THE SELECTED TEXTS

Homi Bhabha (1984) argues that interaction among the people of different culture, race, and gender has led to the move away from singularities on those matters. This has led to the idea of subject positions relating to such matters. Colonialism brought into contact people of different races and geopolitical locales, for example colonialism in the context of Tanzania includes Africans, Europeans, and Asians playing different roles and placed on different positions. In the context of colonial discourse, categories of race and geopolitical affiliation were used in hierarchization through the techniques of articulation of differences and discrimination. This differentiation and discrimination, I argue, was another colonizer’s attempt to realize their goals of economic exploitation of Africans and therefore, however far from the economic motive it may look, it cannot be separated from smoothening of colonial exploitative endeavours.

Differentiation and discrimination stated by Bhabha is also evident in Edward Said’s *Orientalism*. Said defines Orientalism as “a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient’s special place in European Western experience” (Said, 1978, p. 1). “Basing on Europeans Western experience” has led to placing identities and everything concerning identities of different races in binary opposition where everything western is considered superior to everything non-western. In Orientalism, Said is examining the varied European discourses which constitute ‘the Orient’ (in this paper Africans too are regarded as the
orients)\textsuperscript{5} as a unified racial, geographical, political and cultural zone of the world which is distinct from the occident, the people of western decency. It describes the west as intrinsically superior over the east, which divides the world into larger general divisions:

“On the one hand there are Westerners, and on the other there are Arab-Orientals; the former are rational, peaceful, liberal, logical, capable of holding real values, without natural suspicion; the latter are none of these things” (Said, 1978, p. 49).

This view by Said adheres to that of Bhabha who claims that the objective of colonial discourse is to interpret the colonized as a population of perverted types on the basis of racial origin, in order to rationalise conquest and to establish schemes of administration and instruction. Said is referring to the form of governing that marks out some nations as “subject nation” so that they can appropriate and dominate culturally, politically, and economically. This chapter discusses the description of the belief of binary opposition by the colonizers, how such belief causes ambivalence, and finally it examines the way the colonized undermine the colonial discourse through ambivalence.

A. The Propagation of the Binary Opposition in Colonial Discourse

The selected texts depict various ways that the colonizers propagate their sense of superiority hence placing race, culture and everything that concern the identity of the colonizer and the colonized into two binary oppositions. On one hand is the colonizers whose race, religion, and culture in general is superior to whatever of

\textsuperscript{5} As explained in chapter two, Said’s \textit{Orientalism} is contextualized in the relationship between the west (which includes western Europe and America) and the Middle East (which is more on Arabic speaking countries in Asia and North Africa). For the sake of this study, Said’s logic is expanded in its scope to include all the colonized countries in the world (Africans in the texts under discussion being one of them)
the same kind that is associated or belong to the colonized. Because of this superiority complex, the texts depict the colonizers either ridiculing the colonized or attempting to change culture and identity of the colonized to match that of the colonizers.

Vuta Nkuvute depicts the situation in Zanzibar where racial and cultural hierarchy is the norm. the races are arranged in descending order from whites, Indians, and Africans and this is reflected in the residence areas, recreational areas, as well as the way characters socialize. Not only that Africans are not allowed to live in the areas where Indians and whites live but they are subjected to economic condition that they will not think of doing that as they are subjected to poverty and unemployment hence they cannot afford living or doing their outings to the areas set special for people of “superior race”. The text goes further by showing that even if an African has money enough to afford the costs at the Europeans places, it is also not easy for them as they are required to dress in the western style and to be fluent in English. Contrary to that the only Africans who were allowed to enter were the attendants and they had to behave in a much disciplined manner as narrated:

Ulikuwa mkusanyiko wa wazungu watupu kwani ilikuwa ni marufuku kwa asiye mzungu kuwinga ndani ya klubu ile. Waafrika walioruhusiwa kuwinga ndani ya jingo hilo walikuwa wakahudumu tu ambao waliwahudumu wazungu wale kwa heshima na taadhima na kwatetemekea pamoja na kuwa na uzoefu mkubwa wa kutikia yes sir, yes madame kila wanaposagizwa au wnapoambwa jambo (Shafi S. A., 1999, p. 132) [It was an only whites gathering because it was forbidden for non-white to enter the club. The only Africans who were allowed to enter the club were the waiters and waitresses who had to not only serve the whites but also behave in a much disciplined way with an experience of responding by “yes sir”, “yes Madame” every time they are instructed to do something.]
Segregating the colonized and wanting them to bow for the whites is one of the ways that the text depict the colonizer’s propagation of superiority. This is possible because as depicted by the text, the colonized are desperate of employment since they need some sources of income for running their lives and due to this they have to accept even the jobs that degrade their dignity.

Unemployment as the weapon that the colonizers use to subject Africans to binary opposition is not only seen in *Vuta Nkuvute*, it is also apparent in *Kuli* and *The Gathering Storm*. *Kuli* shows Africans struggling with toiling jobs as porters working under harsh environment over a long working hours. On top of that the whites who are the high rank officials of the company treat them harshly, subjecting them to word abuses and physical attacks and at the end of the day they give them meagre pays. However, Africans find it difficult to fight the situation as they are already subjected to money economy and the only way they can earn money is to work with colonial companies since majority of them find no alternative. This situation echoes Althusser’s argument that in capitalist system, especially during colonial period, there was no technical division of labour but social division of labour. However, in this study the social division is further narrowed down to racial division of labour. This is true in reference to the situation addressed in *Kuli* since it is only Africans who are doing lower paying jobs, it is only Africans who do not hold administrative or decision making positions in companies nor government. The interpretation is that it is not because the Africans do not fit for such positions, but they are not in such positions because in a social division of labour, they belong to that lower positions because
by the standards of the time, they belong to the inferior race. This is supported by Rodney’s *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* where he states:

Colonizers discriminated against the employment of Africans in senior categories; and, whenever it happened that a white and a black filled the same post, the white man was sure to be paid considerably more (Said, 1978, p. 4).

On the case of *The Gathering Storm*, the case of racial hierarchy under determination of economic position is presented in a much similar way to *Kuli*. The novel shows that Europeans and Indians are the people who are economically well off where Europeans are employed as important government officials, Indians are running big business in town while Africans have to seek for permanent or temporary employments by people of other races. Like *Kuli*, *The Gathering Storm* also depicts Africans being exploited but holding to the same jobs. Racial division of labour is apparent as the most paying jobs are held by whites, followed by Indians while Africans live under the mess of the two mentioned races. An example from the text can be taken when two Indian business men are in discussion over their business in the small town of Bulembe. Charan is telling his friend Jayandra that the African house helpers are not performing their duties to the Indian’s satisfaction and Jayandra replies that:

It is easy to deal with them. Threaten to dismiss. They just can’t risk their jobs. You know most of these people long to live in the town. They take up service for whatever you offer them. Just do so. Ah, it won’t take a day you get another (Sokko, 1977, p. 111)

Jayandra knows for sure that Africans cannot risk their jobs. He is also sure that if Charan decides to dismiss Ali it will not take a day for him to get another servant. This implies that Africans are desperate over jobs and therefore the people of other races are in a position that they will do any kind of mistreatment
without expecting any resistance. Another implication is that majority of them are jobless so it is not difficult for Charan to get a replacement for Ali which is still another way of depicting the racial hierarchy that it is not only depicted in the text but also is revealed to be deeply sunk in the minds and hearts of Europeans and Indians as depicted in the text.

