

International Journal of Culture and Religious Studies

(IJCRS) Ujamaa and the Role of Moral Integrity in African Socio-
Political Leadership



CARI
Journals

Ujamaa and the Role of Moral Integrity in African Socio-Political Leadership

Simon Njuguna Waitherero

Corresponding email: simnjug@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper seeks to communicate the roles played by Ujamaa in impacting moral integrity on social political leadership in Africa. Ujamaa spirit appears to be one of the key component of leadership amongst African leaders as proposed by Julius Nyerere. This paper seeks to further analyse how Julius Nyerere applied Ujamaa philosophy in Tanzania and the associated fruits of the application.

Key words: *Ujamaa, Moral Integrity, Leadership, and Ujamaa Philosophy, African Socio-Political Leadership*

Introduction

This work borrows a lot from African thinkers especially those included in the literature review. There are some non-African who have reviewed African condition in a positive way and their contribution cannot be sidelined. When African nations started becoming independent, under the African western-educated class, a new hope dawned. To many, this seemed to be the beginning of a new era for the African continent. This is because Africa had not known any form of freedom for centuries since it was enslaved¹ and colonised. This latter phenomenon, can well be understood as argued by Ehiedu E. G. Iweriebor:

Between the 1870s and 1960s, Africa faced European imperialist aggression, diplomatic pressures, military invasions, and eventual conquest and colonization. At the same time, African societies put up various forms of resistance against the attempt to colonize their countries and impose foreign domination. By the early twentieth century, however, much of Africa, except Ethiopia and Liberia, had been colonized by European powers.²

Because of the violence, dehumanising elements, suppression of freedom and many other barbaric acts, regaining Independence brought hope for the continent. Continental Africans who were at that time studying in America and Europe (such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Leopold S. Senghor of Senegal, Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania, Nnamdi Azikiwe and Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria)³ were all returning to mother Africa, preaching and applying their political ideology for African nationalism and Pan-Africanism.⁴ Their political philosophy assumed the new role of pedagogy for promoting internal liberation.

The definition of the word ‘Ujamaa’

The Swahili word Ujamaa was chosen by Nyerere to describe socialism because it emphasizes “the Africanness of the policies we intend to follow and because its literal meaning familyhood-bring to the mind of our people the idea of mutual involvement in the family as we know it.”⁵ This term Ujamaa had also a metaphysical statement of humanistic values, which is sufficiently imprecise and flexible to provide justification for almost only government policy. Nyerere usually referred Ujamaa socialism as an attitude of the mind needed to ensure that the people care in each other welfare. It is an attitude of mind you can have a millionaire with a socialist mind and a poor man who was a capitalist mind. The attitude of mind is not what you own but the attitude of mind you have. This attitude of the mind help is the self-giving to the other person in the society. In that case, it ensures that the people care for each other welfare. This concept of Ujamaa is a concept of the extended family where racialism, tribalism, religious intolerance or discrimination cannot thrive. Such practices are absolutely opposed to the first precept of socialism. The role of Ujamaa socialism is for the quality of all people.

Nyerere and Ujamaa

Africa and its socio-political integration can only be grasped through an embrace of a span of around 60 years. No analysis of the African people can be justified without touching the great intrusion in the human dignity and rights of the African people through slave trade. First, it was ivory and the immense natural treasures of Africa, then the people as slaves! Swann said, “Ivory! Always, ivory! What a curse the elephant has been to Africa.”⁶ This shows that this only fell short of say, “what a curse the Blacks are found in Africa!” African who were taken to slavery either to western countries or within the soil of Africa itself, had the bitterness of being treated as animals or sub-humans. It is worth noting that political movements and struggle for freedom and independence, started both in the Diaspora and in African countries. From 1950s, when African countries started gaining independence, there was hope across the continent. 15 years later, majority of the African continent had gained independence. We may be right to argue that after attaining independence, the African states needed an ideology to govern the people. According to Nyerere, the value of African Socialism, was founded on the African understanding of family based on philosophical intuition through the concept of Negritude. According to his argument, we can conclude that to talk of African socialism, was to touch the African family, which was traceable to the presence of God in that family and Him being the source or author of the very family. Thus, Senghor supports Nyerere and puts it,

The family in Africa, is the clan and not as in Europe ‘mum, dad and the baby’ it is not the household but ‘the sum total of all persons, living and dead, who acknowledge a common ancestor.’ As we know, the ancestral lineage dates back to God.⁷

