AN EXAMINATION OF SELECTED ASPECTS OF JULIUS NYERERE'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

by

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The political thought of President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania is examined in three main contexts: the individual and society, leadership, and economic and rural development. His published writings and speeches are the main sources of information, while relevant Tanzania Government publications are also consulted. It is seen that much of Nyerere's socio-political thought rests on values and behaviour patterns inherent in African traditional society. Leadership regulations have been devised to check elitist attitudes and behaviour. Collective efforts at rural development are considered to be the only realistic way to induce socio-economic development throughout the whole country. It is found that Nyerere has developed a consistent and comprehensive body of ideas which deal with numerous aspects of the development of his nation. His thought is used as an emotive ideology in order to mobilize the people of Tanzania to develop their country both socially and economically through co-operative living and work habits. Various problems in regard to the implementation of Nyerere's ideas are considered; the most notable being his reluctance to take strong coercive measures to ensure that his fellow politicians remain true to the spirit of the Tanzanian ideology.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. TANZANIA AND NYERERE</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Physical Setting</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Independence History</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julius K. Nyerere</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Tanzania</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. GENERAL OUTLINE OF NYERERE’S THOUGHT</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style of Presentation</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evolution of Ideas</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limits of His Thought</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialism</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzanian Socialism</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competing Principles and Long-Term Outlook</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Success So Far</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Values of Traditional Society</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion--Transference of traditional values to a modern political system</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Perspectives</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion--The key value of equality</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsive Government</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. LEADERSHIP</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. ECONOMIC AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actions From Independence to 1967</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Village Settlement Program</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Arusha Declaration</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Control of The Means of Production</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Reliance</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ujamaa Villages</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Julius Nyerere, the President of the East African republic of Tanzania, is an unusual individual. He has been in power for ten years and still appears to command massive public support. He is an intellectual and a teacher who seeks to apply basic moral principles to the task of governing. He is trying to lead his country towards a vision of the future which he has written and spoken about at great length. He is also a very charming and personable man. All of these factors have created a strong interest in and even commitment to Tanzania on the part of Western Africanists. One observer has gone so far as to characterize this intellectual enamourment as an affliction called "Tanzaphilia". This rather unusual situation for a politician makes one interested in investigating what it

\[\text{In 1962, 1965 and 1970 he was elected President with an average of 96 per cent of the vote each time. In 1962 he was opposed by another candidate, but under the one-party state mechanism introduced in 1965 he was the only candidate in the last two elections, the voters being asked to vote 'yes' or 'no' for him. Such an arrangement does not provide conclusive proof of his popularity, but see Lionel Cliffe (ed.), One Party Democracy: The 1965 Tanzania General Elections (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967) for an analysis of his popularity in both the rural and urban areas. "The President is in fact extraordinarily popular; his widely acknowledged personal legitimacy reinforces the legitimacy of the whole regime." P. 331.}

is that Nyerere has created which makes his country such a centre of interest. It appears that much of what transpires in Tanzania takes place as a result of Nyerere's ideas and initiative. This paper, therefore, is an attempt to look at his ideas and identify their main components. I will look at his political thought in three main contexts: (1) the relation between the individual and society, (2) leadership, and (3) economic and rural development.

The study will be selective in that one large part of his writings will not be examined—that concerning African unity, liberation struggles, and other international affairs. Thus, the focus of the study will be on his ideas concerning the internal nature and development of Tanzania. His thought will not be analysed in the context of a comparison with the thought of other leaders, although references will be made to some significant differences between himself and other African rulers. Nor will it be concerned with the environmental and personal determinants of his thinking, although factors influencing change in his thought will be mentioned from time to time. Rather, the study will outline the development of his thought through time, note the changes in content and emphasis, and examine the consistency of his ideas in relation to their function. That is, I shall try to see which ideas reflect a profound value commitment in regards to the creation of a new society and
whether these are modified or maintained through time, and which ones are designed to serve more immediate political needs--such as the creation of popular support for the political authority or the mobilization of the people in order to implement certain goals determined by the value commitments. Also, the logical consistency of his ideas will be investigated in order to see how comprehensive and how feasible they may be in regards to their practical implementation.