One may question where this study places the Indians in the context of colonialism in Tanzania as they are given important position in Tanzania texts set during colonial time. However, this paper is counting them among the colonizers as they are depicted as the beneficiaries of colonial system. The Gathering Storm for example, depicts that not only whites but also Indians take racial hierarchy for granted. One example is when the Indian woman who is the wife of the boss of Zayumba tells Zayumba a story that in the past God created three people:

The three people were European, an Indian, and an African. Then God asked each of them in turn. He said, “What do you want to have on earth?” Then, the European said, “I want wisdom and power”. God gave him. Next came the turn of Indian. He said “I want shops and coins”. And God gave him. When the turn of African came, he asked God saying, “I want drums and women” (Sokko, 1977, p. 141).

Of course there is no truth in what the Indian woman says but it reflects the effects to racial ranks that not only the Africans but also the whites and Indians are the victim of. Edward Said in his Orientalism (1978) makes a distinction of racial discrimination into two levels which he calls latent and manifest orientalism. He argues that latent orientalism is almost unconscious and in my interpretation it is always in the minds of the laymen of the people who consider themselves of the superior race. Manifest orientalism, on the other hand, is the various stated views about the culture, history, and other general life and identity
of the near east (in this context, Africans too) observed in the academic fields and writings such as sociology, linguistics, and literature of the westerners. In this context majority of people considering themselves as people of superior race fall under latent orientalism as they are just filled with myth of superiority and they take them for granted. This is to imply that not only Africans who are the victims of orientalism but also majority of whites who are conditioned to believe in the superiority of their race that they embrace the stereotypes of inferiority and superiority blindly.

*The Gathering Storm* not only depict colonizers propagating binary opposition by positioning themselves in a much better position socially and economically but they also use colonial education and religion to create the sense of inferiority complex in the minds of African youngsters. At the same time they are creating the gesture and impression of superiority in the minds of European kids. The text depicts double standards on the way students are treated when they do something wrong. Father Waters catches Willie and the African boy called Mangangala fighting. Fighting is one of serious offenses to be committed by students at school and therefore both students must face a serious punishment. However, it is only Mangangala who is punished for the offense. Father Waters is so much angry over Mangangala. He writes an expulsion note to Mr. Manono, head of the school and gives it to Mangangala to hand it to the head teacher:

Mr. Manoo went on perusing the letter a while longer. Then he reached for the handle of a drawer to his right. He brought out a big book with thick covers labelled “BLACK BOOK”. He wrote something in it, closed it and replaced it in the drawer. He reached for a long stick in the corner and stood up, brandishing it.

“Come near”
Mangangala came closer

“Lie on the chair”

The boy did so. Mr Manono thrashed him on the buttock twenty times. Tears dripped from the reddened eye sockets of Mangangala. He uttered no noise. (Sokko, 1977, p. 104).

After being thrashed, Mangangala is expelled from school while on the other side, Willie is checked if he has suffered any injury and then Simon, another African student is instructed to escort him to his bed and covers him with the bed sheet. Therefore, students at Mbazala School spend their time at school experiencing this double standard where they are treated as less important people on the grounds of racial bases while on the other hand, Willie enjoys the fate of being white. This is typical racism, an attempt by father Waters to create a sense of binary opposition among the students of different races with implication that Willie is better than other students in the school because Willie is white by race while other students are Africans. This racial hierarchy is apparent in the study by Walter Rodney, Rodney sees education offered to Africans by colonial governments as aimed at serving the subordination and exploitation of Africans. This racial discrimination depicted in The Gathering Storm better supports such argument.

The case of cultural supremacy as quoted from The Gathering Storm can be interpreted by using Bhabha’s theory of ambivalence by his discussion on concepts of cultural difference and cultural diversity. Bhabha puts it that whenever two individuals or cultures meet there emerges what he calls third space, some elements of day to day life that have different interpretation among the people. However, Bhabha enlightens that colonialism, through and for the
sake of hierarchy of cultures, manipulated this nature of third space. He tackles such manipulation by introducing two concepts i.e. cultural difference and cultural diversity. He views cultural diversity as a fair treatment of differences found in the third space where despite of differences people respect and value each other’s way of living. On the contrary, he defines cultural difference as a process of signification through which statements of culture or on culture differentiate, discriminate and authorize the production of fields of force, reference, applicability and capacity. In the light of cultural difference, it is seen that colonialists attempted to dominate in the name of a cultural supremacy, they differentiate their culture as superior and rational while that culture of the colonized is irrational and inferior and therefore needs to be changed and the colonized needs to be replicas of the colonizer.

That same attempt of trying to make the colonized replicas of the colonizers is seen in the above discussion from the text as parents are required to be baptized, in a simple language, to be Christians so that their children will be admitted to school. But this baptizing the parents means making them leave their old way of living and copy that of the colonizers and hence, in the light of this chapter, this is regarded as the colonizers view of the third space as differences and not diversities as suggested by Bhabha. This is perfectly reflected in The Gathering Storm where Europeans do not admit African kids to high school unless their parents are baptized. In this case majority of African kids do not go beyond elementary school as their parents are not baptized. This can be exemplified by the conversation between Said and Lubele. Lubele thinks that education is good
for children’s future, even though he has never been to school he knows how valuable education is and therefore he wishes at least one of his boy children to go beyond elementary school. He talks to Said about securing the chance for his son, Simon to join Mbazala High School. Said replies:

“Where do you think he can get a place? The only middle school is at Mbazala Mission. And nobody can get a place there unless he becomes known to priests. As for us Muslims, such a chance for our children is what we cannot dream of” (Sokko, 1977, p. 36)

The condition set by the school is probably due to the fact that the school is under administration of the church. However, that does not justify the disregard of Africans’ religious affiliation. Therefore what the Mbazala School does is not only ridicule to Non-Christian religions but also to diminish them by interpellation to Christianity.

