

**AN ASSESSMENT OF THE SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY AS APPLIED IN AFRICA.**

**A CASE STUDY OF TANZANIA UNDER THE LATE PRESIDENT**

**MWALIMU JULIUS NYERERE.**

**BY**

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that except for references to other people's works, which have been duly acknowledged, the study presented here was written by me, Kwikiriza Caleb, under the supervision of Mr. Baraka Samuel. It is a record of my own research work and has not previously been presented in any form whatsoever in any academic award. However, all sources of information collected and referred to are duly acknowledged by means of references and bibliography.

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## APPROVAL

I have approved the mentioned final years report to be presented as a partial requirement for the acquisition of Bachelor of Laws at Kampala International University.

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Date.....

## DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to the Almighty God and my parents Mr. William Rubatemba and Mrs. Jovanice Rubatemba and to all those who have sacrificed their lives to fight for justice and make humanity a better place for everyone to live in.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I owe a great deal of thanks to a great number of people for their help on various parts in numerous stages of this project. My greatest single debt is owed to the professional input of my great lecturer and supervisor Mr. Baraka Samuel, who continuously, selflessly, tirelessly guided me on all aspects as he went through my work and gave me the benefit of knowledge as he went beyond the call of duty in guiding me through chapter by chapter in this research project. I acknowledge his invaluable help and support rendered to me.

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## ACRONYMS

AD	Arusha Declaration
AP	African Politics
AS	African Socialism
AS	African Socialism
ASS	African Socialism and Self-Reliance
CD	Christian Democracy
COP	Communal Ownership of Property
DS	Democratic Socialism
EFTA	Extended Family Traditional Africa
FS	Fabian Socialism
IPZ	Islands of Pemba and Zanzibar
NDC	National Development Cooperation
PSA	Philosophy of Socialism in Africa
PU	Practices of Ujaama
RDA	Ruvuma Development Association
SD	Social Democracy
SI	Socialist Ideology
SP	Socialist Policy
SS	Scientific Socialism
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
UBAS	Ujaama the Basis of African Development
UV	Ujaama Village

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## ABSTRACT

This research paper concerns itself with the question of what Nyerere's particular version of Ujamaa (socialism) is. It therefore puts focus and emphasis on the themes that surrounded and were premised on socialism as applied in Tanzania pursued by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere as an ideology in order to provide its conceptual account. It is thus an account of the ideology of Ujamaa in both theory and practice. Suffice to note the writings of Nyerere are used as the Primary source of data together with those of other authors and academicians to get a better understanding of the ideology of socialism as pursued by Nyerere, it is about the development and construction of the particular social, cultural, and political theory and practice.

In order to achieve the aim of this study, a library based research project has been conducted and internet based information, have been considered in order to find out how they dealt with the issue of **socialist ideology** in Africa where Tanzania was case study.

After assessment of socialist ideology as applied in Africa, it was found therefore conclude that to build and maintain socialist state it is essential in that all the major means of production and exchange in the nation are controlled and owned by the peasants through the machinery of their government and their co-operatives.

It was recommended, inter alia, that the African countries should embrace socialism where there are to be in control of means of production which will avert the dependence of colonial economic hegemony, if embraced it will help in development and construction of the particular social, cultural, and political theory and practice of African socialism.

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.1. Background to the Study.

Five months after Tanzania had gained her independence in April 1962, President Julius K Nyerere made a publication of a pamphlet titled (Ujamaa, the Basis of African Socialism<sup>1</sup>). In his publication he gave a description of the political philosophy he subscribed too and a reaffirmation of his commitment of this ideology to the Ruling Party; Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), to the principles of socialism and human Equality. According to him African socialism was but an extension of the traditional concept of Ujamaa, which he believed meant the values of the extended family unit wherein everybody has a right to be accorded respect, a duty to work, as well as an obligation to make assurance of communal welfare. He denounced individualistic searches for wealth and security because it was done at the expense of others. He viewed it as being incompatible with his philosophy<sup>2</sup>.

Nyerere gave encouragement to groups of farmers to relocate and reorganize themselves into small socialist communities. He preached this gospel through radio broadcasts and speeches. Another scholar Alitovsky notes that by the year 1963 in Tanzania had emerged more than 1000 settlements throughout the country with little help from the government<sup>3</sup>. These were mainly TANU youth league members who had been initiated during the independence struggle. Due to the great hardships involved in the maintenance of the schemes, they had a short lived span.

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<sup>1</sup>Nyerere, J.K. (1961a) 'Independence Address to United Nations' in J.K. Nyerere, Freedom and Unity: A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1952-65, London, Oxford University Press, 1967, pp. 144-156.

<sup>2</sup>Nyerere, J.K. (1961b) 'The African and Democracy' in J.K. Nyerere, Freedom and Unity: A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1952-65, London, Oxford University Press, 1967, pp. 103-106.

<sup>3</sup>Alitovsky, S., "The Agrarian Question in the Countries of Asia and Africa" (book review), Social Sciences, No. 2(4) 1971, pp. 222-224.

Individual based production was the way to go but facilities like domestic water supply and irrigation had to be shared as social institutions for cooperation<sup>4</sup>.

Notable among the most successful of the socialist communities was the Ruvuma Region in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania where it is said that about seventeen settlements merged into an organization called Ruvuma Development Association whose objectives among others was for the coordination of the members' activities, provision of education to the children, produce marketing, and they also specialized in various cottage industries. In the early months of the year 1973, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania made famous speech titled "the rational choice" in which he put forward his plan for socialism as the only rational choice for the economic and social system of the Third World Countries. He among others implored. He argued that this is because these countries are characterized by poverty and weakness at national level<sup>5</sup>.

To him third world capitalism had no choice but to cooperate with external capitalism as a junior partner. To him socialism has many meanings in Africa. He further argued that capitalism is an attitude of mind in line with the various individuals' interpretations of a rather mystical like "African socialism." He argued that what has forced the discussion from the philosophical clouds to the hard and concrete realities are the realities.

The definition of Socialism as adopted by Julius Nyerere is "an attitude of mind" in the link to the fact that different individual interpretations of a rather mystical towards African Socialism. This discussion has been forced by realities themselves that are philosophical clouds to the hard and concrete realities. A great number of African states gained their political independence the

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<sup>4</sup>Nyerere, J.K. (1965) 'Agriculture is the Basis of Development' in J.K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity: A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1965-1967*, Dar es Salaam, Oxford University Press, 1968, pp. 385-409.

<sup>5</sup> *Problems of Socialist Orientation in Africa* Edited by Mai Palmberg Papers from a seminar on non-capitalist development in Africa organised by the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, in co-operation with the Institute of Development Studies, Helsinki, August 16-19, 1976, in Helsinki, Finland. Contributors: *Mohamed Aden & A.M.M. Ashur, Jeremy Gould & Riitta Launonen, Parviz Khalatbari, Peter Mandi, Jozef Nowicki, Mai Palmberg, Lars Rudebeck, Timothy Shaw & Malcolm J. Grieve, Clive y Thomas*

expectations were great for a fast economic growth and social development. The nations that were undeveloped then reached their take off stage into industrialized society with the aid of western development assistance know-how and capital investment.

Worthy to note is the fact that there are other African leaders who also pursued the policy of African Socialism and did claim to have constructed policies aimed at establishing socialism in their countries.<sup>6</sup> This all was in a bid to break away from the neo-colonial dependence; Examples include Republic of Guinea, The People's Republic of Congo under Patrice Lumumba, Somali Republic, and Mozambique under Samola Macheal, Ghana under Nkwame Nkrumah, Egypt under Abder Nasser<sup>7</sup>.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem.

The development within the context of African socialism and self-reliance, myriad of socio-political and economic factors have grossly hampered the realization of this noble vision.

Central and most crucial was the manner through which the scheme of Ujaama villages was established<sup>8</sup>. It was obvious that president Nyerere and the TANU officials were anxious to pioneer the progress of the villagization effort. Nevertheless, it became increasingly manipulative and coercive to achieve a higher rate of resettlement in the communal villages. Dissatisfied by the slow growth of the exercise, government and party officials became militant on the movement of people. This hostility stirred antipathies in some case, which led to clashes

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<sup>6</sup> Problems of Socialist Orientation in Africa Edited by Mai Palmberg Papers from a seminar on non-capitalist development in Africa organised by the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, in co-operation with the Institute of Development Studies, Helsinki, August 16-19, 1976, in Helsinki, Finland. Contributors: *Mohamed Aden & A.M.M. Ashur, Jeremy Gould & Riitta Launonen, Parwiz Khalatbari, Peter Mandi, Jozef Nowicki, Mai Palmberg, Lars Rudebeck, Timothy Shaw & Malcolm J. Grieve, Clive y Thomas*

<sup>7</sup> Fafunwa A. B (1995). History of education in Nigeria. Ibadan: NPS Educational Gideon Cyrus M. and Rohio S. W (Ed) (1975). Reading in African political thought. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Book Ltd.

<sup>8</sup> ABRAHAMS, R. AND BUKURURA, S. (1993) Party, Bureaucracy, and Grassroots Initiatives in a Socialist State: The Case of Sungusungu Village Vigilantes in Tanzania. pp 92-101 in: Hann, C.M. (ed) Socialism: Ideals, Ideologies, and Local Practice. ASA Monographs 31. Routledge, London and New York. 271 pp.

between the people and government officials. Indeed, a case in point was the assassination of a senior government official during the progress. In this regard, Ake<sup>9</sup> observed:

“The lack of realism on the part of officials and their effort to bring performance towards their plan target made them coercive and increased the alienation of officials and peasants to the detriment of productivity. It is not surprising that for all its good intentions, Ujaama did not bring about the expected increase in productivity”.

It is worthy of note that some registered Ujaama villages were seen to merely exist, without a corresponding farming activities. This laxity more than anything else, is inimical to the spirit of hard work which makes self-reliance and socialist ideals a fiasco. It is therefore not uncommon to conclude that the villagization exercise was not embraced by everyone as expected. For instance, it was revealed that the village exercise was seen in some quarters as wagging real war against the people.

Again, the structural and functional differentiation of agricultural cultivation contravenes the notion of massive food production. Indeed, agriculture recorded a modest success because the Ujaama movement (as it were) failed to systematically transform the agricultural sector for commercial food production. This barrier alone is detrimental to achieving self-reliance as the impact of agriculture to the overall National economy remained abysmally low<sup>10</sup>.