Political thought or ideology\(^3\) in the modern African context can be seen to exist on two levels. One is the theory and ideals that seek to create a philosophical raison d'etre within which the individual and the nation work towards the future. The other is the set of functional directives that are designed to implement the ideals on a practical level. The theoretical thought of various African leaders differs in the degree of its rigidity. There also appears to be wide differences in the degree to which the theoretical work is followed by consistent and practical implementation.

\(^3\)I 'Political thought' and 'ideology' are obviously not synonymous. In this study I shall use the word 'thought' in reference to Nyerere's own ideas. 'Ideology' will refer to the total framework of ideas adopted by the Tanzanian Government and used as the basis for policy. It is often impossible to disassociate Nyerere's ideas from the content of the Tanzanian ideology, but the distinction should be made between the individual's thought and the national policy resulting from it and other inputs.
applications. These factors partly account for the success or failure of the individual politician. In this study I shall try to see how Nyerere fits into this picture. What is the core of his political thought? Does he deal with both theory and application? Has the emphasis changed over time? What is the nature of the theory; a general explanation of history and the nature of man, or a more particular concern with issues related to Tanzania?

\[4\] Nkrumah, for instance, enunciated a fairly rigid theory of history and society and did not take many practical steps to have it implemented.
CHAPTER I

TANZANIA AND NYERERE

The Physical Setting

Tanzania, the former British colony of Tanganyika joined with Zanzibar, is a moderately sized republic with a population larger than those of most other African states. It is strategically situated in East Africa on the shores of the Indian Ocean. Its western border touches the Congo. To the north lie Kenya and Uganda, and in the south Tanzania shares a border with the Portuguese colony of Mozambique. Zambia and Malawi in the southwest also border Tanzania. In 1965 the population of Tanzania was composed of 10,500,000 Africans, 100,000 Asians, 20,000 Arabs and 21,000 Europeans. The latter three groups were concentrated in the urban areas as traders, civil servants and businessmen. Since independence in 1961 the number of Asians and Europeans has decreased moderately. The 1957 census showed that about half the population spoke Swahili, the lingua franca. The use of Swahili has increased considerably since then, and in 1967 it was made the official language. In 1964 it was estimated that about three million people were of Muslim faith and 2,500,000 were Christian. These two groups constituted 58 per cent of the population. There are one hundred twenty tribes in Tanzania. None of them are
dominant in size, the ten largest having roughly equal membership of 250,000 to 300,000.

Tanzania is severely lacking in natural resources, a fact reflected in the per capita gross national product of eighty dollars in 1968. Well over half of its exports are agricultural, the main products being coffee, cotton and sisal. Diamonds are virtually the only mineral resource that has been found and exploited. Ninety per cent of the people live in the rural areas engaged in subsistence or cash farming. Only about one-fifth of the country is well watered enough to produce consistent agricultural surpluses, and about 80 per cent of the population live in those areas. These are scattered around the periphery of the country, leaving a sparsely populated semi-desert in the center. These factors, combined with some rough terrain, have made communication routes costly and difficult. In the Second Five Year Plan of 1969-1974 the government is aiming at an overall growth rate of 6.5 per cent, which is 4 per cent in real terms after allowing for the population increase. The First Five Year Plan 1964-1969 also set a 4 per cent real growth rate, but achieved one of 2.5 per cent.

Pre-Independence History

Tanzania\textsuperscript{1} before the advent of colonialism was rich in cultural, political and linguistic diversity. At no time

\textsuperscript{1}Prior to the union with Zanzibar in 1964 Tanzania was named Tanganyika, but I shall use the name Tanzania throughout the paper.
was there a single political entity covering even a large part of what is now the mainland of Tanzania. The people who eventually settled in the area came from the north, the west (from the Congo) and the south (from as far away as what is now South Africa). Today the north-central part of the country is the most linguistically diverse, with Khosian-, Cushitic-, Nilotic-, and Bantu-speaking peoples. The rest of the country speaks one or other of the one hundred or so Bantu dialects. The present official language of the country, Swahili, is essentially of Bantu origin, but has been strongly influenced by Arabic and incorporates elements of other dialects of the interior. It started to become a lingua franca in the 1800's when the Arabs began to penetrate the interior in force, and is now spoken widely throughout East Africa.

