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**Nyerere's Socialism and African Politics in Relation to
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Abstract

This paper discusses the Ujamaa philosophy and what it advocated as fostered by Julius Nyerere. The work relates the Ujamaa philosophy with socialism and how the combination of the two can be applied in advancing the African political leadership. The paper further exemplifies on the hindrances of application of Ujamaa and suggests ways through which the philosophy can be advanced.

Key Words: *Ujamaa, socialism, Ujamaa Philosophy and African Leadership*

Introduction

Whenever we encounter “*Ujamaa*”, socialism of Tanzania, by Julius Kambarage Nyerere, our first concern is; what uniqueness does it have from others. The fact is that there are so many ‘Socialisms’ in the world’s political and social ideologies. Saint-Simon, Owen, Fourier and other pioneer socialists of the early 19th century were dubbed ‘utopian’ by Marx and Engels for a variety of reasons, notably because they failed to appreciate that human social development proceeded through certain stages and because their model socialist societies did not take cognizance of the reality of class struggle.¹ On the other hand, the rubric ‘Scientific Socialism’ still attaches to the mode of perception, which predicts the emergence of socialism as a product of the dialectic movement of all previous history and, as a consequence of the triumph of the working class. Utopian socialism or at least utopian elements in socialist thought have persisted and re-appeared from time to time. The socialism by Julius Kabarage Nyerere, which he baptized “*Ujamaa*”, meaning family-hood, uniquely stands out. It bases itself on the African structure of the way of life, which was in turn, based on the community, living as one family. This makes socialism by Nyerere unique and original. To this argument therefore, we start by venturing into his life first. Then a discourse on Ujamaa socialism will follow.

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.”²

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."³ 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.⁴

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.⁵

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.⁶ 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’⁷ 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.⁸ 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.⁹ 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.”¹⁰ 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”.¹¹ 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.¹² 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 African 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.¹³

Ujamaa, as a Socialism

In most cases, one must seek ideology in human actions, combined to greater or lesser extent with statements of principle or policy. *Ujamaa*, the Swahili for 'family-hood' was the social and economic policy developed by Julius Kambarage Nyerere. Centred on collective agriculture, under a process called villagization, *Ujamaa* also called for nationalization of banks and industry, and an increased level of self-reliance at both the individual and a national level. He said it is an attitude of the mind.¹⁴ It is necessary to say that Tanzanian *Ujamaa* is a brand of 'African Socialism'. In 1962, Nyerere referred to *Ujamaa* as 'the basis of African Socialism'.¹⁵ When 'African Socialism' was in vogue early in the 1960s, it comprised a variety of interpretations raging from a wish to see a socialist society in Africa to a desire to maintain the status quo of neo-colonialism.¹⁶ As such, 'African Socialism' is generally taken to mean a set of relations, which leave capitalism and imperialism unchallenged. It is therefore essential to disassociate the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist stance in Tanzania from a caption that has been pre-empted by non-revolutionary African leaders. Furthermore, when *Ujamaa* was presented as an option shortly after the independence of Tanganyika, it was (knowingly) defined as an abstract set of values without reference to the social forms necessary for their realization.¹⁷

Nyerere explained to those gazing on this form of socialism,

It is a description of what we in Tanzania are aiming at, not what we are. For although Tanzania is engaged in building a socialist society, its certainty is not at present, and although Africa is aiming at unity, it is not yet united.¹⁸

Much has now 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. 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.¹⁹ A clear understanding of the direct association of *Ujamaa* to the 'African Socialism' is deduced by Onuoha when he says,

African Socialism aspires after true democracy. Accepting the forms and institutions of Western democracy with reservations, it seeks its own way to democracy at the same time meaningful and socially integrated.²⁰

The concept of *Ujamaa* as a form of Socialism can be in two contexts: firstly, as referring to the extended family of African communalism; secondly, with reference to the creation of agricultural collectives known as *Ujamaa* villages. The relation between the two is that the *Ujamaa* villages seek to recapture the principles of joint production, egalitarian distribution and the universal obligation to work which were found within African communalism. The word *Ujamaa* incorporates both of these meanings, and includes the implications of several policy documents and public plans. This can be contrasted by Kwame Nkrumah,