Furthermore, the nationalization of private firms does not intrinsically build confident on National Development Cooperation (NDC) as a strategy for self-reliant industrialization. Rather, there existed an unhealthy linkage between NDC and foreign firm. Such relationships were in the

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<sup>9</sup>Ake Claude (1996). *Democracy and development in Africa*. Owerri: Spectrum Book Ltd

<sup>10</sup> *Problems of Socialist Orientation in Africa* Edited by Mai Palmberg Papers from a seminar on non-capitalist development in Africa organised by the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, in co-operation with the Institute of Development Studies, Helsinki, August 16-19, 1976, in Helsinki, Finland. Contributors: *Mohamed Aden & A.M.M. Ashur, Jeremy Gould & Riita Launonen, Parviz Khalatbari, Peter Mandi, Jozef Nowicki, Mai Palmberg, Lars Rudebeck, Timothy Shaw & Malcolm J. Grieve, Clive y Thomas*

NDC's partnership agreement and management. Thus, it was quite obvious that the NDC fell into the mercy of the world's capitalist agents. This alone exposes NDC to the parasitic agents whose economic system was diametrically opposed to the socialist objectives of Tanzania. Hence, the industrialization strategy through NDC became an illusion, as it does not meet the desired target. This research paper therefore tends to question why this was so by identifying the shortcomings if any in Nyerere's Ujaama Policy.

### **1.3 Research Hypothesis**

Socialism in Africa was devoid of the benefits that accrue from the industrial and agrarian revolution. Its starting point was never because of class divisionism and conflict between classes in the society. In Tanzania where the policy was widely adopted by the independence leader though with some successes registered in its name; many in the academia world have criticized just like this research to some extent concludes that the policy was far from reality. In a twist of events however there is a need for praise of Tanzania's bold enough initiative for having introduced a paradigm of development unto which other African countries and other willing nations need to embrace so as to overwhelm the underdevelopment cancer that has haunted the continent for so long.

### **1.4 Objectives of the study.**

#### **1.4.1 General objective**

The overall objective of this study is to assess the socialist ideology as applied in Africa: a case study of Tanzania under the Late President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere.

#### **1.4.2 Specific objectives.**

1. To understand the tenets and philosophies of socialism ideas.
2. To identify the failures and short comings of the Socialist policy
3. To identify the lessons learnt from the socialism policy as applied in Tanzania.

Academia world have criticized just like this research to some extent concludes, that the policy was far from reality. In a twist of events however there is a need for praise of Tanzania's bold enough initiative for having introduced a paradigm of development unto which other African countries and other willing nations need to embrace so as to overwhelm the underdevelopment cancer that has haunted the continent for so long.

#### **1.5 Significance of the Study.**

The study was very significant in a number of respects notable among them is the fact that it will help in highlighting the role of Socialism and its impact on development by assessing its impact on the socio economic way of life of the people of Tanzania and Africa at large. By identifying the shortcomings if any the researcher hopes that this study may act as a guide to future leaders who would like to build socialist states. In the area of the Academia the study was of great importance to future researchers and students with interest in the subject of research.

#### **1.6 Research Methodology.**

Herein the researcher adopted an exploratory doctrinal research and relies on the conceptual framework methodology as this is important in helping to inaugurate the linkage between the Philosophy of Socialism in Africa in regard to the development of the community. The researcher believes that this was of importance by helping to unfold the lessons to be drawn



therefore for any society in regard to pursuance of the community development under the context of the African experience.

### **1.6.1 Methods of Data Collection.**

The methods of data Collection included Library research and Online/ Internet Research.

#### **1.6.2.1. Libraries.**

The researcher visited the available libraries that are well established like, Makerere University Library, Law Development Centre Library, Iddi Bassajabalaba Memorial Library KIU, and Uganda Christian University Library. From these the researcher was be able to review the available literature and scholarly writings that have already been published on the same subject of researcher.

#### **1.6.1.2 Online Sources.**

The researcher used online sources like established websites on topics Socialism, Marxism, contemporary issues on African politics to get an in-depth understanding of the subject area of research. Furthermore the researcher will review and read online journals to understand commentaries and critiques on Socialism as practiced in Africa.

### **1.7 Literature Review.**

John Hatch approaches Tanzanian socialism by means of biography<sup>11</sup>. In his view the socialist ideology in Tanzania is the product of Julius Nyerere's role as 'philosopher king', and in order to understand the ideology one has to understand Nyerere's origins, education and experience and the character which they have shaped.

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<sup>11</sup>John Hatch, Two African Statesmen – Kaunda of Zambia and Nyerere of Tanzania, Secker and Warburg, London.

Cranford Pratt, by contrast, approaches Tanzanian socialism by means of political history<sup>12</sup>. He sees developments of thought in Tanzania as 'to a remarkable extent the work of one man'. But he sees as the crucial determinant of Nyerere's own responses the particulars of post-independence politics. In Pratt's eyes it is a matter of the choice between 'political strategies' and he traces the development of a socialist programme by means of a detailed narrative account of political events<sup>13</sup>.

Issa Shivji, finally, approaches Tanzanian socialism by means of class analysis and the theory of class war<sup>14</sup>. He cites with approval Carr's belief that 'the facts of history are indeed facts about individuals, but not about the actions of individuals performed in isolation, and not about the motives, real or imaginary, from which individuals suppose themselves to have acted. They are facts about the relations of individuals to one another in society and about the social forces which produce from the actions of individuals results often at variance with and sometimes opposite to the results which they themselves intended. His book is intended to constitute 'a fundamental break' with the emphasis on 'the commitment of individuals'. Accordingly Nyerere is hardly discussed; no biographical data is given: he is cited occasionally merely neither as representative of the regime and of his class nor is a detailed political narrative given. The policies pursued by Nyerere's government are seen as resulting from its perception of its class interest.

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<sup>12</sup> Cranford Pratt, *The critical phase in Tanzania. 1945 – 1968. Nyerere and the emergence of a socialist strategy*, Cambridge, 1976,

<sup>13</sup> *Problems of Socialist Orientation in Africa* Edited by Mai Palmberg Papers from a seminar on non-capitalist development in Africa organised by the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, in co-operation with the Institute of Development Studies, Helsinki, August 16-19, 1976, in Helsinki, Finland. Contributors: *Mohamed Aden & A.M.M. Ashur, Jeremy Gould & Riitta Launonen, Parviz Khalatbari, Peter Mandi, Jozef Nowicki, Mai Palmberg, Lars Rudebeck, Timothy Shaw & Malcolm J. Grieve, Clive y Thomas.*

<sup>14</sup> Issa G Shivji, *Class Struggles in Tanzania*, Heinemann, London, 1976,

These three contrasting approaches result in, or perhaps imply from the beginning, three equally contrasting judgments of the reality and success of Tanzanian socialism<sup>15</sup>. Hatch's book is written in almost hagiographic style, seeking to present a new and saving doctrine to a vexed world. For him the personal achievements of Nyerere's life are inseparable from the achievements of Tanzanian socialism. Nyerere is 'the most radical socialist leader in the world', and his ideas will 'profoundly influence the development of society in Africa, ideas in the third world and perhaps the future of human society'.

Cranford Pratt is more cautious. If Hatch echoes the high aspirations and hopes of the immediate independence period, Pratt echoes the more somber realisation of the continuing poverty of Tanzania and of the ambiguities within its ruling party<sup>16</sup>. For him Tanzanian socialism is a 'political strategy' in the process of working itself out: faced with great and continuing difficulties; making many mistakes: but nevertheless a genuine and valid option, striking more or less the right balance between the thrust to equality, the need for efficiency and the desire for participation.

Issa Shivji sees current Tanzanian socialism as an ideological cover for the interests of the ruling class, the 'bureaucratic bourgeoisie'<sup>17</sup>. They have used its slogans to validate their dominance of economic resources through nationalisation; their destruction of the rival commercial bourgeoisie; and their undermining of the kulak class in the countryside. In this clearing of the board they have served a progressive function, and their use of the slogans of socialism has

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<sup>15</sup> Approaches to the analysis of Tanzanian Socialism: A Review of: John Hatch, *Two African Statesmen – Kaunda of Zambia and Nyerere of Tanzania*, Secker and Warburg, London, 1976, Cranford Pratt, *The critical phase in Tanzania. 1945 – 1968. Nyerere and the emergence of a socialist strategy*, Cambridge, 1976, and Issa G Shivji, *Class Struggles in Tanzania*, Heinemann, London, 1976.

<sup>16</sup> Hatch, J., 1976, *Two African Statesmen: Kaunda of Zambia and Nyerere of Tanzania*, Chicago, Henry Regnery Company.

<sup>17</sup> Issa G Shivji, *Class Struggles in Tanzania*, Heinemann, London, 1976,

allowed a more radical debate to begin. But Shivji believes that the progressive function of current Tanzanian socialism has ended. Today the conflict of interests between the bureaucratic elite on the one hand and the workers and peasants on the other has become obvious: class war between them will result in a genuine socialism.

The three books abound in explicit and implicit condemnation and contradiction of each other. Shivji attacks the 'liberal academics who would only want to see celebration of the so-called Tanzanian experiment'. He writes of 'an intellectual climate where celebration and occasional criticism, rather than consistent explanation, are the order of the day'. There is little doubt that Shivji would regard Hatch as a celebrator; Pratt as an occasional critic; while he seeks himself to provide consistent explanation<sup>18</sup>. Hatch does not mention Shivji – nor indeed any recent academic work – but he makes it plain that he does not agree with the assumptions of the left criticism. 'In Tanganyika', he writes of the period just after independence, 'there were no classes'. As for Pratt, he is familiar with the earlier work of Shivji and very much concerned explicitly to refute it.

A remarkable turning point in the socio-political and economic landscape of Tanzania was the Arusha declaration of 29 January, 1967. This followed the proclamation and adoption of Tanganyika Africa National Union (TANU) whose aim was to build a socialist state for Tanzania. The principles of TANU constitution pointed the need for placing all means of production under the control of the people, through the government of Tanzania. The declaration was committed to the creation of Tanzania as an egalitarian socialist society. A society based on agriculture, collectivized village farmlands and organized mass literacy<sup>19</sup>. Under the leadership

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<sup>18</sup>Issa G Shivji, *Class Struggles in Tanzania*, Heinemann, London, 1976,

<sup>19</sup>Nyerere, J.K. (1965) 'Agriculture is the Basis of Development' in J.K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity: A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1965-1967*, Dar es Salaam, Oxford University Press, 1968, pp. 385-409.

of Julius Nyerere, Tanzania draw a roadmap needed to make the country economically self-sufficient rather than depend on foreign aid and investment. In pursuant to this noble idea, widespread nationalization of foreign companies was effected in 1967. Some of those enterprises included Banks, Insurance Corporations, and Import-Export Houses amongst others. The state consequently, established its bank, and other state owned corporations to protect both business and financial transactions. The aim was to establish a self-reliant economy devoid of external control. The philosophy of TANU jettisoned the exploitation of man by man. The party was committed to the elimination of all forms of domination, and to establish a society where all men should work for their living. Knud and Teisen citing Part Two of the TANU's creed states inter alia. "A truly socialist state is one in which all people are workers and in which neither capitalism nor feudalism existed. It does not have two classes of people. A lower class composed of people who work for their living, and an upper class of people who live on the work for others. In a really socialist country no person exploits another; everyone who is physically able to work does so; every worker obtains a just return for the labour he performs; and the incomes derived from different types of work are not grossly divergent".<sup>20</sup>

## **1.8 Scope of the Study**

### **1.8.1 Conceptual Scope.**

The subject scope for this research paper is Socialism as applied in Africa. The paper will deeply discuss the concept of socialism, its ideology and the law as applied in Africa.