Previous to the slave trade and Arab caravans of the early 1800's, there were a number of coastal kingdoms which rose and then fell under the impact of the Portuguese and the expanding Arabs. The interior of the country was relatively stable until it came in contact with the outside world. First was the disruptive impact of the Arab slave traders. Then, waves of military tribes swept up from the

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south after the breakup of the Ngoni kingdom and the Zulu wars with the British and the Dutch pushing up from the Cape. The nineteenth century was marked by the short-lived existence of a number of military kingdoms in the south and central parts of the country. The nature of political change during this time consisted of a shift from religious to military power as the basis of political authority. The methods of administration and the forms of centralization differed markedly among the various kingdoms. Few of them survived long after the death of their founder, and after the arrival of the Germans in 1885 they declined in power, and in many cases just disintegrated.

German colonisation was violent and oppressive. There was continued resistance in many parts of the country from 1891 to 1898, and there was the large-scale uprising in southern Tanzania during the Maji Maji war of 1905-1907. This uprising is now regarded as the first significant move toward African independence, and is revered among Tanzanians as the first pan-tribal struggle on a coherent basis against colonial oppression.

In the early 1900's, before their expulsion by the British during World War I, the Germans laid the beginnings of commercial agriculture--mainly cotton and sisal--and

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3Ibid., p. 58.
widespread education—although this was largely handled by their missions. British rule between the wars was uneventful. Its main impact was the spread of the money economy, the beginnings of urbanization, and the furtherance of education and health facilities. By 1938 approximately 20 per cent of school age children were in school, and 16 per cent of the males were employed in the money economy in either the urban or rural areas. In general there was a feeling of political apathy, but the slow process of social mobilization was sowing the seeds of the nationalist movement of the 1950's.

After World War II changes began to occur more rapidly. In 1947 the territory was placed under the United Nations Trusteeship System. This removed it from absolute control by the British, enabling the United Nations to watch and study the administration and ensure eventual independence. Other British territories began to experience unrest and the movements for independence could not escape the notice of the Tanzanian people. The British government paid more attention to promoting economic development, but the resources were small and the starting point was very low. A total of £24,000,000 was allocated for development efforts from 1947 to 1956.5

5 Ibid., p. 81
African agitation for independence began in earnest in 1954 with the formation of TANU (Tanganyika African National Union). Previous to that there had been a number of tribal associations and one significant national body formed between the wars—the Tanganyika African Association (TAA)—which was primarily urban in nature but had contact throughout the country. Its activities were sporadic, the most recent being a presentation to the United Nations Visiting Mission in 1951. In 1953 Julius Nyerere was elected President of the TAA and set about writing a constitution for a new organization that would work toward independence. On July 7, 1954 TANU, the new organization, was formed and replaced the TAA. The new constitution with its explicit demands for majority rule and African civil and political rights, and the widespread publicity TANU received from its briefs to the United Nations Visiting Mission in August, 1954 started it on the road to national prominence. By 1957 it had 175,000 members, a year later 300,000 in 134 branches, and by mid-1960 there were approximately one million members. Such massive support and unity throughout the country was obviously a significant factor in the early granting of independence. In 1959 and again in 1960 TANU won overwhelming victories in the first elections, and independence came quickly after—on December 9, 1961.

6 Stevens, op. cit., p. 146.
Julius K. Nyerere

TANU emerged at a time when many factors favoured its success. Much of it, however, was due to the talents and leadership of Julius Nyerere.

The rare combination of charm, tolerance, yet burning devotion to the cause of African dignity which he personified succeeded in attracting maximum support from those inclined toward this idea and minimum opposition from those opposed to it.7

His ability to express the deeply held but undeveloped feelings of the people, the prestige of his high educational qualifications, and his success in challenging the all-powerful British (who, after all, had defeated the strong and ruthless Germans) gave rise to his tremendous authority as a leader.

He was born in 1922 near Lake Victoria, the son of a chief of the Wazanaki. His early education was in mission schools, where he was converted to Christianity—a faith which he has held deeply ever since. He was one of the very few at that time who succeeded in going beyond primary school. After government secondary school he took a degree in education at Makerere College and returned to teach at a secondary school in Tanzania in 1945. In 1949 he went to Edinburgh University on a government scholarship and graduated with an M.A. in economics and history in 1952.