The term “socialism” has become a necessity in the platform diction and political writings of African leaders. It is a term which unites us in the recognition that the restoration of Africa’s humanist and egalitarian principles of society calls for socialism. All of us, therefore, even though pursuing widely contrasting policies in the task of reconstructing our various nation-states, still use “socialism” to describe our respective efforts. ‘The question must therefore be faced: What real meaning does the term retain in the context of contemporary African politics?’²¹

Nyerere set out his policy in the Arusha Declaration of 5 February 1967.²² The process started slowly and was voluntary, by the end of the 60s there were only 800 or so collective settlements. In the 70s, Nyerere's reign became more oppressive, and the move to collective settlements, or villages, was enforced. By the end of the 1970s, there were over 2,500 of these 'villages' each of around 250 families²³. It made the distribution of fertilizer and seed easier. Nyerere's socialist outlook required Tanzania's leaders to reject capitalism and all its trimmings, showing restraint over salary and perks. It was rejected by a significant fraction of the population. Towards the end of Nyerere's rule, Tanzania had become one of Africa's poorest countries, dependent on international aid.

Ujamaa philosophy - “the way of life”

To embark on a study of any political philosophy it is first necessary to understand its cardinal principles. Ujamaa, loosely translated as ‘familyhood’ in Swahili, is defined as ‘an attitude of mind’.²⁴ Though he later specifies the institutions and system of societal interaction that are necessary for its implementation, Nyerere’s initial preoccupation is with socialism as a way of thinking about society.

i) People care for each other

This ‘attitude of mind’ is based on the premise that ‘people care for each other’s welfare.’²⁵ Ujamaa is thus, based on humanism and communalism. The Ujamaa individual sees himself only as part

of the society and conceives his principal role as contribution to and reliance on his society. At the same time, the individual's welfare is the be all and end all of life and not a means to achieve power, wealth or both. What this implies is that no man should exploit his fellow man in view to becoming more powerful than him or her. This is a direct anti-thesis to capitalism which Nyerere clarifies, claiming that this attitude and not the absence or presence of wealth are what distinguish a capitalist from an African Socialist.²⁶ A millionaire can thus be a socialist if he desires wealth for the purpose of benefitting his fellow man, likewise a poor man a capitalist if he desires wealth to dominate others. The welfare of the fellow man must be the individual's primary concern just as the welfare of each and every man must be the cardinal concern of the society. When Nyerere condemns the 'acquisitiveness for power and prestige'²⁷ as 'unsocialist', it must be stressed that he is referring to 'acquisitiveness' for personal power and prestige; acquisitiveness for the power and prestige of a group would thus be deemed acceptable, even praiseworthy.

ii) Society supersedes the Individual

The second cardinal principle is that society supersedes the individual in importance. That the individual must have an 'attitude of mind' which compels him to care for the welfare of others would imply that he may neglect his own welfare assuming that society will cater to his and his family's needs.²⁸ Communalism is thus the logical progression from humanism. Each individual's humanism leads to society's communalism and vice-versa. It must be stressed here that, for Nyerere, communalism does not mean communism or European socialism. Nyerere categorically states that unlike European socialism, African socialism based on communalist principles does not deem class struggle a necessary principle for its emergence. To subscribe to this principle is to imply that classes must exist, and hence capitalism, for a socialist society to be born.²⁹ Nyerere's African socialism on the contrary, is based on the assumption of a classless society. Now the absence of a class conflict and the existence of a classless society does not imply that there is no 'working class' or 'ruling class' when defined as a distinct group of workers or rulers it simply means that their status as workers or rulers does not make them wealthier or poorer than other societal segments. A worker must have the same standard of living as the community 'elder' as everyone including an elder was a worker (Nyerere, 1968). Each worker contributed to a communal pool of wealth from which he then demanded his fair share based on this work and considering the amount of the overall communal contribution (Nyerere, 1968). Communalism of necessity implies an organized or informal but widely recognized unit of societal organization.