Though this concept of ‘being African’ (Negritude) started outside Africa with the blacks of the Diaspora, the attitude was brought to the African soil itself. We can say that Nyerere saw a common factor of Africanity as consisting in the state of being black (which others like Senghor called negritude, negro-ness). Hence, the Afro-Negro worldview, may have been sustained by an intuitive consciousness that opens itself up in communal embrace to the rest of the world culture. Senghor argued,

Our Negro-African society is a classless society..., it is a community based society, in which the hierarchy-and therefore power-is founded on spiritual and democratic values, on the law of primogeniture and election; in which all decisions of all kinds are deliberated in a *palaver*, after the ancestral gods have been consulted, in which work is shared out among the sexes.⁸

African culture was therefore, a combination of different elements, in a symbiotic encounter, in which association was free and beneficial to all. Senghor felt that Negritude could open up a harmonious basis for integration of black and white values with a view of bringing into being a new African personality, which necessarily contributes to the civilization of values.⁹ In this light, negritude was seen as a cultural heritage of the Negroes and an embodiment of cultural, economic, political and social values of the Black people. It is against this backdrop that negritude was understood not just a mere theoretical speculation or simply a philosophy of being but also a philosophy of praxis aimed at liberation. The aims and objectives of negritude were considered the same as those pursued by all African nationalists following independence, namely, the truth of their “being” and “culture” as well as the full mastery of their environment. Negritude was nothing more than the Black man’s attempt to regain what Jean-Paul Sartre calls an ‘existential integrity’¹⁰ on the original purity of one’s existence.

Julius Nyerere, saw in African socialism, the only veritable tool that could affect the political and economic liberation of Africa. When Nyerere’s *Ujamaa* was presented as an option shortly after the independence of Tanganyika, it was defined as an abstract set of values without reference to the social forms necessary for their realization.¹¹ According to Walter Rodney, much have been done in the way of policy decisions to indicate and build the relevant social structures, thereby further differentiating *Ujamaa* from its counterparts of ‘African Socialism’ insofar as the latter never advanced from the ideal to the real.¹² In this argument of Walter Rodney, we would advance his position that, *Ujamaa* socialism, embraced the entire person as an attitude of the mind. Above all, one must take note of the progressive evolution of Tanzanian theory and practice over the period of nearly a decade, as a positive response to national, African and international developments. By way of comparing Nyerere with Senghor, he felt (which is true in regards to our analysis), that “the foundation and objective of African socialism is the extended family.”¹³ This was also Senghor’s understanding. The family-hood depicted by *Ujamaa*, therefore, went beyond the basic family nucleus, beyond the tribe, the community, the nation. It

must include the entire human race. Figuratively, it x-rayed the traditional life of the African people where the sense of brother-hood was strong: where “society is so organized that it cares about the individual”.¹⁴ In short, *Ujamaa* socialism was an attitude of mind needed to ensure that people care for each other’s welfare. In Nyerere’s conceptual schemes, therefore, the solution to the African predicament and the sure road to freedom, lay simply in the adoption of African socialism, which was antithetical to capitalism.¹⁵ Nyerere’s *Ujamaa* was clearly a theory aimed at transforming independent Africa, not restricted to Tanzania alone. On this regard, Babu adds,

In order to avoid working under wrong assumptions, it is important for us to understand what is happening in Africa under our very noses, to understand the real forces influencing the events, which have led us to our present miserable situation. Some Africans intellectuals still tend to look at Africa from the standpoint of some biased western scholars whose historical mission was to justify foreign domination by showing that Africa had ‘no past’, ‘no history’. Hence, the imperialist pretext of ‘the White Man’s Burden’ – the mission of civilizing Africa. On the other hand, as a reaction to this negative view, other African intellectuals tend to go to the other extreme, trying to look at Africa as a Watertight Compartment, as if it had emerged out of the blue and could be studied in isolation.¹⁶

Ujamaa Socialism

Historical basis of Ujamaa Socialism

Africa has its own philosophy. This philosophy is not like European socialism which was born from the class conflict following the agrarian and industrial revolution. Tanzanian socialism is a continuation of ancient tribal socialism. In tradition society, Nyerere maintains,

The individual and the families were rich and poor according to whether the whole tribe was rich or poor. Nobody starved, either of food or of human dignity, because he lacked personal health, he could depend on the wealth possessed by the community of which was a member. That was socialism and that is socialism as it applies to Tanzania today.¹⁷