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<sup>20</sup>Knud Svendsen and Mierete Teison (1968). Self-Reliant Tanzania. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House. Page 25.

### **1.8.2 Geographical Scope.**

This study was conducted around Kampala-Uganda and the reason for choosing place is because it's where the researcher is stationed.

### **1.8.3 Time Scope.**

The time scope for chosen by the researcher was two months running from April to July 2019. The researcher hopes that this period is sufficient to analyze the available literature and other works including critiques written by different academicians.

## **1.9 Conclusion**

Conclusively this research proposal highlights the areas of concern and shall act as a guide for the researcher in completing his research and coming with deductive concepts that shall help in the final research project. It is fundamental that development does not occur in a vacuum neither does it occurs by chance. The landscape to actualize any meaningful development depends largely on the goals of the society. In Tanzania, the philosophy of African socialism was adopted and practiced as a form of community development.

## CHAPTER TWO

### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

#### 2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher reviews the different concepts that address issues of socialism, its ideology and law in Tanzania. This is done so as to understand the various meanings concepts used in the application socialism as applied in Africa.

#### 2.1 Definition of Socialism

Socialism is an economic system where everyone in society equally owns the factors of production. The ownership is acquired through a democratically elected government. It could also be a cooperative or a public corporation where everyone owns shares<sup>21</sup>

Also Socialism is essentially a political and economic system of social organization where the means of production and distribution are collectively owned by the society, as opposed to capitalism which advocates for private ownership of the means of production<sup>22</sup>.

Means of production include things such as factories, land, raw materials, machinery and so on. The collective ownership may be effected through the state or through cooperative unions.

#### 2.2 Basic Characteristic of Socialism

There are various characteristic of socialism, each emphasizing different aspects of socialist ideology and each advocating for different methods of turning capitalism to socialism. However, all forms of socialism share social ownership as a common element<sup>23</sup>, these were;

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<sup>21</sup><https://www.thebalance.com/socialism-types-pros-cons-examples-3305592>

<sup>22</sup><https://www.cleverism.com/socialism-characteristics-pros-cons-examples-and-types>

<sup>23</sup><https://www.cleverism.com/socialism-characteristics-pros-cons-examples-and-types>

### **i. Planning.**

Instead of allowing the free play of a lucrative market, the government tasks up the planning for the systematic improvement of material and the cultural conditions.

### **ii. Re-distribution of income.**

Inheritance wealth and material income are bound to be reduced depending on the government that implements. From the collective bag to the less privileged classes, social security benefits, free medical services as well as social welfare services are provided.

### **iii. Social economic equality.**

To achieve a common level of economic progress. It includes providing equal opportunities for all socialism has been referred to as a philosophy of the setting classes as it aspires for a more human society. Its principles are led by the doctrine of fraternity, cooperation, social communion.

### **iv. Oppose capitalism.**

In responses to the social inequalities, socialism arises, the inequalities marked by capitalists system it opposes must first promote the common good before their own unlike in capitalism.

### **v. Abortion of social classes.**

It aims to establish a class's society in an authoritarian socialism, people belong to the same category and all means of production are stated property.

### **vi. Diversity.**

In theory, socialism seeks to foster intellectual diversity by establishing that everyone has the same rights thus promoting cooperation. In practice socialism seeks that all have the some ideology opposing political and intellectual diversity.



### 2.3. Practices of socialism in Tanzania

Having described in the last section how Ujaama was set out in the pamphlet, I will now examine some of the core brotherhood practices as identified by Nyerere. Prior to this, it is important to note, however, that almost all the practices are deliberately described in an exaggerated manner. The meaning and the implication of this for Ujaama will be discussed in Chapter Five of this research paper. Here I will simply mention the four main practices without comment, the first of which is love. In the document, Nyerere claimed that:

[An] African...does not look at one class of men as his brethren and another as his natural enemy, [that] he does not form an alliance with the 'brethren' for the extermination of the 'non-brethren' [and that] an African regards all men as his brethren – as members of his extended family” (Nyerere, 1977, pp. 11-12).

This tells us that Nyerere perceived people in African societies as caring for one another. Secondly, in the pamphlet Nyerere (1977) argues that traditional African societies were classless. For Nyerere class existed in societies that had gone through the agrarian and the industrial revolution. It was those historical events that produced the conditions that gave rise to the class system. Nyerere argues that in Africa, the situation was different in that “it did not have the benefit of the agrarian revolution or the industrial revolution” (ibid. p.11). Since such revolutions had not occurred in Africa, Nyerere concluded that African societies were classless.

Thirdly, Nyerere maintained that “in traditional Africa everybody was a worker” (ibid. p.4), meaning that in traditional society, it was obvious to everyone in the community that “every member of society – barring only the children and the infirm – contributed his fair share of effort towards the production of its wealth” (ibid. p.5). Since everyone contributed to the wealth of the

community, there were no “[loiters], or [idlers] who accept the hospitality of society as [their] ‘right’ but gives nothing in return” (ibid). Against this background Nyerere asserted that in traditional society, “loitering was an unthinkable disgrace” (Ibid).

Finally, in the pamphlet, Nyerere argues that wealth was shared in traditional Africa. No one could hoard wealth or accumulate it for the sake of gaining power and prestige. In Nyerere’s reading of the traditional society, ‘the individuals or the families within a tribe were ‘rich’ or ‘poor’ according to whether the whole tribe was rich or poor” (ibid. p. 9). In other words, the riches or the poverty of an individual or family were premised on the wealth or poverty of the whole community. If the community was rich then the individual was rich too and if the community was poor then the individual was also poor.

#### **2.4 Historical Context of Socialism in Tanzania**

Socialism rose to prominence in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century in opposition to the economic inequality brought about by early capitalism. By the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the industrial revolution and the resulting industrial capitalism had led to very inhumane working conditions.

There were no rights for workers, extremely low wages, extremely long working hours, and zero safety provisions. As the elite class of capitalists grew richer and richer, the working class were wallowing in extreme poverty.

Socialism rose as a reaction to the injustices of early capitalism. One of the first people to advocate for socialism was a Welsh mill owner and idealist known as Robert Owen, who used his wealth to create utopian communities based on socialist ideals. Unfortunately, his socialist experiments ended up in failure and cost him a huge chunk on his wealth. Still, the idea of

socialism did not die. Instead, it took root by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, thanks to the rise of trade unions and the writings of a German philosopher named Karl Marx.

Karl Marx used systematic analysis to show the shortcomings of capitalism and the exploitation and alienation that resulted from it. According to Marx, workers were the source of wealth, yet, through capitalism, this wealth went to the hands of a few instead of trickling back to the workers.

Through his writings, he advocated for a revolution which would see the working class collectively own the means of production. Following Marx's writings, various countries started experimenting with various versions of socialism.

In the previous chapter I described the fundamental ideas of Ujaama and the implementation of its policies and programmes in order to depict it in its concrete historical manifestations. It was emphasized that Ujaama was anchored in the notion of brotherhood that embraces the principles of equality, freedom, democracy, state property ownership and self-reliance. Yet, it is also the affirmation of such attitudes and principles that differentiated Ujaama from other political movements of post-colonial Africa.<sup>24</sup>

Having described the core beliefs that comprise the foundations of Ujaama in the foregoing chapter I now investigate the conditions that influenced its development by raising the following question what were the circumstances that influenced the formulation and articulation of *Ujamaa*? Why did Nyerere construct *Ujamaa*? What inspired him to conceive the policy of Ujaama? The argument that is advanced in this chapter is that Nyerere's construction of Ujaama

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<sup>24</sup> For example, Consciencism, a political movement which was started by Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana, and Negritude, which was started by Leopold Sedar Senghor, the first president of Senegal, and Humanism by Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia's first president.

was influenced, at least in part, by his interpretation of the slave trade and colonialism. In order to establish the impact of these historical events on the formulation and articulation of Ujaama, two major tasks will be undertaken: firstly, a description of the historical facts followed immediately by the second task, a depiction of the perceived consequences and how they fed into Ujaama.

My aim in this chapter, therefore, is rather to simply state the facts as they are recorded by historians and to identify which consequences Nyerere believed to be, at least in part, rooted in those events and subsequently the influence of those consequences on the formulation and articulation of Ujaama.

#### **2.4.1 Slave Trade**

Slave trade, on a small scale,<sup>25</sup> has a long history in Tanzania<sup>26</sup> whereas the trade on an industrial scale<sup>27</sup> was relatively a new phenomenon that developed during the second half of the eighteenth century due to two factors: (i) the involvement of many European countries and (ii) the establishment of cloves on the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar. Until 1850, Portugal was the only European country involved in slave trade. Later, however, the French and British also engaged in the trade when they established plantations of sugarcane, cotton and cloves in the

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<sup>25</sup> Historians believe that slave trade on a small scale existed in Tanganyika and that it began in pre-1000 AD. It is most probable that it began in the 8th or 9th century, when Islam was starting to grow and expand into regions of East Africa (Roberts, 1969, p. 35). Whilst the number of slaves involved in the trade increased during the 16th century, when Portugal occupied the East African coast even with Portuguese involvement, this did not exceed one thousand slaves a year (Alpers, 1967, p. 5). Because of the small number of slaves involved, slave trade did not, become historically significant, in a sense that it did not radically change the history of Tanganyika, in particular, and East Africa, in general (Alpers, 1968, p. 235).

<sup>26</sup> Roberts, A.D. (1969), "The Pre-colonial History of Tanzania" in S.Eric and T. Merete (Eds), (1969), *Self-reliant Tanzania*, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania Publishing House, pp. 29-45.

<sup>27</sup> From the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century, slave trading was no longer a small incidence, instead it became what Alpers (1967) termed a "factor of continuing historical significance" for Tanganyika, in particular and East Africa, in general. It became a phenomenon that radically changed the history of Tanganyika and the other Eastern and central African countries. It was slave trade on an industrial scale (see Alpers, E. Historical Association of Tanzania Paper No.3, *The East African Slave Trade*, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1967, p. 1-26).

Comoros, Sainte Marie, Mauritius and the Seychelles, which were labour intensive<sup>28</sup>. Lacking indigenous agricultural workers they turned to East Africa to acquire slaves<sup>29</sup>.