Colonizers’ cultural supremacy is not a mere fictional subject since some studies done on the actual history of Tanzania reflect it in different ways. Studies by Kim (2011), Gunderson (2013), and Jennings (2008) are few of many studies which address this case. Kim’s study presents the incident in 1908 where ten African men of the Bena tribe in southern Tanzania were sentenced to death for cannibalism. However, Kim finds that the men were innocent and they did not cannibalize anyone. The study further enlightens that the trial had nothing to do with finding the Bena guilty of consuming their children than it did with officiating contemporary fascinations with non-European cannibalism and creating an implication of negativity of African culture. Kim’s case is almost similar to the one by Gunderson who finds that Germans had the tendency to kill African doctors, rain makers, and priests charging them of sorcery. But whatever
the reason given by the Germans for killing such priests, interpretation remains that they were ridiculing them because what they did was not as good as European practices, hence in their binary opposition views, they were not worth practicing in European colonies. Jennings (2008) finds that Missionaries in southern Tanzania were using the guise of medical services to fight African traditions. He argues that London Missionary Society in southern Tanzania, as agents of European culture and conquest, they used their struggles against indigenous healing traditions and practices as one weapon in their struggle. In attacking traditional healers, missionaries sought not only to undermine alternative systems of healing and medicine, but to challenge African cultures and identities.

**B. The Colonizer’s Propagation of Binary Opposition and Ambivalence**

In reality cultural situations in colonies is two way relationship. Whenever two cultures or individuals meet it is expected that the effects will be mutual and not only one culture to affect another with regard to its superiority or inferiority. The same applies to Tanzania colonial situation as reflected in the selected texts where Africans, Europeans, and Indians interact in day to day life. The texts depict Africans acquiring European and Indian ways, Europeans acquiring African ways as do Indians too.

However, the acquisition of culture of people of one race by people of another race in the selected texts is characterized by ambivalence. Such ambivalence is apparent in both the colonizers and the colonized. Ambivalence is seen on the side of the colonizers in a mechanism of wanting to foreground their racial and cultural superiority as discussed in the previous section. Instead of perceiving multiplicity in culture as diversity, they perceive it as difference hence propagate their culture
as rational and superior and culture of the colonized as irrational and inferior. Going with this line of thinking, they take the culture of the colonized as ridiculous, something to be changed by people of superior culture by making its followers follow the colonizer’s culture and sometimes they even attempt to abolish some cultural elements of the colonized or make the colonized follow the culture of the colonizer.

As the colonized ridicule, subjugate, and think of abolishing elements in the culture of the colonized, ambivalence comes as they, in the process to propagate their superiority, make actions or exhibit kind of reasoning (thoughts) that contradict with propagation of their superiority or contradict with their holy books and teachings that they themselves use as the justification for their superiority. Ambivalence also comes as the colonizers try to make European replicas out of the colonized Africans, however that replicas should not be as westernized as the westerners themselves hence they create a thought and actions that is contradicting, hence ambivalent.

This ambivalence of people who consider themselves belonging to superior race and culture is depicted in *Vuta N’kuvute* and *The Gathering Storm*. This includes ambivalence in line with racial and religious issues. Ambivalence on issues concerning religion is exemplified by Father Jones Waters from *The Gathering Storm*. Father Jones Waters subjects African students at Mbazala Boys secondary school to European racial supremacy. All the students are of African race with exception of Willie Samuel who is white. The treatment that father Waters is giving Willie leaves the implication that the boy is special and the most
important of all students in the school. Father Waters is giving manual tasks to students including sweeping the compound and clearing bushes. However, Willie is excluded in all the manual activities therefore he only rests while every one of the other students is toiling with the tasks.

The text also depicts father Waters creating double standards through his way of dealing with students who have done something wrong. He catches Willie and the African boy called Mangangala fighting. Fighting is one of serious offenses to be committed by students at school and therefore both students must face a serious punishment. However, it is only Mangangala who is punished for the offense. Father Waters is so much angry over Mangangala. He writes an expulsion note to Mr. Manono, head of the school and gives it to Mangangala to hand it to the head teacher where Mangangala is finally expelled from school.

Father water’s double standard in treating students is a typical ambivalence and a mock to himself as a Catholic priest and a mock to the bible as the Catholic and Christian Holy Scripture through which whites in this text use to justify their sense of superiority of Christianity over African religions. As a priest he is expected to have deep and wider understanding of the bible which does not allow nepotism or discriminating people for any reason be it race or wealth. The bible has different books and verses which teach on equality and treating other people properly. Examples are as follows:

There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free man, there is neither male nor female: for you are all one in Christ Jesus (Galatians 3:28)

My brothers and sisters, do you with your acts of favouritism really believe in our lord Jesus Christ? For if a person with gold rings and in fine clothes comes into your assembly, and if a poor person in dirty clothes also comes in, and if you take notice of
the one wearing the fine clothes and say “have a seat here. Please,” while to the one who is poor you say, “Stand here,” or “Sit at my feet,” have you not made distinctions among yourselves, and become judges with evil thoughts? (James 2:1-4)

The above are few of many lines from the bible that teach on equality among people. Since father Waters is the Christian priest, it is expected that he does not only teach that lines to both African and European students at school but also reflect them in his day to day life including the way he treats students regardless of their race, economic, or social class. Therefore his discrimination of African students as exemplified by the way he favours Willie and expels Mangangala is the depiction of ambivalence of Europeans as they want Africans to be their replicas by following European religion but at the same time they disregard some parts of their own scripture in order to serve the imperial purpose, hence the religious ambivalence of father Waters is his being caught up between wanting to serve the Christian mission and wanting to serve imperial mission at the same place and time.

Father Water’s ambivalence echoes the story of Charles Grant as exemplified by Bhabha in the *Location of Culture* (1994). As an example of colonial mimicry, Bhabha cites the imperial mission of Charles Grant in India in the year 1792. Grant, being loyal to both Christian and Imperial mission dreams of political reform that will consider both Christian norms and expansion of imperial company in India. However, Grant is afraid that full westernization of Indians would make them turbulent for liberty. He finally suggests "partial" diffusion of Christianity, and the "partial" influence of moral improvements which will construct a particularly appropriate form of colonial subjectivity. This like father Water’s act, is ambivalence and mockery to Christianity as the Bible is itself,
according to Christian teachings, forbids any tolerance of heathen faiths but what Grant and Father Jones are doing is the act of compromising the biblical teachings.

Ambivalence of the colonizers is also observed in The Gathering Storm through the character called Solomon. Solomon is the European working in the office of the District Commissioner in Bulembe. Several incidents depict him ridiculing African people and their culture. He even exploits their power and time with irrational and inferiority of their culture as the justification. For example, he asks the Chief to provide him with five African men who will carry heavy loads belonging to his uncle to the village called Ngaza. The five men carry the load over a long distance and time. When they reach home, the uncle wants to pay the African men for the job they have done. However, Solomon stops him claiming that they will not do anything important with the money:

"Ah, don’t worry yourself about them, Uncle," Samuel said. “I know them, they carry banana everyday on their heads, loads far bigger than what you see them carrying now. And then the money, they finish all in drinking. They can stay at a beer party the whole night.” (Sokko, 1977, p. 83)

What Samuel claims about Africans is typically not true. The group has characters like Zayumba and Lubele. Zayumba struggles to make money since he thinks that his family is big and therefore he has a lot of responsibilities, while Lubele wants money because he has a lot in his head as the father of the family. He wants his son Simon to go to the middle school at Mbazala high school, he also thinks of doing sacrifice for his brother Kamuyuga as the norm when someone has never been at home for a long time. With example of such two characters and their motives with the money they are looking for, it is then right if
one comments on Samuel’s claim as mere stereotype that Europeans have over Africans and African culture.