“Ujamaa” as familyhood described Tanzanian Socialism, with no doubt, was a brand of ‘African Socialism’. It is opposed to capitalism which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of the exploitation of a man by man it is equally opposed to doctrinaire socialism which seeks to build its happy society on the philosophy of inevitable conflict between man and man.¹⁸

Nyerere affirmed that there were no millionaires in Africa society, not because the resources to produce them were lacking but because there was a constant sharing of all the goods produced. This kind of socialism, which is ‘unique to Africa,’¹⁹ does not allow any room for capitalists and

exploiters. This capitalism is a product of industrial activity. In Africa then it is impossible to think that God was so absent-minded as to give his gifts only to a few of his children and leave others deprived. In socialism is where you have the guarantee one is able to obtain what is necessary for one's need. Martin affirms this position of Nyerere,

African socialism, whose true realization implies sharing and distribution of goods among all, consists in this trust of belonging to communion and total responsibility of the community towards its members.²⁰

The network of socialism consists of giving and receiving from the society and the community, so the first task of the socialist is to recover and educate the most ancient attitude of the African traditional mind in its ways of being. Nyerere observes that we have lost this important aspect and we have to look for the ways to regain it.

We lost our freedom through the defeat by technically superior forces of Europe. Our first concern was to regain it and our first priority now is to guard that freedom and to make it a reality.²¹

How Nyerere applies the principles of Ujamaa in Tanzania²²

Nyerere's treatise on African socialism was one that would reject the conception of western socialism, considering the African world views as inadequate. Nyerere takes the gradualist approach in implementing the policies by first denying the claim of scientific socialism of 'class war' is necessary for socialism, and second, acceptance of non-violent gradualist approach to socialism means that many non-socialist features of society will continue to remain for some time. If Ujamaa socialism is rooted in traditional African values rather than historical necessity, then it is pragmatic. Nyerere has a strong feeling that if Tanzania is committed to pragmatism, for it has roots, in social change, which grows from its own roots and not "by grafting onto an Alien philosophy." Nyerere's work and principles maybe applied in modern Tanzania and Africa in general. We say 'Africa in general' since Nyerere was pan-African.²³ He was looking forward for a united Africa which was the same vision shared by Kaunda, Senghor, Nkrumah and others. First, Nyerere was for the idea that man was so central in his idea of Ujamaa. For him, man implies two things; it means all the people in the society without exception and it means that all the people are equal, "for equality of all people, guarantee their rights, which in turn imposes certain duties."²⁴ With man being so central in the theme of Ujamaa, we can look the responsibility of the state, social equality and self-reliance where all his ideas revolve.

i) Function of the state

Nyerere being the first president of Tanzania was at a position to direct Tanzania people to a certain vision. As we saw earlier, the idea of Ujamaa was very central. Now the state was to find ways to safeguard its people, as rooted in indigenous African societies. Nyerere had the vision

that the state has to balance between individual freedom and the state safeguarding the rights and equality of all as the principle policies of Ujamaa socialism. The people living in a certain state should not interfere with other nations.

No nation has the right to make decisions for another nation, no people for other people. Some of us like Tanzania may fervently believe in a socialist organisation of our society, as being both morally right and economically practicable. Others may believe equally fervently in capitalism or in communism. For the truth is that it is what a people want for themselves at a particular time which is right for them, no one else is justified in trying to impose a different way of life.²⁵

Nyerere affirmed the sovereignty of the Tanzanian people. Tanzania being independent has to function for the common good for its entire people. The work of the people is to defend freedom they won. To improve the quality of the life they had to reject the capitalist economic system inherited from the British colonialism and return to the ancient tribal system of socialism called “Ujamaa”.

ii) Social equality

Nyerere promotes human dignity in society. He held that “exploitation is ‘a person with money making profit from a person without money.’”²⁶ This for him is being capitalistic. “The Government understands that our people do not believe that it is better to be wealthy slave than a power free man.”²⁷ The purpose of Ujamaa socialism is to ensure that persons control their own means of production so that their livelihood is not dependent on the whims of others. Property that is not subject to private ownership includes land and the means of production requiring the employment of workers. This kind of property, which is under the domain of public or communal ownership, has its roots in traditional society.

iii) Self-reliance

Nyerere reflects that political independence is meaningless if a nation does not control the means by which the citizens can earn their living. Independence means self-reliance. Since the Arusha declaration, these goals have been pursued by a self-reliant economic policy. Arusha declaration, has made people, not money basis of development.