The Foundation and the objective of African Socialism is the extended family, according to Nyerere.³⁰ Nyerere does not simply contend that the extended family is the foundation but also that it is the structural end of socialism. The society is an ever-growing extended family such that an African Socialist must classify all as brethren.³¹ The cardinal principles of humanism and communalism aside, the philosophical basis of Ujamaa, as a '*way of life*' particularly in villages

lies in three basic assumptions.³² *First, respect*: recognition by each family member of the rights of all other members. *Second, common property*, meaning that the basic necessities possessed by one person are the property of the group such that all members of the community must be similarly endowed. *Third, the obligation to work*, meaning that all family members and guests of the family who partake of food for an extended period of time must assist in the family's labor. These three assumptions underlie the principles of communalism and humanism and must be examined to prove Ujamaa's worth. It was possible to provide a good level of education to the population. Created high literacy rate, halved infant mortality through access to medical facilities and education. Villagization also overcame the problems of 'tribalization', which beset other newly independent African countries.³³ It untied Tanzanians across ethnic lines, and left Tanzania untouched by the 'tribal' and political tensions which affected the rest of Africa.

Firstly, it should be noted that, the international character of capitalist production in the era of imperialism has placed the propertied class in the metropolis while, the greater portion of their working force resides in the colonial or semi-colonial areas. Secondly, the colonial sectors show varying degrees of stratification and class formation as a consequence of their integration in the international capitalist economy. Both of these features are recognized in the Tanzanian policy documents which elaborate on the theory of *Ujamaa*: TANU's *Arusha Declaration* and Nyerere's *Socialism and Rural Development* being the most relevant. Thus, Nyerere emphasized,

We lost freedom to the 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.³⁴

The *Arusha Declaration* had little to say about the development of socialism in the countryside beyond expressing the opinion that concern for the peasant farmer must be a priority. However, this document set the stage for the policy of constructing *Ujamaa* villages by expropriating the foreign capitalist class who until then were owners of the major means of production within Tanzania. It stated unequivocally that the major means of production are under the control and ownership of the peasants and the workers themselves through their Government and their Cooperatives. Nationalisation and the acquisition of ownership of several companies were steps in the direction of severing the links between the local working classes and the international bourgeoisie. Humanness in its fullest sense rather than wealth creation must come first. Societies become better places through the development of people rather than the gearing up of production. The issue of tribalism until now, is not an issue in Tanzania like in many countries in Africa. The people of Tanzania address each other as '*ndugu*', which means brother. This concept of brotherhood, has become an identifying mark for the people of Tanzania, and permeates throughout their whole human systems. 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.³⁵

Unlike many other politicians, he did not amass a large fortune through exploiting his position. As is clearly a known fact with all African first presidents, among their inner agenda was to amass wealth. This wealth is not for the benefit of the nation as a whole, but for individual and family coffers. We can say that Nyerere advocated a unique philosophy of “every individual for the whole society, and the whole society for all.”³⁶ Thus, the philosophy of Ujamaa is “the way of life.”

Failures of Ujamaa philosophy

i) Communication and Trade

Transportation networks declined drastically through neglect, Industry and banking was crippled and left the country dependent on international aid. It is undoubtedly in the field of economics that Julius Nyerere has received his worst press, and in which his legacy has been seen as most negative.³⁷

ii) Economy

Nyerere’s grasp of the traditional tenets of economic theory was probably weak and so was that of his closest advisors and speechwriters. Most of the criticism coming from economists relates to his “socialist” policies. But his government’s most damaging economic policy errors, in our view, had little to do with socialism *per se*. They came relatively late in his Presidency and were on the relatively non-ideological issue of exchange rate policy; they were errors shared by many other low-income countries in the early 1980s. As for his “Socialism”, some elements can be faulted as far more serious in their negative economic consequences as others. Nationalizations and restrictions on competition (including price controls) in the trading, industrial, agricultural and financial sectors were far beyond governmental management capacities. Widespread (and even forced) “villagization” in the rural sector was not only economically costly but also deeply unpopular. The “basic industry” policy – to the extent that it was part of Nyerere’s “socialism” – was also mistaken in that it was premature and inappropriate for so economically small a country; it too proved costly. All of these “socialist” policies could be foreseen (and were) as likely to slow overall economic growth and development.³⁸