Europeans’ stereotype over Africans and African culture exhibited by Samuel perfectly adheres to concepts of stereotype and fixation suggested by Bhabha in *The Location of Culture*. Bhabha defines stereotype as a form of knowledge and identification that equivocates between what is always in place, already known, and something that must be excitedly repeated. He also defines fixity as rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition. Through the technic of fixity, colonial discourse create an ideological construction of otherness by statements of or on culture which differentiate, discriminate, and authorize the production of fields of force, reference, applicability and capacity with the aim of emphasizing the stereotype of colonizers as peoples and cultures superior to the colonized. Solomon decided the fate of the five African men by just one statement which was presented as someone who knows them well and since he knows them he can decide what they should and what they should not be given regardless they deserve it or not.

Ambivalence of Samuel’s view over Africans and African culture is later revealed by the text when it reveals the fact that he is also using African traditional medicine and medicine men. This is revealed by Saidi. Saidi tells Willie, Solomon’s son that he was helping Solomon to reach the witch doctor who was staying at the nearby village:

“Baba, you don’t know Saidi-wa-Manamba of Mshenye? I used to come to your house many times and on several times your father sent me to Ngaza. One time in 1956, your mother was ill and your father sent me to look for a witchdoctor. I went to a certain doctor I knew and brought him to your house. The doctor used to lodge at Mkomolo but
now he is dead. And at the time the doctor was at your home, I came everyday” (Sokko, 1977, pp. 143-144)

Solomon’s use of witchdoctors is a typical ambivalence because of two reasons. First reason is more general i.e. as a European in the African colony, he is not expected to use African witchdoctors since the whites are propagating their superiority by differentiating themselves with Africa as a race and culture. Africans are urged to leave their traditional religions and follow the teachings of Jesus Christ and Christianity in general. The second reason is that, as just exemplified above, Solomon has the tendency to ridicule African’s way of doing things, using white man’s superiority complex revealed through stereotypes and fixity. That as white man, he knows Africans and their ways and that African ways are irrational and barbaric therefore Solomon, as a white man is in frontline in fighting them using various ways including denying five African men the price of their own sweat only because he knows that they are going to use it for liquors and women (which is not necessarily true).

Solomon’s ambivalence in his indulgence with African ways of healing is further proved ambivalent by the way his son, Willie responds to what Saidi said. He becomes filled with both anger and shame at the same time. He thinks that his father is embarrassed by what Said is saying as he replies:

By the time Saidi finished this, Willie was already sweating with shame. He found this new claim to dishonour his family beyond his endurance.

“No, no, no! That can’t be!” he cried, his eyes already dyed red. He stood up and bent upon Saidi. He shouted so vehemently that tiny drops of saliva from his mouth spewed onto the face of the legendary manamba officer”

“It can’t be,” Willie yelled. “My father, a good Christian student of Ngaza seminary and pupil of Father Waters, wouldn’t have indulged in the scum of heathens!” The last word came when the son of Samuel was already out of the office. He strode to his car
and immediately drove off, his car’s exhaust pipe sending dust particles in the dancing doorway (Sokko, 1977, p. 144)

Ambivalence of people belonging to the colonizers’ side is also evident in *Vuta N’kuvute*. One most apparent example is Gulam who is the uncle to Yasmin. Gulam belongs to the Indians community in Zanzibar by the time of British colonizers. He is the proponent of racial separatism in the colony as he disapproves Yasmin’s association with Swahili people. When Yasmin runs away from her husband, she goes to her mother’s place where the mother chases her away, wanting her to go back to the husband if she really don’t want to cease being her daughter. Alternatively, Yasmin goes to her uncle’s place, hoping that the uncle will welcome her. However she faces similar response as the uncle angrily chases her away. Desperately, Yasmin goes to stay with her Swahili friend, Mwajuma something which angers her relatives, Gulam and her mother being one of them. The relatives have grown up believing that there supposed to be no association between the Swahili people and Indians because the Swahili is the race which is inferior to that of Indians.

Yasmin falls in love with a Swahili boy from Mombasa, as the norm in her Indian culture, she cannot get married without the permission of her parents. She therefore finds herself in dilemma since she knows that her parents are racist and they will not allow her to get married. She decided to ask for help from her uncle’s friend, called Kermali. Here is where ambivalence of Gulam is seen. Kermali admits that it will not be easy to convince Gulam to grant permission for Yasmin to get married to the African boy. However, he knows that in spite of
Gulam’s racist view’s he has an extramarital relation with a Swahili woman as Kermali says to his wife:

“Sasa Yasmin anafuata nyayo. Yeye Gulam mwenyewe ana mke wa Kiswahili na Yasmin naye anataka kuolewa na Mswahili.” [“Now Yasmin is following footsteps. Her uncle Gulam has a Swahili wife and now Yasmin wants to get married to a Swahili man”]


“Anaye mke Mswahili! Tena naye siku nyingi, amezaa naye watoto wawili wa kiwiruka sasa. Amemwoa kwa sita. Ni sita haji mtu yeye. Yiko Vikotoni” (Shafi S. A., 1999, p. 224) [“He has a Swahili wife and they were together for a long time. But it is a secret, nobody knows. She stays at Vikotoni”]

Therefore despite of the fact that he advocates for racial separatism that there should not be association between Swahilis and Indians his secret affair with the Swahili woman demonstrates his unsettled mind as he does not like the Swahili yet he has a Swahili woman as a wife. Gulam’s ambivalence is further depicted at the time Kermali asks him to admit Yasmin to get married to Bukheti, A Swahili boy. Gulam denies it at first with a reason that there should be no marriage between a Swahili and an Indian but Kermali reminds him that he also has a Swahili wife and everyone knows about it:

“Akapeleka posa kwa Gulam. Gulam alipojidai kuti Kermal akibwata kupata posa ya golo, Kermal akamwambia “ho! Mbona hata wewe unaye golo umemficha Vikotoni. Unadhani watu hawajui?” naye akaja matawi ya chini. Ujuba na usafihi ukamwisha, posa ajaikubali. (Shafi S. A., 1999, p. 245) [He wanted to hand over the bride price to Gulam but Gulam was not ready to accept it because it was from a Swahili young man. “ho! You also have a Swahili wife and everyone knows about it so how come you deny this one?” Gulam calmed down, arrogance stripped off from him and accepted the bride price.]