The people have to be taught the meaning of self-reliance and its practice. They must become self-sufficient in food, serviceable clothes and good housing. Only if each individual is self-reliant will each small village be self-reliant, only then will each district and each region be self-reliant, and finally the whole nation be self-reliant.²⁸

In the rural areas and the whole of Tanzania was to hold program of Ujamaa villages, as a revival of traditional tribe life in which goods were held, in common and no one want hungry while

another had an abundance of food. Rural life must be built on the basis of human quality. These must be no masters and servants but just people working together for the good of all and thus their own good.²⁹

The national self-reliance is freedom from more inference from other nations. The Tanzania nation should be self-reliance as he mentions in his book freedom and development that

I admit that in the modern world real friendship between a very big nations and very small nations is a comparatively a rare thing. For friendship in these circumstances means recognition on both sides that the differences in size, wealth and power are irrelevant to the equality between sovereign nations. It means that both sides recognize the differences but treat them as facts which have relevance only when friendship itself needs them, or can benefit from them.³⁰

For Nyerere to sum up this point on self-reliance, observed that to be free from foreign interference, a great change in economic wellbeing was needed. A nation real freedom depends on its capacity to do things not on the legal rights conferred by its internationally recognized sovereignty. He emphasized on agriculture as a vehicle of development.

The ‘Mean’ between Capitalism and Socialism

As we have stated above, within the range of the past 60 years down the line, capitalism reigns supreme in Africa. Individualism is manifest in the grabbing attitude of politicians who think only of making quick gains at the expense of the masses. This is not only experienced in Africa. Even China, which is communist country, is capitalist in Africa. May be there should have been a middle way between communism and capitalism. This would be an ambitious project bearing in mind that political thought centre around the idea of the regeneration of Africa in socio-political life. The idea of the regeneration of Africa represents a call to a New Africa. Beyond the general tendencies prevalent in his time, to favour and refine socialist teachings and to reject capitalist principles, Nnamdi Azikiwe, made frantic efforts in the search of a middle way between socialism and capitalism in his later years. Finding the major political systems – capitalism, socialism, welfarism – wanting, Nnamdi, feeling that since none of them is totally bad, there was the need for the harmonization of these systems by combining what he believes to be the good elements in each of them.³¹ These results in what he called “neo-welfarism,”

Neo-welfarism is an economic system, which blends the essential elements of Capitalism, Socialism, and Welfarism, in a socio-economic matrix, influenced by indigenous African. More so, this was to enable the state and the private sector to own and control the means of production, distribution and exchange, whilst simultaneously enabling the state to assume responsibility for the social services. This was in order to benefit the citizens according to their needs and officially

specified minimum standard, without prejudice to participation in any aspect of the social services by voluntary agencies.³²

Following this argument, most of the African post-colonial leaders wanted to blend the two major economic ideologies, that is, capitalism and communism, and come with something in the middle. One would positively argue that this was due the fact that they wanted to benefit from the two systems. Thus, despite them trying to call whatever they came up with, African, we cannot see anything free from the ingredients of the two major economic ideologies. For Nyerere, he never blended capitalism and communism like most African leaders, but gave Tanzania, Africa and the world at large, an originality, Ujamaa.

The impact of *Ujamaa*

This section seeks to relate *Ujamaa*, as a unique socialism in relation to others especially, those of the West. But, what about in Africa itself? The geographical entity known as Africa, cannot be classified as a national community. Similarly, it cannot be defined in terms of a common language, culture or worldview. Thus, to relate *Ujamaa* to different African states would be difficult. It should be noted that, ideologically, the northern part of Africa, predominantly Muslim, identifies more with the Arab world than with Africa. According to Southern Africa's policy of apartheid, until recently, whites have not considered themselves as Africans".³³ Indeed, the whole idea of apartheid has been aimed at Africans on the basis of colour. Whites have their affiliations with Western Europe and the United States as the home of their forebears. Thus, we are left with the sub-Saharan southwest and central Africa, often referred to as the "real" Africa or "Black Africa".³⁴

Even the aspect of colour does not seem to provide the ultimate answer to the question of African or any identity. There are many light-skinned people in Africa, just as there are so many dark-skinned people in other parts of the world. It is, however, noteworthy that most of the attempts at identifying the African, even by Africans themselves, have never quite succeeded in getting away from the question of colour. One possible explanation is the fact that the human mind often tends to work within established categories such that opinions earlier held tend to influence subsequent views. Like Nyerere, Nkrumah argued that socialism was the system that would best accommodate the changes that capitalism had brought, while still respecting African values. He specifically addresses these issues and his politics in a 1967 essay entitled "African Socialism Revisited":