7Ibid., p. 147.
At that time he began thinking and writing about colonialism in his country. On his return to Tanzania he taught at a secondary school near Dar es Salaam, and started to become active in politics. After the formation of TANU in 1954 he continued teaching for a year, but then devoted himself full-time to political activities. After the general election in 1960 he was designated Chief Minister and formed the first cabinet. He became Prime Minister in May, 1961, and independence was achieved in December. Six weeks later he resigned as Prime Minister in order to reorganize TANU and turn it into an effective instrument for promoting development throughout the country. He was prompted to do this by an outbreak of racialism in the party and the undisciplined mood of those who expected to reap instant benefits from independence. During this time he started to formulate his ideas and framework for the implementation of African Socialism in Tanzania. *Ujamaa - The Basis of African Socialism* appeared in pamphlet form at this time. In December, 1962 Nyerere ran as the TANU candidate for President of the newly decided-upon Republic and was elected with 97 per cent of the vote. In 1965 he was re-elected with 96 per cent of the votes cast. He was again re-elected in 1970.
Independent Tanzania

Tanzania achieved independence with a rapidity and peacefulness that was matched by few other colonies. There are a number of factors external to the actual political manoeuvring that partially accounted for this. Tanzania was a United Nations Trusteeship Territory and this made the British government more responsive to external criticism of their administration. No one tribal group dominated others in size, wealth or education. The tribal political entities were highly fragmented prior to and during the period of colonialism. There are over one hundred twenty tribes on the mainland. This fact facilitated the spread of Swahili as a common language, and thus the political leaders were able to spread their message with relative ease in comparison to other African states. There was no strong white settler group that might have strengthened the colonial administration's position: the white population numbered about twenty-two thousand at the time of independence of whom about one-quarter were 'settlers', the rest being civil servants and businessmen. The paucity of natural resources and the lack of economic development prior to independence meant that there were no strong, indigenous vested interests that supported privilege and colonialism.

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8Ibid., p. 27.
These factors and the seemingly massive unity of the country behind Nyerere's leadership appeared to indicate that the post-independence future was bright for political stability and massive, cooperative efforts at development. In fact, one writer contends that the ease of independence served to lull the political leadership into a sense of security which allowed them to overlook some of the real problems they would face as the established authority.\(^9\) This seems an overstatement, for while there certainly were serious problems that even went so far as to threaten the very existence of the regime in the first three years of independence, they were not of an uncontrollable or unusual scale in comparison with the experiences of other African governments after independence, and the political elite seems to have handled the problems with skill and success.

There were considerable problems in meeting the expectations of the newly mobilized populace. Tanzania did not have the natural or financial resources to induce immediate and massive economic improvement, and it was severely handicapped by a lack of trained technicians, teachers and administrators. Very few of the party faithful could be rewarded with government jobs. Agitation for better conditions took a racial as well as economic hue.

\(^9\)Ibid., pp. 3-4.
Within the party there was strong criticism of the government's non-racial policy and the continued employment of skilled expatriates. This prompted Nyerere to resign as Prime Minister in order to reorganize the party and attempt to educate the country as well as the party about the realities of independence. In actual fact, it has been surmised, that Nyerere spent most of this ten months out of office not in restructuring the party, but in reshaping his own ideas and getting support for them among TANU officials. The trade unions embarked on a series of strikes in 1962 for higher pay and faster Africanization. This resulted in legislation that virtually outlawed strikes. In January, 1964 two regiments of the Tanzanian army mutinied and took control of public buildings. Their grievances were poor pay and the continued presence of British officers. They were not intending to overthrow the government, but they almost did, and could have done so with ease. Nyerere was forced to call on the British to suppress the mutiny—a humiliating experience for him and the young country.

These outbreaks of strife prompted the government to extend its control over as many aspects of Tanzanian life as possible. The Army was virtually dismissed, renamed the

\[10\] Kimambo and Temu, op. cit., p. 246.
People's Defence Force, and one-half of it staffed with
volunteers from the TANU Youth League and the National Youth
Service. Trade unions were abolished and all workers were
obliged to belong to a single organization, the National
Union of Tanganyika Workers (NUTA), with the Minister of
Labour as its General Secretary. Agricultural cooperatives
were more closely associated with government policy through
the creation of the Cooperative Union of Tanganyika. TANU
was greatly expanded and organized as a route for grievances
to reach the government from the smallest ten-house cells,
as well as a means for mobilizing participation in govern­
ment and local sponsored projects. TANU officials were
given overlapping positions in district administration as
well as in the party and possibly the National Assembly.
Chiefs were removed from their policy-making positions at
the local level and replaced by elected councils, usually
chaired by the local TANU leader. These measures were
consolidated in 1965 with the creation of Tanzania as a
one-party state, thus legitimizing the administrative role
of TANU. Another significant development of this period was
the union of the mainland Tanganyika with Zanzibar in April,
1964 to form the United Republic of Tanzania.