The case of ambivalence by the colonized is mostly reflected in the texts through mimicry. Although mimicry is done by the colonized but it is the strategy used by the colonizers to create binary opposition. The colonizers create mimicry
through the impression that the culture and day to day life of the colonized is worth of contempt and therefore the colonized ought to mime the ways of the colonizers. However, such mimicry by the colonized does not make them similar to colonizers instead make them in between their own culture and that of the colonizer, most often fail to make decision of their own identity as they tend to identify themselves through the colonizer’s identity but haunted by their own African identity.

*The Gathering Storm* depicts this kind of ambivalence through different incidents and characters. The character called Zayumba for example, exhibits ambivalence of identity of Africans through religion and naming. Since Zayumba works in the office of the district commissioner he is acquiring the ways of whites including being baptized. He then changes the name to Yusefu (Joseph). Ambivalence comes on the way his people recognize him as some people call him Zayumba while others deny that name and call him Yusefu as the conversation between Kamuyuga and Lubele suggests:

“Zayumba, I don’t think I know this Zayumba.”

“Son of Chochochoko of Mkomolo. Have you forgotten Chochocho?”

“Had he a son called Zayumba?”

“Haaa! That’s only nickname. His name is—“

“Yusefu,” Nganda gave the clue. “That is his Christian name. But people know only this other one— Zayumba.” (Sokko, 1977, p. 18)

Sokko also depicts some Africans whose names are not changed through baptism but nickname themselves by adding some affixes to make them sound European. This is seen through the boy called Mangangala. Mangangala is the
student at Mbazala boys high school where the boys whose parents are not baptised will never get admission to the school. This means that the boy’s parents together with him are already Christians because the boy is studies there. However, the boy has not been given a Christian name. His love for the Christian names make him add the suffix “son” on his name and therefore he becomes “Mangangalason”. This is revealed through Mangangala’s exchange of words with Willie when they are about to fight. Willie tells Mangangala:

“Then I will beat you up. Bush dog. You call yourself Mangangalason. Do you know what son means? Son is not for you.” (Sokko, 1977, p. 101)

Willie tells Mnangangala that “son” is not for you. He knows that Mngangala is trying to mime his ways, to make himself similar to the whites but Willie’s comment proves Bhabha’s definition of mimicry that the colonizers want the colonized to “be similar but not quite”. Therefore attempt by the colonized to imitate the colonizers is not only challenged by their own and their fellow Africans subconscious knowledge of their identity but also the white people’s reluctance to accept them as perfectly westernized people, instead to the whites these Africans become the westernized Africans and not “Westerners”. Sokko also shows that the Africans’ mimicry of whites is not only in case of names, it is also observable through the characters’ wish to look like Indians or Europeans. Ngamba, the wife of Alkarim for example, tries to mime Indian ladies of Bulembe. Since her husband is now rich she wants to lead exactly similar life style of the Indian women. However, it is not easy for her as she finds that she cannot be hundred percent similar to the Indian women as the narrator states:
Now only one thing was lacking. She didn’t kow how to knit. She was sitting here, but not exactly like Bulembe women. Her fingers did not know how to twist the threads. But she could teach herself and one day it would be complete. (Sokko, 1977, p. 148)

Apart from incidents that depict ambivalence in terms of cultural artefacts such as naming, religion and individual’s spending of free time which are seen in *Vuta N’kuvute* to the large extent, the other kind of ambivalence that can be observed from the texts is ambivalence caused by economic desperateness. This is a situation where an African has already made up their mind that they want something which is against colonizers but do the opposite as they find themselves unable to resist any longer. This is depicted in *Vuta N’kuvute* and *Kuli*.

In *The Gathering Storm* such ambivalence is depicted through Kamuyuga. When the representatives of Tanganyika African Union come to the village of Bulembe, they introduce their party and put it clear that the part has several goals the ultimate one being to expel the British colonizers from the country. Many Africans in Bulembe concur with the party officials and therefore buy membership cards as a sign of support to the party. Kamuyuga and his brother Lubele are among the Africans who buy the cards. However the situation turns out different to Kamuyuga as he is facing intimidation from his Indian beneficiaries who want him to choose between being the TANU member and being the associate of Indian business community. As a result Kamuyuga decides to leave TANU in favour of his economic partnership with Indians. However, the fact that he had already taken the card before being intimidated imply that he has a conflicting interests as he wants the colonizers out of Bulembe at the same time he wants to get economic benefit from them and therefore he treats the enemy of the colonizers as his enemies too as depicted below:
Kamuyuga, since the time Bangama came to Bulembe, had ceased to be a TANU member. The quarrel with his Indian allies had turned him into an active enemy of TANU (Sokko, 1977, p. 132).

*Kuli* also depicts ambivalence caused by economic desperate albeit in a different way. Members of organization of port workers agree to riot as the way to air their disagreement over exploitation and oppression they are subjected to by the authority of Smith McKenzie Company. For ten days they do not perform their responsibilities as employees, they only report to the working stations waiting for the response from the company officials. However this riot does not last as the workers are poor and rely on the meagre pay they receive from the company to run their lives. As a result, they end up going back to work although their wish is not to work until their complaints are worked upon.

**C. Ambivalence as a Loophole for Tanzanians’ Resistance**

Colonial discourse was created in a way that propagate the colonizer as superior to the colonized. In the process of propagating such superiority there emerges ambivalence that is observable in both the colonizers and the colonized. The ambivalence of the colonizer is in such a way that they ridicule the culture of the colonizer but at the same time they find themselves whether knowingly or unknowingly embracing some cultural artefacts of the colonized. The colonized, on the other hand, demonstrate ambivalence through mimicking the colonizer’s culture or finding themselves in dilemma, especially economic one that makes them undecided between their economic goals and following the colonizers conditions that they are not interested are oppressive, discriminative and racist.

Some of the selected texts depict the colonized using mimicry and ambivalence as a tool to fight against the colonizers. This situation has been theorized by
Bhabha who enlightens that while the colonizers want to make replicas from the colonized the colonized follow by doing mimicry of the colonizer’s culture, however, such mimicry is not different from mockery where the civilizing mission is threatened. According to Bhabha, the danger of mimicry is its double vision which in revealing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disturbs its authority. This concept is not widely depicted in the selected novels, however some of the incidents are as follows:

*Vuta N’kuvute* depicts Denge and his group planning to revenge loss they were inflicted by police. Colonial police, hoping to find clues that will help them to apprehend Denge for importing prohibited newspapers, ambush Denge’s place by destroying the furniture and other belongings in the house. In response, Denge and his friends plan to do the same in Karimjee club. Everything in the colony of Zanzibar is depicted in binary opposition where some are special for the whites and Indians while others are for Africans. This includes employment opportunities, schools for children, as well as refreshment places. Karimjee club is one of the clubs made specifically for whites. Africans are not allowed to enter unless they are workers doing their job at that place and they are expected to behave in a disciplined manner since they are inferiors surrounded by the superiors. In an attempt to make their way inside the club, the group decides to dress in a European way, putting Denge in from since he has a mastery of English language so that he can go inside and open the backdoors for the others to enter in order to accomplish their motive. This is depicted as follows:

*Tokea lini Karimjee wakaingia watu kama nyinyi? Kwani hamjui kwamba nyumba ile ni ya watukuffu tu?*
“N’don maan tumitia vitu vyote tuonekane kama hao wanaokubalika huko” Mambo alijibu akiikaza vizuri tai yake (Shafi S. A., 1999, p. 117). [Since when the likes of you can be allowed to enter Karimjee club. “Don’t you know that the place is special for the saints?”]