We know that the traditional African society was founded on principles of egalitarianism. Its humanist impulse, nevertheless, is something that continues to urge us towards our all-African socialist reconstruction.³⁵

Obafemi on the same support argued that, "it stands to reason, therefore, that the best interests of the Africans lie in being incorporated into the building itself, not into the scaffolding."³⁶ We

postulate each man to be an end in himself not merely a means; and we accept the necessity of guaranteeing each man equal opportunities for his development. Any meaningful humanism must begin from egalitarianism and must lead to objectively chosen policies for safeguarding and sustaining egalitarianism.³⁷ Ujamaa therefore, made an impact to the Tanzanians themselves in being able to unite and build their country. Though it had some failures as discussed in chapter three, Ujamaa became a 'Philosophy of way of life' to the people of Tanzania and a contribution to Africa as a whole.

Morality can eliminate current African political leadership challenges

Whenever we are dealing with African problems, we are alerted on the multiplicity of Crevices and cleavages. We may narrow down into religion, ethnicity, ideology, nationality and class. Political leadership in Africa face the same challenge. Ali Mazrui, says that the weakest is the class cleavage, which together with ethnicity, we want to deal with. His example is that, a kikuyu peasant is probably Kikuyu first and a peasant second. In confrontation between Kalenjin³⁸, peasants on one side and the Kikuyu petty bourgeoisie on the other, the chances are that the Kikuyu peasant will side with his fellow peasants regardless of class, rather than side with his fellow peasants regardless of class, rather than side with his fellow peasant regardless of ethnic affinity.³⁹ This would explain why there have been conflicts in the volatile Rift Valley Region in Kenya especially, prior to elections, during and after these elections. Rationality would dictate one to follow the moral order in his acting as a rational being. Nyerere's *Ujamaa* principles managed to remove ethnicity in Tanzania. His moral integrity surpassed many of his contemporary leaders on the African land. The very ground laid by Nyerere of the family, made the people of Tanzania develop the attitude of brotherhood (*undugu* in Kiswahili language). This attitude made them embrace the one language, Kiswahili as the medium of communication. The Tanzanians understand themselves not as individual tribes in Tanzania, but as Tanzanians.⁴⁰ It is the attitude that each individual does not define himself or herself outside the community, that give morality a good ground in the leadership arena. Each leader therefore must imprint in his or her very self the African philosophical teaching and the background of African socialism. That is, "I am because you are and you are because I am"

Conclusion

It is evident that although Nyerere in his socialism intended the Tanzanians be one, this paradigm was and still is experienced outside the geographical area. The oneness in the society is not only a call, but is part of the African people. People prayed and helped the poor, children, the aged, and even the unprivileged. For example,

Let us take care of the children for they have a long way to go.

Let us take care of the elders, for they have come a long way.

Let us take care of those in between for they are doing the work.⁴¹

The success that Nyerere made as a true African leader does not mean that Tanzanians should stop the struggle. African condition because of the colonial masters link, continue the struggle. Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, who belonged to the school of thought which saw the succeeding regime in Kenya as a case of continuing dependency, a condition that is very rife and deep rooted to date. He tried to lead a movement based in a class consciousness and dedicated towards basic land reform and social transformation (this position was also dearly taken by J. M. Kariuki, who was politically assassinated for the same in 1975). Some true Sons of Africa have had to sacrifice their lives for the noble cause of Africa. This does not mean the struggle has come to an end.⁴² He discovered people were still members of “tribes” first and members of social classes only secondarily.⁴³ It is striking to note that tribalism mentality plays the ‘behind curtain’ key role in African politics. The leader while campaigning shows that he or she will be morally integrated. But once in office this moral integrity disintegrates into ethnic stalwarts and inclinations. Although Jaramogi Oginga Odinga has since died, his book, *Not Yet Uhuru (Not yet freedom)* is now used in principle, anytime people are crying for their rights. We are forced to ask ourselves, what went wrong to Africa, a continent that used to enjoy for example tranquillity, interrelation and economic endowment (through barter trade). We go back to colonial period. European destroyed African institutions of authority and government and left a major gap. The rules of living together which prevailed in the pre-colonial period, the values and collective responsibilities of traditional social life, were replaced by artificial norms imported from Europe. Europeans in one colony after another experienced new class formation without necessarily acquiring the necessary capability for effective conflict resolution.