The centralizing tendencies inherent in the above
policies should be interpreted in the correct light. It is
true that they are measures to ensure the security and unity
of the state and the continued power of the leadership. Unlike the rationale of some other countries following similar policies, however, there is a wider purpose. Basically it is to make the political system responsive to the needs of the people as well as to lead them to the creation of a socialist state based on the African ethics of communal responsibility and solidarity. The commitment of the government and the party to the continued implementation of these goals is the most crucial and perhaps most delicate factor in the continued stability and economic development of Tanzania.

Since 1967 more coherent steps have been taken in implementing the socialist ideals. The Arusha Declaration and the policy of "Self-Reliance" in February of that year marked the beginnings of major changes in the structure of Tanzanian society. Emphasis had already been placed on the importance of developing agricultural and marketing cooperatives in the villages and the encouragement of self-help projects. These efforts had not been wholly successful, and they were rejuvenated after Arusha. The education policy was drastically changed. Before, it had concentrated on producing the skilled elite necessary to run the country. Now, the emphasis is on non-academic training relevant to the average agricultural Tanzanian in the rural areas. The privileges and life-styles of the educated political and
economic elite have been curtailed. Mobilization of the people for self-help in the rural areas was obviously jeopardized by the luxury-living of the elite in the urban centres. In 1966 Nyerere dismissed 394 university students who demonstrated against being forced to do national service. A period of five months labour in the rural areas is now required for all entering the university. The salaries of government officials were cut and no public official was allowed to have outside interests in property or business. Today Tanzania appears to be a stable political entity making slow but sure progress in its development efforts.
CHAPTER II

GENERAL OUTLINE OF NYERERE'S THOUGHT

Julius Nyerere's output of writings and speeches has been fairly substantial in comparison to that of many African leaders. But it is not significantly different in volume from that of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Leopold Senghor of Senegal, Sekou Toure of Guinea, or perhaps even Tom Mboya of Kenya. Each of these leaders has attempted to present a philosophical framework for the development of his country. Nyerere's difference may be that his output has been a continuing and changing process. He has elaborated and explained each step of Tanzania's development along the way. His audience has always been the people of Tanzania. He has not been concerned to establish himself as a philosophical thinker on the world scene. Basically, his concern has been to establish a practical ideological framework for the social, economic and political development of Tanzania which is

There are two volumes of selected writings and speeches, Freedom and Unity, 1966, and Freedom and Socialism, 1968, both published by Oxford University Press. They cover the period 1952-1967. There is also a smaller volume called Ujamaa, Essays on Socialism, Dar es Salaam, OUP, 1968 which duplicated some of the material found in Freedom and Socialism. There are also a large number of pamphlets produced by TANU which are not obtainable outside Tanzania. However, the most significant of these are reprinted in the two volumes mentioned above. The material for this paper has been largely taken from Freedom and Unity and Freedom and Socialism, and deals with his thought until December, 1967.
understood, accepted, and implemented by the people of Tanzania.

**Style of Presentation**

Nyerere's concern for the practical acceptance of his ideas has determined his style of writing and talking. His unofficial title is **Mwalimu**, or Teacher (which is at distinct variance with Nkrumah's **Osagyefo**, or Redeemer). No doubt his experience as a teacher before he became active in politics has had much influence on his style of speaking. His ideas are expressed with remarkable clarity. Even the most complicated and theoretical political and social concepts are expressed with a simplicity that makes them easily understood by almost any literate, and possibly even non-literate, person. This seems to apply whether he is speaking or writing in his native language, Swahili, or in English. All his explanations are illustrated with practical examples drawn from the life and environment of the average Tanzanian in the rural areas. For example, when speaking of equality he makes the difficult point that equality does not mean identical conditions but requires differentiation between individuals according to their degree of inequality, and he illustrates it thus: "To say, for example, that a one-armed old man and an active young man
are equal if they each have ten acres of fertile land and a hoe would be to make a mockery of equality."²