“That is why we have dresses like them so that they will think we are part of them”

This is a typical mockery through mimicry in a sense depicted by Bhabha. It is well known that the colonizers want Africans to mime their culture including dressing styles, religion and language and that is exactly what the African men do. However the aim of mimicking is not in a sense intended by the colonizers as they are doing that as a technique to make their way inside the club where, after getting in they beat white people, broke glasses in the club and even causing the whites people to get severe injuries due to panic.

Through the family of Lubele, The Gathering Storm also depicts the colonized challenging the colonial discourse as a result of some ambivalences. This is depicted through the figures of Lubele and his son Simon. Lubele thinks that education is important for the future of his children, he wishes all of his children to get to high school. However, two facts hinders the realisation of his wishes. Firstly, he is economically poor so he cannot afford the children’s education. Secondly, he is not baptized and therefore his sons do not qualify for admission even if he would be able to finance it. This poses a challenge which is resulting to ambivalence in the mind of Lubele as he wishes for the western education but he does not want to embrace the western religion as a condition for his son’s admission to school. Lubele is depicted as the conservative of African religion as the narrator depicts his conversation with Saidi-wa-Manamba in the following quote:
“Where do you think he can get a place? The only middle school is at Mbazala Mission. And nobody can get a place there unless he becomes known to priests. As for us Muslims, such a chance for our children is what we cannot dream of”

Lubele examined his situation a bit more carefully than he had before. He was neither a Muslim like Said-wa-Manamba nor was he one dear to the priests (Sokko, 1977, p. 36).

Therefore Lubele is more on African traditional religion and this is made apparent by the text as he insists on buying the goat for doing sacrifices for his brother Kamuyuga as the norm for someone who had not been to home for long time. Contrary to Lubele, Kamuyuga is already exposed to other religions apart from traditional religion and he does not believe on sacrifices. This is proved as he denies sacrifices and later changes to Islam. Apart from the challenges he faces Lubele manages to send his last born, Simon to Mbazala high school.

After finishing his studies, Simon goes to Dar es Salaam with the intention to find a good job that will earn him handsome salary to take care of his family and father. However, in the city he finds himself engaging into politics as one of the learned members of Tanganyika African Union (TANU). He proves to be an active member of the party which is in its mission to spread her anticolonial political ideology all over the country. He exhibits active participation as the narrator states:

The crowd kept their eyes turned towards Bangama. But the words the TANU man spoke had not so much effects as did the person of Bangama himself. Nobody listened. They only gazed at him. Everybody kept wondering how the fellow could so fearlessly speak in front of a white man, a D.C particularly. Lubele looked at Simon constantly. His boy also made the same fearless impression. Then he noticed that all those with him had the same air about them. No fear for white men and even the D.C.s. Did it mean that once someone was a TANU man then he had no fear for anything? (Sokko, 1977, p. 126)

Simon is given a leadership in the party as the secretary of the party branch in Bulembe. The party later manages to attain independence of the country and ends
colonial domination. Simon’s story adheres to Bhabha’s observation that ambivalence caused by mimicry is later used to weaken colonizer’s domination since what the colonizers see as mimicry is actually a mockery on the side of the colonized done specifically as the condition for them to fight against colonialism. Simon agreed to the Christian conditions at school as he had to demonstrate devotion in the religion as the condition for students to last in the school, he also had to act humble as he does servitude to Willie, the British student who was his classmate as the condition given by Father Johns. He is even appointed as the prefect due to his discipline which in Father Johns’ view includes being a perfect replica of Europeans. However, after finishing school he becomes a thorn to colonial rule since he is an active member of the party which later attains independence of the country.

However, Kuli and Kinjeketile do not depict this case of the colonized using colonial ambivalence to weaken colonial discourse. For Kinjeketile this may have been caused by two reasons, firstly, the infancy stage of colonialism and secondly, the nature of Germany colonial masters. Since colonialism in Kinjeketile is depicted at its infancy stage, the Germany colonizers happen to be more coercive which does not influence social interaction between the colonizers and the colonized and therefore it is difficult to find cases like that of Simon who has interaction with the British boy at school. German as the colonizers on the other hand, they were few in number and therefore they were distributed in a very small number to particular centres of the colony with the help of Akidas and Jumbes. This in turn makes the natives interact more with their fellow natives who work
for the colonizers as depicted in the play where there is no particular European interacting physically with the natives but the natives interacting among themselves.

On the case of *Kuli* it cannot be said that such weakening of colonial discourse is totally not depicted, however, it is not as explicit as the way it is depicted in *Vuta N’kuvute* and *The Gathering Storm*. The incident that can be depicting this theme is when the porters have rioted against the port authority wanting their complaints to be addressed as the condition for them to get back to work. However, they find themselves in ambivalent situation as they run out of money in ten days since they have stopped working. In reaction to that the leaders of porters allow their member to go to work so that they can earn money for their family. However, as they work, the leaders keep on collecting money from the workers and other well-wishers in and outside Zanzibar so that they will later organize another rioting which will not fail because of lack of money. By the way, the riot was later organized although it does not end well on the side of porters as the police use firearms and kill the leaders of porter’s organization. This can be treated as weakening colonial discourse through acting as an ideal colonized in the real imagination of the colonizers. The colonizers want the colonized who follow rules, who works without questioning and so on and that is what the porters do as the means to collect money for their future resistance.

To conclude this chapter, chapter V answers question number three on how the depiction of colonial encounter in the selected texts reveal ambivalence of both the colonizer and the colonized. To answer the question, the chapter is divided
into three subtopics which analyse colonizers propagation of binary opposition, how the colonizers propagation of binary opposition reveal ambivalence and lastly the way the colonized undermine colonial discourse through ambivalence. The selected texts depict the colonizers propagating themselves as superior to the colonized. This is done as they regard their race, religion and culture in general as superior to that of the colonized. In *Vuta N’kuvute*, for example, the races are arranged in descending order from whites, Indians, and Africans and this is reflected in the residence areas, recreational areas, as well as the way characters socialize. Not only that Africans are not allowed to live in the areas where Indians and whites live but they are subjected to economic condition that they will not think of doing that as they are subjected to poverty and unemployment hence they cannot afford living or doing their outings to the areas set special for people of “superior race”. *Kuli* shows that Europeans and Indians are the people who are economically well off where Europeans are employed as important government official, Indians are running big business in town while Africans have to seek for permanent or temporary employments by people of other races. In the process of propagating their superiority the colonizers go further to trying to orient the colonized to the European culture. This is evident in *The Gathering Storm* as the African children are not admitted to Mbazala High School unless they are converted to Christianity. This study has discussed this situation by using Homi Bhabha’s concept of mimicry.