To meet the increasing demand, Arab caravans could not confine themselves solely to the coast; rather they had to push into the interior of Tanganyika in search for slaves (Listowel, 1965). There were four main routes into mainland Tanganyika<sup>19</sup> which enabled slave traders to reach almost every tribe.<sup>30</sup>

#### **2.4.2. Consequences of the Slave Trade**

The effects of the slave trade that had a direct bearing on the origin of Ujaama mainly occurred in the social and economic sphere. In the following section, these two areas will be discussed in turn beginning with the social aspect.

#### **2.4.3. Dehumanisation of the African Person**

The dehumanisation aspect of many Africans was a crucial factor influencing the formulation and articulation of Ujaama. During the slave trade, the humanity and self-esteem of the slaves were reduced to a bare minimum if not completely eliminated, for instance, at the time they were captured and during their transportation. According to Walter<sup>31</sup>, slaves were not obtained through trade in the normal sense of buying and selling of goods, but through warfare, trickery, banditry and kidnapping. Judith Listowel (1965) has also noted that on other occasions traders bribed local chiefs to procure slaves, who when unsuccessful through bribery, raided villages and took

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<sup>28</sup> Alpers, E.A., 1967, *The East African Slave Trade*, Historical Association of Tanzania, Paper No.3, Nairobi, East African Publishing House.

<sup>29</sup> Roberts, A.D. (1969), "The Pre-colonial History of Tanzania" in S.Eric and T. Merete (Eds), (1969), *Self-reliant Tanzania*, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania Publishing House, pp. 29-45

<sup>30</sup> The Ha and the Zinza in the west, the Haya in the North-West, the Gogo, Sukuma and Nyamwezi in the centre, the Sagara, Zaramo and Luguru in the East and the Yao, Makonde, Makua and Hehe in the southern parts of the country were either directly involved in or felt the consequences of slave trade.

<sup>31</sup> Rodney, W., (2001), *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, 3rd edition, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania Publishing House

captives. This method of obtaining slaves is an example that shows the extent to which the humanity of slaves was reduced. The methods of obtaining slaves and transporting them show the extent to which the dignity of slaves was diminished. This treatment of slaves reduced them to a level of chattels or commodities that could be bought and sold in a market<sup>32</sup>.

This is the back-story of Ujaama; it was, conceived against the background of a trade that had reduced many Africans to commodities. Instead of endorsing social organisations that incorporate slavery and slave trade, systems that treat human beings as objects, Nyerere was adamant that such a trade, or other structures of power and powerlessness must not be a feature of future organisations in Tanzania, such as Ujaama. Rather, as will be discussed later Nyerere stressed that these organisation must incorporate the principles of equality of all human beings and their rights and freedom.

#### **2.4.4. Loss of Self-Confidence**

Another factor witnessed in the social sphere that influenced the formulation and articulation of Ujaama is the 'loss of self-confidence' among some Africans. Nyerere believed that one of the most damaging effects of the slave trade was that "it caused our people to have grave doubts about their own abilities" (Nyerere, 1966, p.3). 'Our people' refers to Africans in Tanzania, since they were the victims of the slave trade and who, according to Nyerere, 'lost confidence in their own abilities' (ibid.). Nyerere maintained that the 'loss of self-confidence', was not accidental but rather it was an essential characteristics of all oppressors. Nyerere asserted that a future movement of liberation, such as Ujaama, must have as its "vital task...to restore the people's self-confidence" (Ibid). The measures taken to restore confidence among the African people will be

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<sup>32</sup> Describing how the captives were chained together, Alpers (1967) explains: Adults were usually fastened to each other by means of the infamous heavy wooden sticks (Swahili: kongwa), or by metal collars and chains. Children were normally tied together with ropes

examined in chapter four of this research paper. At this juncture I merely point out that loss of self-confidence is one of the conditions that influenced the formulation and articulation of Ujaama.

### **3.4.5. The Economic Effects of Slave Trade**

Having described in the last section, the consequences of slave trade in the social sector which influenced the development of Ujaama, I will now in this section examine the economic consequences of slave trade and their influence on Ujaama. One of the main consequences of slave trade in the economic sphere was poverty<sup>33</sup>. The economic factors that aggravated poverty were essentially twofold: inter-tribal (civil) wars and population depletion.

### **2.4.6. Poverty due to Civil Wars**

Inter-tribal wars had devastating consequences for the traditional economy. Describing the effects of civil wars, Alpers (1967, p.25) notes that “whenever a raid on a village took place there was death and destruction [and] many more people died defending their homes and families”<sup>34</sup>.

Hence, the civil wars created chaos, killed or led to the enslavement of many people, destroyed property and, seriously stunted the traditional economy by reducing its productivity. As a result endemic famine and hunger ensued. This inability to meet even the most basic human nutritional requirements is the impoverishment that Nyerere and his colleagues in government were reacting against when they formulated and articulated Ujaama.

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<sup>33</sup> Throughout this thesis, I will be using the term poverty to signify a situation of deprivation, both spiritual and material.

<sup>34</sup> Alpers continues:

“It was not always possible to grow enough food for all the people. Famine increasingly became a problem. People were often so badly off that they sold themselves, or their children, into slavery as a way of keeping themselves and their families alive. Some were reduced to kidnapping other people (Alpers, 1967, p.20).

#### 2.4.7. Poverty due to Population Loss

One of the characteristic features of the slave trade is that almost all the captives from Africa were shipped to the outside world (Rodney 2001). Such a massive displacement and transfer of people from diverse areas of the country for the purpose of forced labour elsewhere in the world inevitably depleted the number of inhabitants in this region<sup>35</sup> (Rodney, 2001). The impact of population loss<sup>36</sup> on the economic development of the Tanzanian society becomes even more apparent when one considers that slave traders took the most able, strong and competent members of society.

It was against this background of poverty or material deprivation as a combined effect of civil war and population loss, which Nyerere was reacting against when he formulated *Ujamaa*. In sum, this section on slave trade has set out three conditions which influenced the development of Ujamaa: the dehumanisation of the African person, the loss of self-confidence in most Africans, and material poverty due to civil wars and population loss. Besides aiming at restoring rights and freedom of Africans, restoring self-confidence and eradicating poverty, Ujamaa also developed in order to counter the consequences of colonialism and the colonial system that had dominated Tanzania for more than seventy years.

#### 2.4.8. Racialism

Racialism is the basic epistemological position that not only do races exist, but also that there are fundamental differences between them; it distinguishes people on the basis of the colour of their

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<sup>35</sup> Due to the lack of records, it is not possible to ascertain the population of Tanganyika before, during and after the period of slave trade. However, Rodney has shown that from 1650 to 1850, the slave trade era, the population of Africa in general did not exceed one hundred million. Thus for two centuries, the population of the African continent was stagnant, indicating that few children were born during this period. It is reasonable to

<sup>36</sup> The consequences of population loss, is succinctly summarised by Tanzanian nationalist economist Justinian Rweyemamu:

The productivity of the traditional economy was determined by the available manpower. The slave trade, which drained the country of the most active section of its population, seriously undermined the traditional economy by reducing its productivity [and as a result] famines increasingly became a problem (Rweyemamu, 1973, p 9).



skin. This is to be contrasted with racism which assumes that some races are superior to others; or, in an altered meaning, refers to discrimination based on the concept of race. In Tanganyika, both concepts can generally be traced back to the colonial period, when the authority divided citizens along racial lines of Europeans, Indians and Africans<sup>37</sup>. At the top of the hierarchy was the European race. <sup>38</sup>Although people of the black race were the indigenous and majority population they did not possess the same level of civil rights and privileges as their European and Indian counterparts (Nyerere, 1968).

Ujaama was shaped by Nyerere's understanding of the racial problem in Tanzania. In contrast to views of hierarchy and superiority based on race, Nyerere asserted that all human beings are equal in dignity and worth and that in any country all citizens must have equal rights and duties. In order to counter racialism Nyerere formulated Ujaama, the fundamental principle of which was, as we shall see in the course of this research paper, the acceptance of the 'principle of human equality'.

#### **2.4.9. Disappearance of the Attitude of 'Familyhood'**

Another factor which influenced the conception and the development of Ujaama concerned itself with the disappearance of the 'attitude of familyhood or brotherhood' which Nyerere believed enabled people in traditional African societies to care for one another. Throughout the colonial period almost all aspects of African traditional culture were undermine<sup>39</sup> but it was the

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<sup>37</sup> This statement from Freedom and Unity shows how Nyerere himself understood the racial situation in Tanzania: The [European community in Tanzania] has a monopoly of political power and uses that power not only to prevent the other communities from having any share in the political power, but also to keep those other communities in a state of social and economic inferiority (Nyerere, 1966, p.24)

<sup>38</sup> In Nyerere's opinion, the organisation of a society along racial lines was a negative development which had to be rectified.

<sup>39</sup> In the social sphere, colonialism destroyed African languages and religions. African languages were undermined in order to elevate English as the language of the colonial masters. Regarding religion, Albert De Jong (2001), a well known ecumenical researcher and missiologist has shown that missionaries in general and Dutch missionaries in

disappearance of the spirit of brotherhood, the spirit that motivated people in community to care for one another, which led Nyerere to think that future policy, such as Ujaama should aim at restoring it. Understood in this way and taking into account Nyerere's understanding of the consequences of slave trade and colonialism, his construction of Ujaama can be seen in part, as his attempt to restore the attitude of brotherhood or familyhood, which enabled people to care for one another and which was therefore, the foundation of community in traditional Africa. This is why he writes: "we must regain our former attitude of mind – our traditional African socialism – and apply it to the new societies we are building today" (Nyerere, 1977, p. 8). The attitude of mind that Nyerere is referring to here is the 'attitude of brotherhood or familyhood', that was discussed in chapter one of this research paper.<sup>40</sup>

#### **2.4.10. Development of Individualism or Selfishness**

In addition to the loss of the spirit of family hood, another factor which influenced the development of Ujaama concerned itself with the rise of individualism or selfishness in Tanzania and Africa as a whole<sup>41</sup>. Nyerere believed that before the arrival of colonialists, Africans were 'communitarians' (Nyerere, 2000, p. 14) in their way of thinking and living and that they were "members of a genuine community or a brotherhood" (*Ibid*). He maintained that "an African could not think of himself apart from that community in which he lived" (*ibid*. p.13) and although as an individual he had his own wives and children, "he saw himself all the time as a member of a community" (*ibid*, pp.13-14).

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particular, abolished African traditional religions which were considered to be less developed (de Jong, 2001, p.56) and replaced them with Christianity, the main religion of Europeans.

<sup>40</sup> See, Chapter One, section 1.1.1.

<sup>41</sup> It is the prevalence of the attitude of individualism and selfishness in society which led Nyerere to think that future policies such as Ujaama, should aim at restoring the spirit of co-operation and sharing which prevailed in Africa before the arrival of colonialism. In sum it can be said that this section on the social consequences of formal colonialism shows that Nyerere's construction of Ujaama, was in part, an attempt by him to counter racism, and to restore the attitude of familyhood/brotherhood as well as co-operation and sharing.