Evolution of Ideas

Nyerere's concern with explaining the steps of societal development as they are planned and implemented is indicated by the chronological sequence of topics that he deals with year by year. He is no static thinker, but moves from one topic and problem to the next as they become relevant to Tanzania. He does, however, maintain consistency by integrating his new ideas into the general framework of Ujamaa—socialism.³

The emphasis of his thinking prior to independence was naturally on the methods and ideals of independence. After its achievement in 1961 and up until 1966 he placed emphasis on the concepts of equality and human dignity and their implications in the structure of the state. Parallel with this was the concern for democracy and the creation of Tanzania's unique one-party system. He was also naturally concerned with the strengthening of national unity. In 1962 appeared the first beginnings of his socialistic framework "Ujamaa, The Basis of African Socialism". In 1966 and 1967


³The literal translation of Ujamaa is 'familyhood', but in a Western sense it refers to 'socialism'. 
his work shifted markedly to a concern with the social and economic development of Tanzania within a socialistic framework, with special concern being given to change in the rural areas. The Arusha Declaration in February, 1967 was the start of an intensive period in which guidelines and basic principles were laid down within the socialistic framework for the development of the industrial economy, the rural areas, and education. It was also time for the creation of a strict code of behaviour for the political and educated elite. Until 1966 Nyerere spent much effort commenting on international affairs, and especially African unity. Since then his concern for external affairs seems to have diminished, and his attention to African unity has been replaced by a concern for liberation of the colonial and white-dominated states in Southern Africa.

**Limits of His Thought**

Nyerere is almost exclusively concerned with Tanzania in the core of his thought. He does not, like Nkrumah and Toure, attempt to create a global theory of history and place Tanzania somewhere in the forefront of the march of time. Both Nkrumah and Toure were concerned with imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism as stages in the emergence of a new order in Africa and the world as a whole. Nyerere is not concerned with inevitable theories of history. Like Nkrumah and Toure, however, he is confident that Africa
can produce a new society based on its traditional values and may even influence other parts of the world to the good, but he feels that it will only do so through the mobilization of its own efforts and resources, not in response to movements of history. In this sense Nyerere is one of the most pragmatic of African political thinkers. He does not attempt to speak to the world and create a new philosophy of human development, or even become the vanguard of another ideology—as Nkrumah sought to do with Marxism-Leninism. He speaks only to the purpose of building a new society in Tanzania.

Socialism

Nyerere has committed himself and Tanzania to the creation of a socialist society. He is also concerned to build socialism out of the Tanzanian environment. He has devoted considerable effort to explaining why a unique sort of socialism will have to be built in Tanzania, one that will adhere to the universally accepted values of socialism but will realise them in ways that are appropriate to the Tanzanian environment. He feels that there are many paths to the goal of a socialist society, depending on where one starts culturally, geographically, and economically. Before outlining his thought on African or Tanzanian socialism, let us look at what he considers to be the universal characteristics
1. The basic purpose of all social activity is MAN, and the furtherance of his human development.

2. The devotion to MAN implies equality. This must be the core and essence of all socialist policies. Equality applies not only to material welfare, but includes the acceptance of human differences. A socialist society cannot allow the existence of racialism, tribalism, or religious intolerance. In sum "Socialism, as a system, is in fact the organization of men's inequalities to serve their equality." 

3. Equality also implies the upholding of human dignity.

4. Equality reflected in the political sphere means the existence of democracy. That is, there must be some mechanism whereby the people can exert their will peacefully and change their laws and their leaders. "It is difficult to see how this could be achieved without the existence of some system of free elections ..." 

5. The society will consist only of workers. To work will be a right as well as a duty. Only small children, the

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5 Ibid., p. 4.
6 Ibid., p. 5.
old and the sick will be exempt. Being a worker does not necessarily imply being a wage-earner, and the definition is certainly not restricted to the classical socialist concept of industrial workers. For instance, women who spend their time cooking and looking after children will be regarded as workers.

6. It follows that there will be no profiteers or exploiters or those who get rich on the labour of others. Exploitation of one man by another will not be permitted. There will be no idle masters. Incomes will not be identical as some workers require more goods than others. Teachers, for instance, will need more books than most. But there could not be a situation where one man is paid one hundred times as much as another man, implying that his labours are worth that much more.