The selected texts also reveal that the colonizers propagation of superiority lead to revelation of ambivalence of both the colonizers and the colonized. *Vuta*
*N’kuvute* for example depicts Father Jones waters who is the catholic priest treating students at Mbazala High School in a double standard as he favours the student with European decency at the expense of students of African origin. He orders that Willie, a British kid studying at his school to be exempted from all physical works and he goes further to expelling the African student who fought Willie while letting Willie continue with studies, however, in a fair way of doing things Willie is also supposed to be expelled from school. All these actions reveal ambivalence of the catholic priest since what he is doing goes contrary to his own Christian teachings as the bible insist on equality among the people.

Some of the selected texts depict the colonized using mimicry and ambivalence as a tool to fight against the colonizers. *Vuta N’kuvute* depict Denge and his friends dressing in a European way and trying their best to speak in English as they were entering Karimjee club, however, they are doing all this so that they can be allowed to enter the club since the club is only special for Europeans and few Africans who are rich and that have properly acquired the European values. After getting in the club, Denge and his friends cause tension as they destroy the properties and beat people. Another incident is depicted in *The Gathering Storm* where Simon is acquiring European and Christian values. He accepts being the subordinate to Willie, who is the British student at Mbazala High School. However, after finishing his studies. Simon joins TANU and plays an important role as the branch secretary of the party which successfully earns independence of the country.
CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

As a conclusive remark, this thesis emphasizes that the primary goal of colonization of Africa by Western Europe was economic exploitation. However, to make such exploitation realized at smooth, successful and maximum levels the colonizers packaged it in some political, social, and economic camouflages manifested through racism, legal suppression, humiliation as well as political and military operations. This thesis holds this view since whatever was done by colonial apparatuses, however far from economic motive they might have appeared, they still revolve at and resulted to making the colonized more suitable subjects for colonizer’s exploitative endeavour.

Theoretical approach of this study demonstrates further the argument that colonialism was centred at economic exploitation. This study has taken Edward Said’s Orientalism as its main theory. However, Foucault’s power and knowledge, Althusser’s state ideology and Bhabha’s ambivalence have been incorporated for three reasons. Firstly, to strengthen the understanding of origin and major arguments of Said in Orientalism since his study borrows some ideas from teachings by Foucault especially the ones associated with power, knowledge, and discourse. Secondly, to give wider and deeper perspective of European’s operations in their colonies. Lastly, to support the argument that colonizer’s economic motives are reflected in every sector they established in the colonies no matter how far a particular sector seem to be dis-attached from economic issues.

This is even possible because Said’s study itself is deals with how the Europeans managed to control the other part of the world through propaganda of
Orientalism, Bhabha’s ambivalence is enlightening on how the colonial encounter created cultural ambivalence on both the colonizers and the colonized while Althusser’s study demonstrates on how the colonizers, through particular apparatuses, manipulate the minds of the colonized to suit the colonizers’ ultimate motive of colonization which was economic exploitation of the colonies and their people. As such, through the mentioned theories, this study gets an eye to see political, cultural, educational, and legal practices in the colonies as demonstrated by the selected texts and then describe on which way they are meant to accelerate the realization of colonial exploitative motive.

As a means to present the main thesis of this study, this study has aimed at meeting three objectives which are to analyse the means and reasons of Tanzanian’s alliance to colonialism as depicted in the selected texts, to analyse the means and reasons of Tanzanian’s resistance against colonialism as depicted by the selected texts and lastly, to examine the way depiction of colonial encounter in the selected texts reveal ambivalence of both the colonizers and the colonized.

The study has come up with the following findings:

Question number one reveal that Africans’ alliance to colonial rules in the selected texts is caused by two main reasons which are colonial complicity and dependency complex. The selected texts depict Africans complying with colonialism through working as employees of the colonial system and paying taxes. Characters like Koplo Matata in Vuta N’kuvute and Mzee Tindo in Kuli have exhibited their compliance as trustworthy allies of colonial system. Dependency complex is manifested by the selected texts as Africans decided to
ally with conditions set by colonial authorities since Africans are economically dependent. The study finds that Dependency complex and colonial compliance are not accidental. Colonial governments use various techniques to make sure that the Africans are behaving in ways which are beneficial for the realization of colonial mission. Manipulation of African leadership and taxation is the common strategy depicted in the selected texts. This is evident in *Kinjeketile*, *Kuli* and *The Gathering Storm*. The texts also reveal that the colonizers used racial hierarchy as the technique to win Africans’ submission. This is observed in all the selected texts where Africans are subjected to lower rank positions in work places, lower payments and segregation which in their unison those techniques leave Africans poor and economically dependent on colonial mercy.

Concerning the second objective, this study finds that all the four selected texts depict Africans resisting to colonial rules in different manners. This study groups manifestation of Africans’ resistance against colonialism into three which are violent, negotiation and ideological resistance. Violent resistance is observed in *Kuli*, *Vuta N’kavute* and *Kinjeketile*. However, nature and extent of violence by Africans differ from one text to another. Their differences are much influenced by the nature of the colonizer as well as the time that the text is set in relation to the time that colonialism was introduced in Tanzania. German colonizers have faced more violent resistance comparing to British colonizers and this is evident as *Kinjeketile* depicts fiercer resistance by Tanganyikans to German colonial rule, the extent of such resistance is not depicted in any of other selected texts.
Resistance through negotiation is depicted in Kuli and Vuta N’kuvute. The Gathering Storm and Kinjeketile do not depict Africans using negotiation as the means of resistance. However, the two texts have different reasons. For Kinjeketile, it is possibly because of the cruel nature of German colonizers which makes Africans angry and more violent. The fact that German colonial rule was still new in Kinjeketile is also the reason as the colonizers have to use more violence to make the colonized suit to the colonial experience which is new to them while the colonized become more resistant as they have tasted the life of freedom before. The Gathering Storm does not depict resistance through negotiation since it is set in the small rural town where the African characters exhibit more fear over the European characters. This can be caused by lack of education and exposure among the African characters hence difficult for them to confront the whites to discuss with them about their interests.