Ujaama was developed against the experience of a people who during more than seventy years of colonialism were not acting on their own accord and will but on those of the colonial administrators. Instead of maintaining the same system Nyerere believed that future policies must protect the independence or the freedom of Tanzanians to act on their own choices and will. Moreover, those future policies such as Ujaama, must help Tanzanians to realise their own course of action, their own policies without impediments from foreign countries. Furthermore, the policies must help Tanzanians to be masters of their own destiny and not mastered by people from foreign countries. Ujaama incorporated principles that also intended to prevent Tanzanians from being dominated by internal as well as foreign powers.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

The aim of this chapter was to describe the historical conditions that influenced the development of Ujaama. It was suggested that the development of Ujaama was related to the historical events of the slave trade and colonialism. An examination of the slave trade identified several conditions that influenced the development of Ujaama. In particular, it identified dehumanisation of the African person, the loss of self-confidence and material poverty due to civil wars and population loss as conditions which influenced the development of Ujaama. An examination of formal colonialism also identified some conditions which influenced the development of Ujaama. In particular, it identifies the conditions of racism, the disappearance of the attitude of brotherhood or familyhood, the development of individualism and selfishness, the loss of freedom or independence, and the conditions of poverty and dependency as conditions which influenced the development of Ujaama. Taking into consideration Nyerere's understanding of both the slave trade and colonialism, his construction of Ujaama can be considered in part, as an attempt to restore the human rights of the African people, to restore their self-confidence, and

eradicate material poverty. In addition, Nyerere's construction of Ujaama can also be seen as an effort to eradicate racism, restore the attitudes of brotherhood, and of sharing and co-operation, and to protect the freedom or independence of Tanzania through self-reliance. Beyond the problems of the slave trade and colonialism, Nyerere's Ujaama was also linked to liberalism, the political philosophy that emerged in Europe during the Enlightenment age.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE BASIC TENETS OF UJAMAA

#### 3.0 Introduction

The origin of Ujaama - one of the “significant landmarks in the history of Tanzania” -- is generally traced back to the formation of the Tanganyika<sup>42</sup> African National Union (TANU), a “mass party” founded by Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922-1999), on the 7th July 1954 (de la Rue, 1973, p. 40; el Saadawi, 2010, p.13). TANU asserted that Tanzanians should be free to govern themselves and to determine their own destiny as a people. To achieve this objective TANU mobilised Tanzanians to demand independence from the British Government and on the 9th December 1961, Tanganyika became independent with Nyerere as its first Prime Minister (Haussler, 2009). However, Nyerere’s premiership was short lived as in January 1962, he resigned from “this position in order to concentrate on party issues and to prepare a policy for Tanganyika” (ibid. p. 23). The policy that Nyerere was preparing for Tanzania at this time can be identified as Ujaama for two key reasons; firstly, three months after his resignation as Prime Minister, Nyerere published Ujaama: the Basis of African Socialism “a TANU pamphlet” (Nyerere, 1968/77, p. 1), in which he argued for Ujaama for the first time. Secondly, in 1967 Ujaama became the official policy of the ruling party TANU and its government, and remained so for close to twenty-four years that Nyerere was the head of state.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Tanganyika was a country situated on the East coast of Africa along the Indian Ocean. On 26th April, 1964 Tanganyika and the off shore islands of Zanzibar and Pemba formed a union that produced one country, Tanzania. For the sake of brevity, Tanzania is generally used throughout this thesis to designate the Mainland and the Islands as a unit even before the union except in direct quotations or where the context makes it necessary to distinguish them.

<sup>43</sup> Kant, I. (2008), *The Metaphysics of Morals*, A. Dien and D.Lane (eds), ebook, first Neural Library edition, ISBN 1-56543-0557

Having completed the policy of Ujaama, Nyerere returned into government. On the 9th December 1962, Tanzania became a Republic, with Nyerere as its first President. Although Ujaama did not become an official policy of the ruling party until the time of the Arusha Declaration in 1967, there are indications, which shall be identified later in this chapter, that Nyerere's government began moving step-by-step towards Ujaama immediately after independence. The question that is proposed for investigation in this chapter, therefore, concerns itself with the basic tenets of Ujaama. For instance, what were the fundamental theories of Ujaama? Whilst the basic doctrine of Ujaama is spelt out in the AD, in order to understand how it appears there it is first necessary to understand how Ujaama was set out in the TANU pamphlet of 1962, since this was the primary document from which the AD is derived.

Nyerere depicted Ujaama (his form of socialism) as "an attitude of mind ...which is needed to ensure that the people care for each other's welfare" (Nyerere, 1977, p.1).<sup>44</sup>

In the document he suggests that care for one another can only be guaranteed if people view each other as brothers and sisters or as members of the same family. The emphasis that Nyerere (1977) places on the sense of brotherhood does not mean that socialist institutions and organisations are irrelevant, rather it implies that "without correct attitudes, institutions can be subverted from their true purpose" (p.89)<sup>45</sup>. Thus, although to Nyerere socialist institutions and organisations are important they cannot by themselves lead to the attainment of a true purpose of socialism, which is the well-being of all people, unless the people in those institutions and organisations are infused with the spirit of brotherhood and actually care for one another. Therefore, to Nyerere "in the individual, as in the society, it is an attitude of mind which

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<sup>44</sup>Hatch, J., 1976, *Two African Statesmen: Kaunda of Zambia and Nyerere of Tanzania*, Chicago, Henry Regnery Company

<sup>45</sup> *ibid*

distinguishes the socialist from the non-socialist". To Nyerere, then, it is the attitude of familyhood which is the litmus test and the condition sine qua non, for the existence of socialism.

### 3.1 The Arusha<sup>46</sup> Declaration (AD)

First then is an account of the Arusha Declaration which was promulgated in February 1967, and its definition of Ujaama. According to Nyerere, "the Arusha Declaration...is a very simple document" in a sense that "it is not a profound theory; but a way of dealing with practical problems which arose after independence" (El Saadawi, 2010, p.13) and some of the practical problems that had to be addressed included "poverty, ignorance and disease" (Nyerere, 1966, p. 139).

In terms of structure the AD is also very simple since, as Nyerere points out in an interview with El Saadawi (2010), it is made up of "two parts – one on socialism and another on self-reliance" (p.13). The shorter part -- that on socialism -- consists of two small sections: one on the TANU creed and the other on the policy of socialism. The longest part of the document is on self-reliance and is divided into several sub-titles. Furthermore, the two parts making up the AD are written in different styles. While the first reads like a legal document, the second by contrast reads like a speech and has all the marks of Nyerere's oration.<sup>47</sup> On the whole, the language of the AD reflects Nyerere's rhetorical style which is why scholars such as Haroub Othman (2010), have not hesitated to claim that "Nyerere was definitely the intellectual power behind the Arusha

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<sup>46</sup>Arusha is a city in Northern Tanzania. It is a popular destination for tourists visiting the Kilimanjaro, the highest mountain in Africa, the Serengeti, the world's largest animal park, the Ngorongoro Crater, and the Olduvai Gorge, the original home of mankind and civilisation.

<sup>47</sup> According to LwaitamaAzaveliFeza (2000), Nyerere's speeches tended to be 'bookish' and 'bombastic'. He tended to adopt "the 'lecture' style of deploying speaker 'detachment' markers like the use of exclusive 'we', the third person pronouns, and existential and passive constructions whenever he wished to explain to the 'masses' the nature of a given political crisis..." (Lwaitama, 2000, p. 304).

Declaration” (p.36). The authorship of the document is usually contested but according to Haroub Othman (2010), the document “was written by Nyerere himself” (p.37).

In terms of content, Nyerere described “the Arusha Declaration [as] a declaration of intent; no more than that” (Nyerere, 1977, p. 91). Thus, to Nyerere, the AD was nothing more than a statement or a pronouncement about the “goal towards which TANU [was] leading the people of Tanzania and it indicates the direction of development” (ibid.). The AD is, in other words, a proclamation about what Tanzania hoped to become and not a statement about what Tanzania was then. Haroub Othman (2010) also understands this to be the case when he writes, “neither in 1967 nor in 1985 when [Nyerere] stepped down from the presidency was Tanzania a socialist country” (p. 37). The declaration, therefore, was a vision for the future and not a description of the real situation that existed in Tanzania.

However, Ngombale–Mwiru (1973), notes that the intentions of Ujaama were expressed in general terms, that is to say, they were vague and not specific enough. The ‘general terms’ to which Ngombale-Mwiru (1973) refers can be illustrated by at least two examples: For instance, whilst the AD decreed that in order to “implement the policy of self-reliance, the people have to be taught the meaning self-reliance” (Nyerere, 1977, p. 33), the question of how exactly people were supposed to be taught this was not addressed. Instead, the details of education for self-reliance were subsequently spelt out in March 1967, in a policy paper entitled ‘Education for Self-reliance’.

Similarly, the AD emphasized rural development but failed to explain how this was to be realised. Hence the strategies for rural development were also detailed at a later date, September 1967 in a policy paper on ‘Socialism and Rural Development’. Most of the objectives and



intentions of the AD were not, therefore, specific, a condition which made implementation of the AD resolutions far from ideal. Despite this flawed manifesto, the AD is the document which defined Ujaama and which seriously raised the prospect of socialism in Tanzania. But what, then, were the basic intentions of Ujaama? How was Ujaama described in the AD? There were only two fundamental objectives of Ujaama: to build socialism and to make the nation self-reliant. In the following section these two intentions will be examined in the order in which they are mentioned here.

### **3.2 The Intention of Building Socialism**

Socialism in the AD is defined by four main principles: (i) human equality; (ii) state ownership of property; (iii) democracy; and (iv) freedom. I will briefly describe these principles here without comment as they will be the subject of discussion in Chapters Three and Five of this research paper. First then is the principle of equality. According to Nyerere (1977), the principle of equality states that “all human beings are equal” (p.13). The kind of equality Nyerere (1977) proclaims in the AD, is equality in terms of rights and opportunities. Rights which are specifically mentioned include the right to dignity and respect, to participate at all levels of government, to freedom of expression, movement, religious belief and association, the right to life and property and the right to a just wage. In terms of opportunity, the document states the principle aim of TANU is “to see that the government gives equal opportunity to all men and women irrespective of race, religion or status” (Ibid p. 15).

The second principle concerns itself with ownership of property and is expressed in the AD as follows:

to build and maintain socialism it is essential that all the major means of production and exchange in the nation are controlled and owned by the peasants through the machinery of their government and their co-operatives (Ibid p. 16)

Thus that state ownership of the major means of production is one of the basic tenets of Ujaama

The third principle that defined Ujaama in the AD is that of democracy, described in the following terms:

For a country to be socialist, it is essential that its government is chosen and led by the peasants and workers themselves...true socialism cannot exist without democracy also existing in the society (Ibid p. 17).