In the early 1980s, as the UK White Paper on international development put it in its commentary on African experience, the “worldwide international climate ... left little margin for policy errors.”³⁹ In Tanzania, there undoubtedly were such policy errors. As President, Nyerere had to steer a difficult course. By the late 1960s, Tanzania was one of the world’s poorest countries. Like many others, it was suffering from a severe foreign debt burden, a decrease in foreign aid, and a fall in the price of commodities. His solution, the collectivization of agriculture, villagization

(Ujamaa) and large-scale nationalization was a unique blend of socialism and communal life. The objective of socialism in the United Republic of Tanzania is to build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities. All can live in peace with their neighbours without suffering or imposing injustice, or exploitation and in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury.⁴⁰ The focus, given the nature of Tanzanian society, was on rural development.

iii) Political resistance

The policy met with significant political resistance (especially when people were forced into rural communes) and little economic success. Nearly 10 million peasants were moved and many were effectively forced to give up their land. Productivity went down.⁴¹

Factors that supported unity in Ujamaa

i) Diversity as strength⁴²

It could be argued that since none of the ethnic groups had developed into a super-ethnic group, hence creating antagonism and/or dominance which in its neighbourhood, they were more ready to be united under a new leader who had a different vision for the future.

ii) Language

Kiswahili “is another factor which helped Tanzania to develop a nation. Although each ethnic group has its own language, the majority of which are Bantu languages, and even though a large proportion of Kiswahili is made up of Bantu words, it belongs to one ethnic group and is spoken all over the country – used freely in schools, communication in administration and in commerce.⁴³

iii) Socializing agents

The use of Kiswahili as a national language facilitated two other governments, first church servants could be moved from their place of origin to other areas without suffering language disabilities. Second, pupils in past-primary school education could go anywhere in the country to get their education. As a result, nationalists’ tendencies were reinforced through a socialization process. Kiswahili made Tanzanians to rise above tribal affinities.⁴⁴

iv) Theory of Incorporation

This aspect of Nyerere’s management of diversity, can be described as the philosophy and practical management of different parts of society by making them part of the decision-making process of one and the same group. This was a strength. It received a boost from Nyerere who personally discouraged factionalism.⁴⁵ For socialists the people are the makers of list and their struggle against tyranny is the expression of that list. Our task as socialists is to carry on the struggle from where our oppressed ancestors left off and carry it through to the end. The ideological and social systems

which oppress them whether communal or feudal, have their place only in the museum of list. Only socialism has introduced to the world new vistas for the people, a new and dynamic future. By looking backward, our petty-bourgeois intellectual idealize our backwardness for example communal life. While other people can aim at reaching the moon, and while in future our present aim must be directed at reaching the villages.

Nyerere and his involvement in Liberation struggles

Prior to Tanzanian independence, it is worth noting that during the 1st world war (1914-1918), Tanganyika was a war field. The reason for this being, it was first colonized by the Germans from 1885.⁴⁶ The Germans were faced by the world. Afterwards the Territory became a league of Nations mandate, administered by British. In the 1939 war, the effects were more indirect-including the result of 92,000 people in the army and a standstill of regular development work. Afterwards, Tanganyika became a United Nations Trust Territory.⁴⁷ Nyerere with these factors was active in regional politics. Any integrated leader would do the same especially when the neighbours are not at peace. As a committed pan-Africanist, Nyerere provided a home for a number of African liberation movements including the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) of South Africa, Frelimo seeking to overthrow Portuguese rule in Mozambique, Zanla (and Robert Mugabe) in their struggle to unseat the white regime in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). He also opposed the brutal regime of Idi Amin in Uganda. Following a border invasion by Amin in 1978, a 20,000-strong Tanzanian army along with rebel groups, invaded Uganda. It took the capital, Kampala, in 1979, restoring Uganda's first President, Milton Obote, to power.⁴⁸ The battle against Idi Amin was expensive and placed a strain on government finances. There was considerable criticism within Tanzania that he had both overlooked domestic issues and had not paid proper attention to internal human rights abuses. Tanzania was a one party state — and while there was a strong democratic element in organization and a concern for consensus, this did not stop Nyerere using the Preventive Detention Act to imprison opponents. In part, this may have been justified by the need to contain divisiveness, but there does appear to have been a disjuncture between his commitment to human rights on the world stage, and his actions at home.