7. In order to prevent inequality and exploitation it will be necessary for the tools of production and the mechanisms of exchange to be under the control of the people. This will normally involve public ownership of the key sectors of the economy. It would not preclude private ownership because state control would only cover those sectors that affect the majority of people. The actual mix of private and state control and the levels and type of control, such as local, national,
or cooperative, would vary from one socialist system to the next.

8. The Rule of Law will be upheld. The purpose of socialism is to enlarge the real freedom of man. Laws, therefore, shall be made known and applied equally, with no arbitrary arrest or persecution.

9. Social values. The organization and education of society will emphasize the cooperative spirit, not personal aggressiveness or competition. The highest respect will be given to those who demonstrate the greatest degree of service to society, as opposed to acquisitiveness.

It can be seen here that Nyerere is talking in very general terms about societal ideals. In Chapters III to V of this paper I shall look at the more specific enunciation of these ideals in terms of particular aspects of societal organization in Tanzania.

Tanzanian Socialism

In this introductory outline of his thought it is important to note Nyerere's reasons for embarking on the Tanzanian road to socialism. In part of Chapter III I shall look at the specific traditional values and conditions which form the basis of his model.
African Socialism is by now a well-used term that is employed by many African states to explain and justify their policies. Generally, it refers to an understanding that there is much in the values and organization of African traditional life that is essentially socialistic and which can be adapted to a modern state in order to create a new synthesis of society that will best serve the needs of the African people. Nyerere subscribes to this view and holds that there is a universality and yet a diversity in Socialism which allows it to be adapted to a variety of social environments.

The universality of socialism only exists if it can take account of men's differences, and be equally valid for all of them. And it can. For the universality of socialism does not imply a single, world-wide uniformity of social institutions, social habits, or social language.7

It only refers to the common ideals that all socialists work for. He believes that Africa and 'African Socialists' will work toward those goals on the basis of the economic and social conditions that now exist in Africa. And these conditions are very different from those of other countries which embarked on the road to socialism in the past. Therefore, while the work of such socialist thinkers as Marx, Lenin, and Mao will be of great help in general terms, Nyerere feels it would be unrealistic to try to apply their

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7Ibid., p. 3.
thoughts to Tanzania as though they were infallible doctrines that were applicable everywhere. Quarrels over the interpretation of doctrine and worries over whether one's actions conform to the true teachings of Marxism-Leninism or to any other -isms are therefore futile and destructive in Tanzania.

In the introduction to his second volume of writings, Nyerere makes a strong attack against doctrinaire socialists and those who adhere to a 'theology' or 'religion' of socialism. It gives one the impression that he is making more than a theoretical point, and is probably directing at least part of his remarks at his ideological critics in Tanzania.

In general, he argues for an independent frame of mind that takes the best and most relevant of others' thoughts and applies them to the reality of Tanzania.

We in Tanzania are part of mankind. We have to take our place in the world. We would be stupid to reject everything coming out of the West because it is the home of capitalism; we would be stupid to reject everything the Communists do. We are trying to build ujamaa - socialism - which is neither of these things. We can learn from both - and from other political systems - without trying to copy or seeking for their approval. Our task is to look first at our own position and our needs, and then to consider other experience and other suggestions in the light of our requirements. We should not put ourselves into blinkers as though we were a horse which could not be trusted to see what is going on

elsewhere. We should be willing to learn from our fellow men, and we should contribute to the common pool of knowledge and experience. We can do this if we use our brains - that is, if we THINK.9

Competing Principles and Long-Term Outlook

Nyerere is not so naive as to claim that all the ideals of socialism can be easily and quickly realized. He feels that priorities must be set among various objectives that cannot be undertaken all at once, and that there undoubtedly will be clashes between principles and objectives when the implementation of certain objectives demands the short-run neglect of certain principles. Thus the principle or ideal of equality as manifested in universal secondary education must be neglected in the short-run in order to devote scarce resources to providing universal health facilities or in building a transportation infrastructure to facilitate the export of commodities in order to gain more financial resources in the long-run. Nyerere is concerned here with the problem of the rising expectations of his people. Independence was expected to markedly change the life of the average man. It has not. Many of the economic and social objectives set before independence have not been achieved. Within this context Nyerere has tried to develop a perspective that will facilitate just and

9Ibid., p. 22.
equitable choices between competing principles and priorities. He indicates that he does this by trying to judge all choices in terms of their long-run effect.\textsuperscript{10} He has stated that it will be some thirty years before socialist policies will result in major appreciable changes in Tanzanian society.\textsuperscript{11} Therefore, his time limit for achieving at least a modicum of socialist ideals is twenty to thirty years, and present choices must be taken that will achieve this. Thus, his socialist framework of ideals is used to determine and justify his present policy choices. It is hardly an explicit or novel perspective for decision-making, but it does attempt to provide a continuity of policies, and it also furnishes a rationalization that makes present policy choices more acceptable to the populace than none at all.