Hence, popular democracy is an essential component of socialism or Ujaama in the AD.

The last principle in this order relates to the freedom or independence of Tanzania and its people. In the AD, the principle of freedom appears as a right and as one of the principle objectives. As a right the principle states that “every citizen has the right to freedom of expression, movement, of religious belief and of association within the law” (Nyerere, 1977, p.13). But as one of the principle objectives of TANU, the principle is stated as follows: to “consolidate and maintain the independence of this country and the freedom of its people” (Ibid p. 14). The question of the origin of some of these principles will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three of this research paper, but for the time being it is worth noting that the AD provided a more refined version of Ujaama which incorporates principles from both African socialism and western liberalism. How then was socialism to be achieved? This is the question that will be answered in the following section.

### **3.3 Strategies towards achieving Socialism**

In order to build socialism the government embarked on the implementation of three main programmes: the nationalisation of the major means of production, the creation of Ujaama villages and the establishment of the leadership code. I shall be making an assessment of these programmes later in this research paper. For now I will simply highlight the basic tenets of each, and facts and figures about their implementation. However, before describing these strategies and their implementation, I wish to draw attention to one of the chief misunderstandings that this account may cause. By identifying nationalisation, Ujaama villages, and leadership code as strategies of socialism I do not wish to suggest that these programmes were irrelevant to the second intention of Ujaama, one of self-reliance, on the contrary, they were strategies for self-reliance as much as they were for socialism.

Nationalisation, for instance, was a move equally towards socialism and towards self-reliance. For as we shall see in this chapter, in order to be self-reliant, it is necessary to own the major means of production and such ownership is a pre-requisite for socialism. Hence, these programmes were interlinked because they were based on related principles. Nyerere states as much when he writes that: “The Arusha Declaration was an integrated programme of actions based on linked principles” (Nyerere, 1977, p. 93).

### **3.4 Nationalisation**

Nationalisation was a programme that sought to bring the major means of production in the country under state control. Underlying this programme was the belief that “the root [cause] of exploitation of man by man is the institution of the private property” (Ngombale-Mwiru, 1973, p. 53). Private property was, therefore, considered to be the chief enemy of socialism, a stance that led Nyerere (1977) to declare in the AD that, state ownership of the means of production is the

condition *sine qua non* for socialism. What this meant in terms of implementation was expressed by Ngombale Mwiru (1973), who stated that “all the healthy forces of the nation should be geared towards overthrowing private capital” (*ibid.* p.53). Mwiru uses the term ‘the healthy forces of the nation’ to refer to the state apparatus, including inter alia the police forces, the army, and the administration, which were mobilised to overthrow the institution of the private property. But, here too a note of caution is in order.

First is the phase of gradualism and what was actually done. From 1960-1966 the state embarked on a step by step or gradual process of nationalisation of the major means of production. This stage involved the nationalisation of land and some banks, such as the Land Bank, the activities of which were taken over in 1963 by the Agricultural Credit Agency (ACA) which started “[lending] money to African farmers for medium and long term development” (Loxley, 1973, p.104). Also in 1963 the government established the National Housing Corporation, “to provide ‘low cost houses’” (*Ibid* p.105), and the National Insurance Corporation (NIC). This was followed in 1964 by the creation of the National Development Corporation, the “most important vehicle for initiating and implementing industrial development projects” (*ibid.*). Furthermore, in 1965, the government bought sixty per cent of the shares in the Tanzanian Bank of Commerce “to ensure that profits on government banking business stayed in the government sector” (*Ibid*). In short, it can be said that the government was slowly moving towards a state controlled economy during the first phase.

Then, there followed the phase of rapid nationalisation and policy realisation. From 1967 to the 1980s, the government embarked on a systematic overthrow, in a sense of nationalising the major means of production. According to de la Rue (1973), on the 6th February, 1967, the day after its promulgation Nyerere gave a very long speech explaining the content of the AD to an

audience in Dar-es-Salaam. Reporting on the events that followed the promulgation of the AD, Duggan and Civile (1976 p.92) note that on the 10th February 1967, Nyerere also addressed members of the diplomatic corps stationed in Dar-es-Salaam about the “theme of self-reliance for Tanzanian citizens.”

In general, the nationalization programme took the following pattern: firstly, some companies were completely taken over by the government. The second category comprised companies in which the government was an equal share holder and the third category consisted of activities which were reserved exclusively for the public sector and activities requiring public sector majority ownership. For clarity these categories and processes are tabularised overleaf.

### **3.5 Creation of Ujaama Villages**

Having described in the last section the basic tenets of the policy of nationalisation and its implementation I will now examine the basic convictions of the programme of Ujaama villages and its implementation. The basic claims underpinning this programme were expressed in a policy paper that Nyerere published in September 1967 under the title: *Socialism and Rural Development*. In this paper he argues for a return to the pattern of settlement which prevailed in African traditional societies. He writes:

The traditional African family lived according to the basic principles of Ujaama. Its members ...lived together and worked together because that was how they understood life, and how they reinforced each other against the difficulties they had to contend with...” (Nyerere, 1977, p.106).

Nyerere was convinced that if by living and working together, traditional societies were able to overcome the challenges of their time – i.e. sickness, uncertainties of weather and depredation by wild animals – then, the contemporary generation of Africans could also overcome their

development challenges by living together and working for the common good. In the policy paper this argument is expressed in the following terms:

We shall achieve the goals we in this country have set ourselves if the basis of Tanzanian life consists of rural *economic and social communities where people live together and work together for the good of all*, and which are interlocked so that all the different communities also work together in co-operation for the common good of the nation as a whole” (*Ibid* p. 120).

What Nyerere was in effect proposing is that “Tanzania should move from being a nation of individual peasant producers ...to a nation of Ujaama villages where the people cooperate

### **3.6 Describing the Meaning of Ideology**

Before describing the meaning of ideology I will first discuss some definitional challenges and the approach that will be taken to explain the term. One of the main challenges when attempting to describe the term ideology, is facing an “oversupply of meanings” (Gerring, 1997, p.979). In fact a cursory glance at the literature on the term ideology shows that there is an incredible diversity of meanings “which are directly at odds with one another” (*ibid.* p.957). In part, this is because the term ideology is still “*an essentially contested concept*” (Sargent, 2009, p. 2 italics in the original), and therefore there is little consensus among scholars on the precise meaning. Since the term has been variously defined and remains contested, there are two tasks that I will not undertake. Firstly, I will not attempt to construct yet another meaning because doing so may only add to the confusion. Secondly, I will not adopt the approach of Gerring (1997) of making a list of definitions and then use the core attributes as the definition of ideology. I also reject the

approach of Jost (2006), that of making a list of definitions and taking what they have in common as the definition of the term. Though tempting, I will stay clear of these approaches for two main reasons: they will take me too far afield and space here is limited. Rather, I will select an approach, in itself problematic but useful nonetheless, which does not involve bringing together a plethora of definitions of ideology. In particular, I will adopt the approach of a French Philosopher Louis Althusser (1918-1990). Justifications for this are threefold. First of all, Althusser's analysis of the question of ideology is "paradigmatic,"<sup>48</sup> in the sense of being a model for the analysis of ideology as a concept. Secondly, Althusser is chosen because in his account, ideology is not a privilege of class societies or a privilege of European societies alone but it is a reality in the life of every human being. Lastly, ideology as elaborated by Althusser is interesting because it is thought to have a material existence, which is to be governed by institutions and not by individuals, as it is commonly understood.

### 3.7 Ideology Has No History

I begin with the claim that "ideology has no history" (Althusser, 2002, p.159), (equivalent to suggesting that it is a trans-historical reality) and its ramifications for Ujaama as an ideology. The notion that ideology has no history existed in the writings of Marx<sup>49</sup> but Althusser (2002) takes it up and gives it a different meaning. To clearly elucidate the meaning behind the claim that ideology lacks history, and as such is trans-historical, Althusser (2002) makes a distinction between *specific ideologies* and *ideology in general*. He argues that socialism, capitalism, liberalism, and feminism, which are *specific ideologies* "have a history of their own" (p.160).

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<sup>48</sup> See introduction to Louis Althusser (1918-1990), *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus: Notes Towards an Investigation*

<sup>49</sup> The idea that 'ideology has no history' is discovered by Althusser in the writings of Marx, especially the *German Ideology*. Althusser (2002) claims that Marx believes ideology to lack history because it is not related to the material reality of the "concrete material individual materially producing their existence" (Althusser, 2002, p.160).

They are specific, historical, and have real content, that “always express class positions” (p.159). *Ideology in general*, however, has, according to Althusser, no history.<sup>50</sup>

By presenting ideology as a phenomenon devoid of history, that is, as a structural and functional necessity whose form does not change irrespective of the socio-historical circumstances in play, Althusser means to accentuate two important points: (i) ideology is our way of being in the world and (ii) ideology is not a conscious phenomenon. I will expand on each of these points in the order in which they appear. When Althusser (2002) claims that ideology has no history, what he means is that ideology is not a phenomenon specific only to certain modes of production, nor is it a creation of the European culture, but rather, it is “a necessary feature of any society, in so far as any society must provide the means to form its members and transform them to their conditions of existence” (Thomson, 1984, p.90).

Consequently any society that wants to direct its members towards a particular goal must possess ideology, otherwise it resolves to violence.<sup>51</sup>

In sum Althusser’s research paper that ideology has no history means: (1) that ideology is the means by which members of society are formed and directed to a particular goal and (2) that ideology is an unconscious phenomenon. Did Ujaama exhibit these features? This is the question we will answer in the following section.

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<sup>50</sup> Explaining why this is the case Althusser writes:

“[ideology in general] is endowed with a structure and a functioning such as to make it a non-historical reality, i.e. an omni-historical reality, in the sense in which that structure and functioning are immutable, present in the same form throughout what we call history...the history of class struggle...” (p.161).

<sup>51</sup> Expressing similar sentiments Lewis (2005) also notes that Althusser perceives ideology as that which allows human beings to function in the world:

[Ideology is] our lived experience in the world. We practice ideology when we use the stock of concepts it provides us with to make our way in the world. It is a necessary background that allows us to function in the world. As such ideology is a sort of knowledge that is always present and is always being used” (p.169).



### 3.8 Forming and Transforming Society

The question that is posed for consideration here is: did Ujaama play a formative and transformative role? Was Ujaama used as a means of forming and transforming people towards a particular goal? The answer to this question is yes. The formative character of Ujaama has already been alluded to in Chapter One of this research paper when the policy of education for self-reliance was explained and both the formative and the transformative functions of Ujaama will be the subjects of a detailed discussion when I discuss the functions of the ideology of Ujaama.

Ujaama was constructed at the period of great change in the history of Tanzania. The colonial order was fading away and a new society, a society liberated from colonialism, was emerging but the direction which this newly independent country would take was not clear<sup>52</sup>.