Nyerere and the art of Governance

Governments bear the final responsibility for the state of the nation - its internal and external peace, and the well-being of its people. It is the distinction between the words 'governance' and 'government,' which draws attention to the reality that, despite its enforcement agencies, government (in the sense of the executive authority) is not the sole determinant of whether those responsibilities are fulfilled. Government is an instrument of State. Today there is a call, emanating from the North, for the weakening of the State. In our view, Africa should ignore this call. Our States are so weak that it would almost amount to a crime to weaken them further. We have a duty

to strengthen the African States in almost every aspect you can think of; one of the objectives of improving the governance of our countries is to strengthen the African State and thus enable it to serve the people of Africa better.⁴⁹ Nyerere said that *Governance in Africa must be improved for the continent's countries and people to build real freedom and real development.*⁵⁰ However, his definition of good governance is different from the one used by the rich countries in meting out aid to poor nations.

The key to a government's effectiveness and its ability to lead the nation lies in a combination of three elements. **First**, its closeness to its people, its responsiveness to their needs, and demands in other words, democracy. **Secondly**, its ability to coordinate and bring into a democratic balance the many functional and often competing sectional institutions which groups of people have created to serve their particular interests. **Thirdly**, the efficiency of the institutions (official and unofficial) by means of which its decisions are made known and implemented throughout the country. This is what Nyerere intended with *Ujamaa*. The government of Tanzania had to follow her constitution based on *Ujamaa*, as the supreme law of the land. Their constitution bound them together as if fulfilling what Unuoha said,

We cannot respect ordinary laws of the State if we do not respect the constitution under which they were promulgated. A scrupulous respect for the constitution is the basis of the principle of the rule of law.⁵¹

Nyasani emphasizes the same when he argues that, “‘no respect for the Constitution’ leads to ‘no basis for the rule of law’.”⁵²

Conclusion

Nyerere's activities in the international/global sphere included efforts to bolster analysis, both economic and political, to inform those who speak for the developing countries, especially the poorest among them, in international negotiations and organizations. The developing countries are still woefully weakly equipped to deal with the batteries of well-funded economists, lawyers and lobbyists who defend Northern interests in international discussions and the media. He was among those who saw, far ahead of others, that there is ultimately no substitute for one's own technical, professional and institutional strength. Today it is known as “capacity building”, and it has entered “conventional wisdom” as to what is to be done not only in Africa but throughout the developing world. We are indebted to assert that despite the formal failure of socialism in Tanzania, the life-style of the people remain an ideal in their social interactions. No pure democracy witnessed in the whole world as per today. No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.⁵³ Tanzanian *Ujamaa* is a unique contribution to the African socialist revolution and to socialist theory as a whole because of its solid connections with the observable data in the Tanzanian countryside.⁵⁴ The life, works and integration of Nyerere, is like a mastery

programme set in a scientific way to help unite the people of Tanzania and at the same time be a reference to the rest part of Africa and in the entire world. He remained faithful to what he believed, thus, despite being a firm Catholic believer he integrated well with Muslims and other religious denominations. He rose above tribal politics and affiliations, and became a ‘morally integrated’ leader. In our next chapter, still guided by Nyerere’s leadership skills, we shall see the role of moral integrity in African socio-political leadership.

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¹ F. Engels, "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific socialism," in *Marx and Engels, Selected Works*, Vol. 2, (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1962), 76-77.

² William D. Redemamn, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, (New York: Orbis Books, 1976), 171

³ A. J. Swann. *Fighting the slave-Hunters in Central Africa* (London, 1910), 76.

⁴ Senghor; *Poetry and Prose* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 43.

⁵ Coetzee Roux. *The African Philosophy Reader* (London; Routledge), 443.

⁶ *Ibid.* 45.

⁷ Jean-Paul Sartre. *Existentialism is a Humanism* (translated by Carol Macomber, introduction by Annie Cohen-Solal, notes and preface by Arlette Elkaïm-Sartre), (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 11.

⁸ 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.'

⁹ Walter Rodney. "Tanzanian *Ujamaa* and Scientific Socialism" in *African Review* 1:4 (Dar es Salaam, 1972), 61-76.