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Endnotes

¹ Slave trade started in Africa around the mid-fifteenth century when Portuguese interests in Africa moved away from the fabled deposits of gold to a much more readily available commodity, slaves as analysed by Alistair Boddy-Evans, in an article, “The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A review of the triangular trade with reference to maps and statistics.” See africanhistory.about.com/od/slavery/tp/TransAtlantic001.htm

² exhibitions.nypl.org/africanaage/essay-colonization-of-africa.html

³ It is worth noting that most of these people became the first presidents of their respective countries.

⁴ The concept of “Pan-Africanism” was supposed to mean a movement that seeks to unify African people or people living in Africa, into a "one African community", we use it here to designate the process of unifying an individual country for the good of the African continent.

⁵ William D. Redemamn, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, (New York: Orbis Books, 1976), 171

⁶ A. J. Swann. *Fighting the slave-Hunters in Central Africa* (London, 1910), 76.

⁷ Senghor; *Poetry and Prose* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 43.

⁸ Coetzee Roux. *The African Philosophy Reader* (London; Routledge), 443.

⁹ *Ibid.* 45.

¹⁰ Jean-Paul Sartre. *Existentialism is a Humanism* (translated by Carol Macomber, introduction by Annie Cohen-Solal, notes and preface by Arlette Elkaim-Sartre), (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 11.

- ¹¹ J.K. Nyerere, 'Ujamaa - the Basis of African Socialism', in *Freedom and Unity*, (1962), p. 162. The opening sentences make this point - 'Socialism, like democracy, is an attitude of mind.'
- ¹² Walter Rodney. "Tanzanian *Ujamaa* and Scientific Socialism" in *African Review* 1:4 (Dar es Salaam, 1972), 61-76.
- ¹³ Nyerere: *Ujamaa: Essays On Socialism* (Dar-e Salaam :Oxford University Press 1968), 2.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.
- ¹⁵ laissez-faire capitalism encourages free trade and private ownership. In capitalism, socially-shared property is mostly held privately, interest is used from capital investment to fuel more investment, and social relations in production are mediated by wage-labour, where labourers contract out their time in return for financial compensation. See, libcom.org/library/capitalism-communism-gilles-dauve
- ¹⁶ A. M. Babu, *African Socialism and Socialist Africa?* (London: zed press, 1981), 18
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 171
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹ We emphasize "unique to Africa" since the idea of "Undugu" for brotherhood and familyhood is uniquely shared in African communities.
- ²⁰ Martin N. Mkenkia, *African Vitology*, (Nairobi: Paulines Pub. Africa, 1999), 52
- ²¹ J. K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, (London: Oxford University Press,), 19
- ²² The principles of Ujamaa are discussed in chapter III, section 1.4
- ²³ Pan-Africanists were those people propagating for African unity.
- ²⁴ J. K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Development, Op. Cit.*, 175
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 60
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 83
- ²⁷ Julius Nyerere *Freedom and Development: Uhuru na Maendeleo* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 73
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 130
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, 156
- ³⁰ *Op. cit.*, 109
- ³¹ Nnamdi Azikiwe *Onitsha Market Crisis: An Example of Monocracy* (Nsukka: Zik Enterprises, 1976), 78-83
- ³² Kwame Nkrumah. *Towards Colonial Freedom. "Africa in the Struggle Against World Imperialism"* (London: Panaf Book Ltd., 1962), 29
- ³³ Jahnheinz Jahn, *Muntu: An Outline of Neo-African Culture*, trans. by Marjorie Greene (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1961), 19-21
- ³⁴ G. W. F. Hegel, *Philosophy of History* [1837] Translated by J. Sibree (Frederick Ellis, 2009), 9
- ³⁵ Kwame Nkrumah. *African Socialism Revisited* (Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1967), 28
- ³⁶ Obafemi Owolowo, *Path to Nigerian Freedom*, (London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1966), 111
- ³⁷ Kwame Nkrumah, *Op. cit.*
- ³⁸ Both Kikuyus and Kalenjins are different communities in who have been in political conflicts from the early 1990s.
- ³⁹ Ali A Mazrui. *The African Condition* (Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1980), 93.
- ⁴⁰ This is discussed in chapter three.
- ⁴¹ Traditional African Prayer presented in an article "Harambee Pulling together African Style" by Kabiza Wilderness Safaris, Kampala, 2011.
- ⁴² Musamaali Nangoli, *The African Cause: I Speak to Mother Africa* (New Jersey: African Heritage Pub. 1992), 64.
- ⁴³ Ali A mazrui, *op. cit.*,93.