Nyerere's first writings were at a time when Ujaama was not yet an official policy of the party and government but it is known from the previous discussion in this paper that the kind of society Nyerere was thinking about was the socialist society. To build this new society and transform people from the colonial order, which was a capitalist order, to the new order, the socialist order, radical alteration of behaviour, attitude, new belief patterns and policies were necessary. To bring about new behaviours and attitude and to rally people behind a cause, Nyerere constantly appealed to two factors: the African tradition and morality. For instance, the argument that won people to his movement TANU was a moral one: As he says, "TANU called for equality ...human respect...and called for equality of opportunity" (Nyerere, 1966, p. 4), promises which resonated with people. In addition, when he wanted Tanzanians to accept the

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<sup>52</sup> This point is expressed by Nyerere when he writes:

"The traditional order is dying; the question which has yet to be answered is what will be built on our past and, in consequence, what kind of society will eventually replace the traditional one" (Nyerere, 1966, p. 6).

practice of co-operation, he appealed to African tradition, and presented co-operation as a virtue, as a special feature of what it means to be human and the failure to co-operate was described as a feature of animals. His words are to the point: "But a failure to co-operate together is a mark of bestiality, it is not a characteristic of humanity" (Nyerere, 1974, p. 107). This means that to Nyerere to be human is to co-operate with other people and not to co-operate is not human. The point here is not the morality of co-operation but to get people to understand that co-operation is better than non-co-operation and thus begin to co-operate. This strategy of appealing to tradition and to morality so as to form and transform people's behaviour pattern is so common that Ujaama can well be described as an ideology.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### ASSESSMENT OF UJAAMA AS APPLIED IN TANZANIA

#### 4.0. Introduction

The study assessed the position of socialist ideology as applied in Africa and to ensure the satisfaction of the study the researcher consulted; internet, different text books.

#### 4.1 Ujaama: Conscious or Unconscious phenomenon?

The question that is posed here for investigation is whether Ujaama was a conscious or an unconscious phenomenon. Having spent two chapters of this research paper showing how Nyerere constructed it from different sources, it would be self-contradicting at this juncture to argue that Ujaama was an unconscious phenomenon. For all the arguments we have advanced show that Ujaama was a conscious phenomenon. It was a policy that Nyerere developed consciously and deliberately over time and it operated for twenty four years during which Nyerere was the head of state. To say that it was an unconscious phenomenon would mean that Tanzanians were not aware of what they were doing. The key to the solution of this problem lies in the definition of 'unconscious' and in the distinction that Althusser makes between *specific ideologies* and *ideology in general*. It has to be recalled here that for Althusser, specific ideologies have a history and are therefore conscious as activities. As a specific ideology Ujaama has a history and is therefore a conscious phenomenon. As a specific ideology, Ujaama was developed in Tanzania by Nyerere, implemented in Tanzania and abandoned by Tanzanians. It has a history and content of its own which expressed class positions and specific contents which we have described in the first chapter of this research paper. To express this differently it can be said that Ujaama as a *specific ideology*, had a history of its own, which is to say it was a conscious phenomenon.

However, Ujaama as *ideology in general*, has no history; that is to say, it is not a ‘conscious phenomenon’ because it is sometimes represented by images, myths, ideas but most of the time it is represented by *structures* that are imposed on people through processes that people are not aware of never mind in control. Some of the structures that are imposed on people without being conscious and without power to control them are family structures and the state. Family structures are not chosen and in Althusser’s estimation, there is no individual who comes into the world with his/her own family structure ready constructed or with the power to decide the kind of family structure she wants to be born in. Family structures which inevitably define our identities are imposed on us.<sup>53</sup>

In Althusser’s famous quote “*individuals are always-already subjects*” (Althusser, 2002, p.176). The subjectification<sup>54</sup> of Tanzanians, therefore, occurred because they were interpolated before birth. Additionally, some people became subjects by ‘themselves’ by merely abiding by the law, which was enacted by the ruling Ujaama ideology. For example, a Tanzanian who decided to go to live in a Ujaama village, because the law required it, may not have been conscious of the fact that such a move was an ideological obligation. The state, according to Foucault (1982), is “a political structure of individuation techniques and a totalising procedure” (p. 782). This means that the state is an entity with methods which can make individuals acquire identity without being conscious of it. In short, it can be said that Ujaama as an ideology in general refers to structures and ideas which were imposed on Tanzanians without knowing or being conscious of it.

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<sup>53</sup> This point is clearly described by Althusser (2002) in the following terms: Before its birth, the child is always-already a subject, appointed as a subject in and by the specific familial ideological configuration in which it is ‘expected’ once it has been conceived. ...this familiar ideological configuration is, in its uniqueness, highly structured, and that, it is in this implacable and more or less ‘pathological’ ...structure that the former subject-to-be will have to ‘find’ ‘its’ place” (p.176).

<sup>54</sup> This theme is also developed by Michel Foucault’s (1985, 1997).

#### **4.2. Ideology: An Imaginary Relationship to Reality**

Having examined the claim that ideology has no history, I will now examine Althusser's second claim, that it "represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (*ibid.* p.162). Althusser (2002) uses traditional Marxist teaching as a springboard for his own definition of ideology. He observes that in the traditional view, it was agreed that in ideology "men represent their real conditions of existence to themselves in an imaginary form" (*Ibid* p.163).

#### **4.3. The Contribution of Nyerere's Ujaama**

After examining the various components of Nyerere's Ujaama, I am better placed to determine what the doctrine proffers when it was the ruling ideology and then its status today, after being abandoned (in practice, since it still exists in the written form in the Constitution).

#### **4.4. Offer of Nyerere's Ujaama 1960s - 1980s**

As evidenced, Ujaama was an ideology. An ideology is a constructed symbol or metaphor regarding the relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence. The metaphor that Nyerere drew upon was the extended family institution of traditional Africa. According to Nyerere (1977), in this familial unit there was no desire to accumulate wealth because people care for one another. Society took care of the individual and vice versa; everybody was a worker; the produce was shared, and property such as land was held in common. These are the qualities and practices of the African tradition on which Nyerere wanted to structure the new society but, in the context of ideology, these are also incentives for people to act in a particular way, incentives which inspire people to alter their behavior. By assuming these historical qualities and practices, scholars including Hedlund *et. al.* (1989) have drawn parallels between Nyerere and Jean Jacques Rousseau. They observe that while they both call for a re-embracing of the past

Rousseau advocated a return to the *noble savage*, whereas Nyerere proposed the '*noble African*' of traditional society (Hedlund *et. al.*, 1989, p.18). The ideology of Ujaama certainly presents the traditional African as a righteous human being who embodies the ideals and who can, therefore, serve as a role model of '*noble Africa*'. The limitations of this noble African are overlooked entirely. It is unsurprising then, that Nyerere's glorification of pre-colonial Africans was criticized from all sides.<sup>55</sup> Nyerere's proposal was not an attempt to modernize society but rather an attempt to create a new order by traditionalizing it. Mushi (1971) expresses this process as "modernization by traditionalisation", which simply refers to the assimilation of traditional values into the modern society (p.1).

Hyden (1980) considers this an unsuitable approach since the social and economic forms of organization in a modern society have "modern objectives" (p.98). Though unidentified, the modern objectives can be understood to mean, *inter alia*, mass production, scientific knowledge and advanced technology, liberalism, monetary economy and democracy. Furthermore, it is considered inappropriate to "universalize the unwritten rules of living together within rural household and apply them to [the nation]" (*ibid.*). However, the return to the noble African is unrelated to traditionalisation since the return to the past, was a way to "rationalize not only Nyerere's new goals but the alteration of behavioral and attitudinal patterns he saw as being necessary for the accomplishment of those new goals" (Luther, 1989, p.74). By positing a *noble African*, Nyerere's aimed to develop the right attitudes in people necessary for the creation of unity, eradication of poverty, ignorance, and diseases, establishment of a classless society, rapid economic development through modernization of the forces of production, and equality. While this explains, at least in part, why, Nyerere returned to past ideas, there can be no doubt that he

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<sup>55</sup> For criticisms see Cameron (1980), p. 100-102; Koptoff (1964), p. 62; Crutcher, 1966, p. 435-436); Lofchie, (1976), p. 488-489; Nkrumah, 1966, p. 3-5; Mohiddin, 1968, p. 137-138.

wanted the values, attitudes and practices of the *noble African*, to feature predominantly in the new society. Hence the criticisms of Mushi and Hyden hold up and as such it important to question whether values can be traditionalized. Can love and justice, for example, be rendered inappropriate today simply because they were practiced by the Athenians well before the birth of Christ? Would it be traditionalisation if contemporary societies attempted to practice justice and equality? While Mushi and Hyden seem to suggest so, this valuation is misleading.

To fully understand Nyerere's return to the noble man it is unnecessary to separate Ujaama from its broad moral agenda. The moral agenda is weaved so tightly into the ideology of Ujaama that it cannot be separated without affecting the ideology itself<sup>56</sup>.

To argue a moral case, is to claim that freedom is a right of every individual. The moral agenda is therefore, not incidental to Ujaama but rather an essential part of it. As evidenced throughout the course of this research paper, the ideology of Ujaama proclaims a moral way of life<sup>57</sup>.

Nyerere, therefore, returns to the *noble African* not because they are scientifically advanced or technologically sophisticated but because they are 'morally noble'. It is this moral integrity that makes them a suitable role model for Nyerere and by extension, all Tanzanians. To begin with the noble African "does not look on one class of men as his brethren and another as his natural enemy. He does not form alliance with the 'brethren' for the extermination of the none-brethren, rather [he] regards all men as his brethren – as members of his ever extended family" (Nyerere, 1977, pp.11-12). Nyerere believed, that which was considered morally good in traditional

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<sup>56</sup> Moreover, this bond was established from the outset:

For it is now clear that the independence campaign has had great influence on the attitudes of independent Tanzania. TANU's emphasis on the morality of its case...has created among the people certain expectation... (Nyerere, 1966, p.4)

<sup>57</sup> This emphasis on morality has led Shepherd (1965) to describe Ujaama as a belief system or religion. It is in this context of a strong moral agenda that Nyerere's return to the past must be understood.

African societies before the arrival of colonialism, must also be morally good for Tanzanians in a modern state. Thus, if traditional society considered it morally wrong for a brother to kill another, then such an act must also be morally wrong in modern society. The modern state may have new institutions and new social and economic organisations but if these new bodies consider killing a person morally good, then they are unsuitable for Tanzania, however noble their objective may be. Yet, even those who are sympathetic to the moral argument may reject the idea of being judged by moral standards from another era. Cultural relativists, in particular, would object to being judged by a moral standard they neither played a part in formulating nor consented to. This kind of observation would be difficult for Nyerere to counter although it could be argued that moral values are not made and as such exist independently of what we may think about them. This, however, would stoke the debate between moral realists and anti-realists that has yet to be resolved.