¹⁰ Nyerere: *Ujamaa: Essays On Socialism* (Dar-e Salaam :Oxford University Press 1968), 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹² 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

¹³ A. M. Babu, *African Socialism and Socialist Africa?* (London: zed press, 1981), 18

¹⁴ J.K. Nyerere, 'Ujamaa - the Basis of African Socialism' in *Freedom and Unity*, (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 162.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ An argument presented by John Muhenda, a Lecturer of African Philosophy at Catholic University of Eastern Africa during one of the weekly "Philosophy Circle" philosophical discourses. Dated Thursday, 26th January, 2012.

¹⁷ J.K. Nyerere, *Op.cit.*

¹⁸ J. K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Development* (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 1973), ii

¹⁹ Significantly, Tanzanians or foreign observers who have been left behind by the trend towards heightened socialist understanding seldom pay attention to more recent pronouncements of *Mwalimu* Nyerere, but consider 'Ujamaa - the Basis of African Socialism' as a final blueprint.

²⁰ Bede Unuoha, *Elements of African Socialism*, (London: Andre Deutsh, 1965), 47

²¹ Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism* (London and New York, 1964), 105

²² J.K. Nyerere. *The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance*, TANU, (1967), 13.

²³ *Ibid.* 13.

²⁴ Nyerere, *Ujamaa: Essays On Socialism*, 2-17

²⁵ Lolan Ekow and Sagoe-Moses, "Ujamaa: African Socialism or Nyerere's Abstraction?" cf., <http://www.scribd.com/doc/44790523/Ujamaa>

²⁶ Nyerere, *Op. Cit.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Lolan Ekow and Sagoe-Moses, "Ujamaa: African Socialism or Nyerere's Abstraction?" *Loc. Cit.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, 57.

³⁴ J. K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, *Op. cit.*, 19.

³⁵ Martin Nkafu Mkemnkia, *African Vitology*, (Nairobi: Paulines Pub. Africa, 1999), 19

³⁶ Personal analysis.

³⁷ The heading for his obituary in the (London) *Financial Times* read “Man of integrity whose policies hurt his country”. That in *The Economist*, while generally friendly, concluded: “He was a magnificent teacher: articulate, questioning, stimulating, caring. He should never have been given charge of an economy.”

³⁸ See these anxieties as expressed in the *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 8, no. 1, January 1972.

³⁹ *Eliminating World Poverty: A Challenge for the 21st Century*, *White Paper on International Development*, (England, November 1997), 9.

⁴⁰ Nyerere, *op. cit.*, 340.

⁴¹ J.K. Nyerere, “Socialism and Rural Development”, *loc. cit.*, 339.

⁴² Colin Legum & Geoffrey Mani (ed), *Mwalimu: the Influence of Nyerere* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki, na Nyota, 1995), 27

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29

⁴⁶ S. A. Nyanchoga, S. M. Omwoyo, B. N. Nyariki, *Aspects of African History*, (Nairobi: Catholic Univ. of Eastern Africa, 2008), 154-155.

⁴⁷ Legum, Colin (Ed.), *Africa: A Handbook to the Continent* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Pub., 1966), 131.

⁴⁸ An overview of Nyerere’s political influence in the region.

⁴⁹ Gerry Helleiner. *The legacies of Julius Nyerere: an economist’s reflections*, (University of Toronto, ON. Canada)

⁵⁰ Julius Nyerere. *Five-years of CCM government: The address given to the National Conference of Chama cha Mapinduzi by the chairman, Ndugu Julius K. Nyerere*, on 20th October, 1982 at Diamond Jubilee Hall, (Dar es Salaam by Julius K Nyerere, 1982)

⁵¹ B. Onuoha. On African socialism, Translated and with an introd. by Mercer Cook, (London: Pall Mall, 1964), 32.

⁵² Joseph M. Nyasani, *Legal Philosophy*, (Nairobi: Consolata Institute of Philosophy Press, 1995), 145.

⁵³ This famous quote attributed to the former British prime minister Sir Winston Churchill (1874-1965) focuses right on the weak spot of democracy.

⁵⁴ Walter Rodney, “Tanzanian *Ujamaa* and Scientific Socialism” in *African Review* 1:4 (Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 1972), 61-76.



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