Resistance through ideology is depicted in all the selected texts. In Vuta N’kuvute Denge with his friends have some connection with some publishers in Dar es Salaam where they secretly go during the night to collect some newspapers and flyers with some anticolonial messages and distribute them among the Africans in Zanzibar. The same means of using written media to spread information is also observed in Kuli where the leaders of port workers print out papers and distribute to their members. The Gathering Storm on the other hand, shows Africans using political party as the means to present their counter colonial ideologies. Tanganyika African Union is formed under the leadership of Julius Nyerere as the national leader. Kinjeketile reveals resistance through ideology
when Kinjeketile is locked up in the prison and the German officers want him to
tell the public that the idea of magic water that could make German bullets
harmless was a lie. They promise him that if he does so he will be set free.
Believing that what he has initiated will later invoke the spirit of ant colonialism
to the future generation Kinjeketile rejects the offer.

Concerning the third objective, this study finds that the colonizers find
themselves ambivalent since they try to balance between what they call
civilization mission and exploitative mission. They disguise their exploitative
mission with humanistic propaganda. This is done by making Tanzanians feel
inferior in all aspects of life and hence upgrade themselves by abandoning their
own cultural practices and embracing the culture of the European colonizers.
However, this leaves ambivalence on both the colonized and the colonizers.

The colonizers become ambivalent as they sometimes find themselves already
swept up to the cultural practices of the colonized and hence practice the same
thing that they are propagating as inferior, heathen and barbaric. This is better
depicted in *The Gathering Storm* where Solomon, apart from the fact that he
despises Tanzanian culture, takes his wife to the witchdoctor an act which is
against Christian teachings, the religion of which he is attributing himself as a
devoted follower. On the part of the colonized, ambivalence is demonstrated as
some of them want to embrace both Tanzanian culture as well as the culture of the
colonizer. However, this becomes difficult since some of the African cultural
practices are incompatible with European culture especially Christianity. An
example can be taken from *The Gathering Storm* where Lubele wants his son to
be admitted to Ngaza high school for further studies but he is not ready to see himself nor his son change to Christianity.

Since the scope of this study was limited to some Tanzanian literary texts set during colonial time, it has left some gaps that some scholars who are interested in the literary reflection of Tanzanian colonial history may want to study. One of the gaps is originating from the question of how do the Tanzanian literary texts set after Tanzania’s independence depict the social, political, cultural, and economic relation between Tanzania and her former colonizers. Historical and economic analyses show that the colonizers granted but merely a flag independence to their colonies in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and that the former colonies are still dependent economically and they still don’t have full mandate over some issues in their own countries. Therefore, the question is how do the post-independent Tanzanian literary works reflect this matter?
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDIX

This study uses four Tanzanian texts set in colonial period as its object of study, such texts are; one play named *Kinjeketile* authored by Ebrahim Hussein (1970); three novels named *The Gathering Storm* by Hamza Sokko (1977); *Vuta N’kuvute* [Tug of War] (1999) and *Kuli* [Porter] (1979) both authored by Shafi Adam Shafi. *Kinjeketile* tells the story of the Maji-Maji rebellion of 1905-07 that was led by Kinjeketile Ngwale in what was at the time called Southern Tanganyika, present day Tanzania. Kinjeketile, the leader of the revolt is possessed by Hongo, the tribes’ god and he is instructing people to use Maji (water) which will disarm the German bullets and therefore they will easily win the fight against the alien oppressor. Kinjeketile, after coming to his consciousness, is not certain about the water and therefore he urges people to be patient until he gives further notice. Kitunda, the man who was chosen as the commander of the revolt supports Kinjeketile’s idea with emphasis that they need to have a thorough preparation before the actual war; they should not depend totally on water. Tired of exploitation, humiliation and poverty inflicted by the colonial system the rest of people are against the two leaders and they insist on starting the war as soon as possible most importantly because they have water with them. Under the pressure of majority the war begins but it ends tragically as many people die and the natives lose the war.

Another texts used in this study is *The Gathering Storm* which is set in Morogoro, Tanzania during British colonial time. It tells the life of people of the village called Bulembe by specifically giving a focus to two Brothers, Kamuyuga and Lubele. Failing to earn his fortune in Dar es Salaam, the country’s major
business city, Kamuyuga goes back to Bulembe to face the same economic hardship as when he left the village eight years ago. He tries to do small business but fails due to insufficient capital hence joins his brother Lubele in selling Banana to the Indian businesspersons. The story goes on depicting Africans’ experience of subjection to exploitation by both European and Indians. Due to misunderstanding on business issues, Jayandra, the Indian business man plots the killing of his fellow Indian, Charan the act which Kamuyuga plays part in return he is funded to open his dream business of shop in his village. TANU, political party through which Africans use as a forum to fight for freedom opens its branch in Bulembe and at the first day the leaders sell membership cards to the Africans as a sign of supporting the movement. Kamuyuga buys the card but he returns it back as he is told by his Indian beneficiaries to choose between freedom of the country and his business, he chooses the second. Kamuyuga goes further by trying to persuade his brother Lubele to do away from the TANU activities something which Lubele disagrees. The two brothers get into a lifetime misunderstanding and they do not talk to each other. The country gets independence, Kamuyuga has grown up to the most successful businessperson. Like other few Africans who have made their fortune, Kamuyuga exploits his fellow Africans and does the same as what the Europeans and Indians were doing to the poor Africans during the colonial time. This shows that African countries only managed to change from white exploiters to native exploiters and hence independence did not change this relations of exploitation which the author calls the storm that is gathering and may cause the serious problem in the future.
The third text is *Vuta N’kuvute* [Tug of war] which depicts the social, political, and economic situation of Zanzibar under British colonial rule. The story is centred on two characters namely Yasmin and Denge. Yasmin, the sixteen years old girl is, under the pressure of her parents, married to Mr. Raza, the fifty four years old man. Since she entered into marital life without her consent and she does not find happiness in it, she decides to run away from her husband but the parents disowns her unless she goes back to her husband. Yasmin makes up her mind to living with Mwajuma, her African friend living in the poor neighbourhoods reserved for Africans, the inferior race. This angers her racist parents even more. At Mwajuma’s place, Yasmin meets Denge, the African who just graduated from the university in Russia. Denge leads the underground anti-colonial movement including importing and spreading newspapers and flyers which spread anti-colonial ideologies. Knowing that Denge has got his degree in Russia, the colonial government suspects him for socialistic ideologies and they plan to use Yasmin as a bait to frame and imprison him. Yasmin is trapped between her love for Denge, denial by her parents as she is associating herself with Africans, and the pressure from the British colonial government to give up Denge. On the part of Denge, he suffers regular imprisonment, beating, and hide and seek life as he becomes the centre of attention of the colonial police.

The fourth and last texts is *Kuli* [Porter] which tells a story of Majaliwa, a fifty year old man who works as a porter at the harbour in colonial Zanzibar. Majaliwa together with his fellow porters experience oppression and exploitation by Smith McKenzie but they keep holding to their work since it is the only source of
income they depend on. Majaliwa works for the company until his last breath. After the passing away of Majaliwa, his only son, Rashidi decides to do the same job as his late father so that he can be able to take care of himself and his mother. The story goes with the series of strikes, conflicts and resistances demonstrated by the natives against British colonizers.