But it must be acknowledged that even if one does not agree with Nyerere's attempt to restore the noble African, it is difficult to dispute the morality that characterizes Ujaama. As Hedlund *et.al.* (1989) have observed, the ideology of Ujaama "carries a moral overtone, and seeks legitimacy in terms of what it stands for on moral grounds than in terms of what it will deliver in material terms" (p.18). Although the elimination of poverty was a key objective Nyerere and his colleagues in TANU did not promise the people of Tanzania material wealth: this was restricted to the acquisition of the basic material needs, such as "food, clothing and shelter" (Nyerere, 1976, p.11). Rather Nyerere promised non-material incentives for people to change their behaviour and attitudes. As he states, "TANU called for equality";... [it] called for human respect:...[it] called for equality of opportunity" (Nyerere, 1966, p.4).



Unsurprisingly given Nyerere's background and training in Christian schools, TANU called for a moral way of life. But Nyerere's *curriculum vitae* is not necessarily relevant. Ujaama was offering an alternative moral and free way of life to a people who experienced slavery and slave trade for five centuries, and colonialism for over seven decades. Ujaama was offering a way of life that rejected colonialism and slavery in all its forms as morally wrong and abhorrent. Ujaama offered the oppressed, the exploited, the disregarded, and the humiliated, a new life of freedom, equality and respect, a life of enjoying the fruits of one's labour without exploiting or being exploited. In practical terms, each individual, irrespective of race, religion, tribe or gender, was offered a life of equal rights and duties. This is what the ideology of Ujaama offered to the people of Tanzania. The oppressed and exploited -- but also the oppressor and exploiter -- were offered liberation by Ujaama <sup>58</sup>.

Nyerere decided to engineer a socialist society but he was not starting from scratch because this economic system already existed in the form of Marxism or scientific socialism. The expectation was that Nyerere would either take the existing model of socialism and implement it in Tanzania or at least borrow a leaf or two from Marxism<sup>59</sup>. Instead he chose to go back to the 'noble African', to the African traditional societies. This was a unique decision that had profound implications for the ideology of Ujaama insofar as it allowed Nyerere to claim that Ujaama was African socialism. However, to give credence to this claim Nyerere had to deny the obvious. For instance, his claim that Tanzania did not have a class system as discussed in chapters Five and

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<sup>58</sup>Nyerere expresses his hopes when he writes:

The Arusha Declaration offered hope. A promise of justice, hope to the many, indeed the majority of Tanzanians continues to like this hope. So long as there is this hope, you will poverty but it has given you all in this hall, capitalists and socialists alike, an opportunity to build a country which holds out a future of hope to the many... (Nyerere, as quoted by Nyirabu, 2003, p 6).

The word 'hope' appears five times in this passage, a clear indicator that Nyerere was convinced Ujaama was offering the people of Tanzania an alternative way of life full of hope for a better future.

<sup>59</sup>Marx, K. and Fredrick, E (1990). Manifesto of the communist party. Beijing: Foreign Language Press.

six of this research paper was shown to be untrue. Furthermore, his claim that Tanzanian socialism was borne out of the extended family institution of traditional Africa rather than capitalism only holds true at the ideological level. According to Rodney (1972), for example, Socialism emerged as an ideology within the capitalist society. Other scholars, including Kornai, have also argued that the transition to socialism begins when society shifts from the basic tenets of capitalism<sup>60</sup>. Nonetheless, Nyerere's claim that this need not be the case everywhere and at all times carries weight. Moreover, if Tanzania had not been dominated by the capitalist mode of production that gave rise to particular effects on the population, Nyerere's argument would have won out. But as noted earlier the capitalist mode of production dominated Tanzania throughout its colonisation and it is this economic system that Nyerere vowed to counter. But why did he set out to counter something that was non-existent? Nyerere's argument here is weak and cannot be defended.

Similarly, the argument that scientific socialism is not socialism because of its undemocratic credentials and its propensity to violence is arguably controversial. Furthermore, his assertion that true socialism must be based on equality, popular democracy, public ownership of property and religious tolerance is equally contentious since, as demonstrated in Chapter Six of this research paper, these qualities are not essential for a system to be classified as socialism. This is not to suggest, however, that there can be only one version of socialism. Socialist ideology has many variations and the one that bears the qualities with which Nyerere identifies, and which he attempted to articulate for Tanzania, has many names: democratic socialism, social democracy,

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<sup>60</sup>Kornai, J., (2000), What the Change of System from Socialism to Capitalism Does and Does not Mean, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol.14, No.1-winter 2000, p. 27-42.

Fabian socialism, or Christian democracy. One of the most prominent scholars<sup>61</sup> of Nyerere's Ujaama, has consistently argued that it was neither Marxism nor scientific socialism but democratic socialism. Ujaama can only be described in this way or as African socialism, because Nyerere refused to adopt the principles of scientific socialism and instead replaced them with those of traditional African society. Moves such as this indicate the strong sense of pride Ujaama took in African culture. Nyerere's Ujaama offered self-confidence to a people whose culture and tradition had been dismissed as primitive for centuries<sup>62</sup>.

Nevertheless, as previously noted, Nyerere's Ujaama was flawed, especially in his style and manner of presentation. Firstly, there is no single text in which Nyerere articulates his ideology of Ujaama; the ideology is described in a series of speeches, policy papers and books. Delineating Ujaama, from these media is not an easy task as "the writings and speeches of Nyerere do not lend themselves to easy analysis, but do lend themselves to easy misreading as hopelessly self-contradictory"(Green, 1995, p.81). The contradictions in Nyerere's writings arise from two main factors: the first is that "Mwalimu's<sup>63</sup> thought has not been static" (ibid.). Thus, Nyerere's understanding of Ujaama was not fixed rather it evolved with time and experience. Secondly, "as President he had no time to write reflective overall volumes" (ibid. p.82). Nyerere's ideas about Ujaama are expressed in various articles, policy papers and speeches written at different times, for various audiences in diverse locations in the world and for different purposes. This is why Nyerere's writings are contradictory and confusing to analyse. This is exemplified in the following point. It has been noted throughout the current research paper that

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<sup>61</sup>Cranford Pratt, *The critical phase in Tanzania. 1945 – 1968. Nyerere and the emergence of a socialist strategy*, Cambridge, 1976, and Issa G Shivji, *Class Struggles in Tanzania*, Heinemann, London, 1976.

<sup>62</sup> The decision that TANU should accept membership only from Africans was a political decision necessary because of the prevailing lack of self-confidence in the African community. Years of Arab slave raiding, and later years of European domination, had caused our people to have grave doubts about their own abilities...A vital task for any liberation movement must therefore be to restore the people's confidence (Nyerere, 1966, p.3).

<sup>63</sup>Mwalimu is a Swahili word for a teacher and it is to this day an affectionate title for Nyerere.

Nyerere's Ujaama was secular, but when one pauses to consider its moral emphasis, it becomes virtually impossible to distinguish between NU and religion. Like religion, Nyerere's Ujaama provided moral prescriptions. For example, socialism, working and sharing are good whereas capitalism, laziness and individualism are bad. The list is endless; everything is judged in moral terms. The only difference is that religions prescribe morality in the name of God while Ujaama does not make any (explicit) reference to a deity. To people for whom "religion permeates into all the departments of life so fully that it is not easy or possible always to isolate it"<sup>64</sup> and for whom therefore, divine commands carry weight, Nyerere's Ujaama was offering them an alternative morality, a secular morality, whose source is not God but reason. This offer of an alternative moral foundation whilst modern, did not gloss over the self-evident contradictions that Nyerere failed to reconcile. Hence, the offer of secular morality or ethics was given at the expense of noticeable contradictions.

#### **4.5. Conclusion**

Unlike many African countries whose so-called fathers of the nation have been challenged or debunked—like Léopold Sédar Senghor in Senegal Moussa Traoré in Mali or Sékou Touré in Guinea (McGovern 2004 ), to cite but a few—Tanzania still holds Julius Nyerere, the first president of the country, in high esteem. Along with very few other national figures—most notably, Nelson Mandela - he belongs in the popular imagination to the category of "exceptional leaders" who genuinely aimed "to move the political system beyond its present rationality" and continued to pursue a constructive role in their retirement. The widely shared memory of Nyerere in Tanzania, therefore, as well as his association with the Tanzanian national project, is based in Nyerere's personality and leadership: his vision for the nation and fostering of economic

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<sup>64</sup>see the seminal work of John Mbiti, *African Religion and Philosophy* (1969) and in *Politics* see Nyerere seminal Work, *Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism* (1962)

development, his well-articulated principles of Ujamaa, and the constructive roles he played both nationally and internationally in his retirement. However, memory-making does not belong to the past only, but also to the present. The contemporary narrative of Nyerere in Tanzania is also due undeniably to the present socioeconomic woes, growing inequality, concerns about religious and national fragmentation, the high visibility of corruption, and the overall context of disillusionment after two decades in which the promises of neoliberal modernity have not materialized.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0. Introduction

This paper has provided the brief historical account of the development of socialism in Tanzania under late Julius Mwalimu Nyerere. Philosopher, King of Africa socialism

According to him African socialism was but an extension of traditional concept Ujaama, which he believed meant the values of the extended family unit where in everybody, has a right to be accorded respect duty to work as well as an obligation to make assurance of communal welfare. And he encouraged the group of farmers to relocate and reorganize in small socialist communities in Tanzania.

#### 5.1 Conclusion

In conclusion therefore its very imperative for all leaders' to be committed to transformative progressive and emancipatory socialism, socialism that is pro-people, rather than pro-power as envisaged in Tanzania under Julius Nyerere..

It is an approach that would require the socialist leaders, world over to all work with their people and provide them with social equality fundamental freedom, establish classless society, encourage everyone to work to transform his country as experimented by late Julius Nyerere many years ago in Tanzania.

#### 5.2 Recommendation

In larger part many African countries appear to have adopted many principles and ideologies in their countries after independence as they were, grappling with challenges of social –economic development and economic dependency on metropolitan capitalist economy of Western Europe.

It's against these background that late Julius Kambarage Nyerere devised mean and strategies of achieving socialism immediately after independence in 1962 by embarking on the implementation of three main programmes the nationalization of major means of production , the creation of Ujaama villages and the establishment of leadership code , however the greatest challenge was the implementation of Ujaama policy into forcing the people into socialist communities were people resisted the policy, the government officials become militant hence watering down ideals of socialism in Tanzania.

Ultimately, therefore, the most effective enduring and sustainable, safe guard of socialism is the opposition of capitalism, individual accumulation of goods and wealth.

In order for socialism to be realized in Africa the state actors, all and sundry should adopt social classes which all people belong to same category and all means of production are state property and where communities are consulted for public decision as way of entrenching socialism in Africa

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