**Success So Far**

It follows from the previous points that Nyerere does not claim to have already created a socialist state in Tanzania. Not even the revolutionary Arusha Declaration and the subsequent nationalization of key industries and the reorganization of educational priorities made Tanzania a socialist system. Socialism is the framework of ideals

\textsuperscript{10}Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

outlined in his universal characteristics, and all societies at present fall short of realizing all these ideals throughout their whole society. At present, he feels that there are only those societies that are trying to create socialism and those that are not. One can only measure progress by comparing the present reality of a society with the ideal. How far does Nyerere think Tanzania has got? In August, 1968 he wrote:

So far all that we have really achieved is some success in showing people that there is another goal to work for now that our independence exists. For the rest we have tried to prevent the growth of new and stronger groups with a vested interest in capitalism; we have established some of the institutions through which the people can speak; and we have just begun to search out and help the local experiments in modern socialism. We have defined our policies in education, in rural development, and have listed our expectations of leadership. But we are NOT a socialist society. Our work has only just begun.12

Summary

It appears that Nyerere has developed a fairly realistic personal framework within which he seeks to chart and direct the development of Tanzania. He has committed himself to the implementation of a consistent set of ideals which he has developed within the local context of Tanzania. His explanation of these concepts is designed for the understanding of the average Tanzanian of little formal

12Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, op. cit., p. 32.
education who lives in the rural areas. Finally, his expectation about the ease and rapidity of the achievement of the ideals is realistically conservative.
CHAPTER III

THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

This chapter will examine Nyerere's thought under three main headings: the values of traditional society; social perspectives; responsive government. In general it is concerned with the role of the individual in the modern state, his relationship to the political authority, and the socio-political environment within which the individual and the state interact. Much of Nyerere's socio-political thought rests upon values and assumptions he claims were inherent in African traditional society before the coming of the white man. He seeks to make these the ethical basis of the modern state.

(a) Values of Traditional Society

The Swahili name that Nyerere has given to his philosophy of African socialism is Ujamaa. The literal translation of this word is 'familyhood', and although it is often referred to as 'socialism' it was deliberately chosen because of its 'family' meaning. For at the basis of Nyerere's philosophy are the values that were found in the traditional African extended family. The extended family encompassed even distant relatives of a family unit and bound them together in a set of mutual obligations that socially and materially supported all members. Nyerere's
concern is to widen the scope of these obligations to cover the total modern state, and thus build a new society out of the roots of the old. Nyerere never mentions the role of the traditional tribe except to attack its present tendency of being a focus of loyalty opposed to that of the state. He, therefore, feels that the tribe--the wider political and cultural unit containing many extended families--had little or no influence in the creation and maintenance of traditional values. It is the family that one must look to for inspiration, and it is the family structure and operation that must be the basis of the modern state.

What were these values that Nyerere regards so highly? First of all, the general framework and organization of the family was socialistic in that it conformed to the universal characteristics of socialism that have been enunciated by Nyerere. The extended family was a self-contained economic and social unit that was a socialist society in miniature. Nyerere is careful to point out that there were distinct variations in organization among the people settled in what is now Tanzania, but the general principles held true.

Despite all the variations, and some exceptions where the institution of domestic slavery existed, African family life was everywhere based on certain principles and practices which together meant basic equality, freedom and unity.¹

¹Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, op. cit., p. 8.
That was written in 1966 in the volume *Freedom and Unity* which in general deals with the topics of its title. It is interesting to note that two years later in *Freedom and Socialism* Nyerere says the same thing in the Introduction, but changes the phraseology to indicate that the key principles and practices together constituted 'socialism'.

It may be surmised that he is using the concept of traditional African life to support and justify his present concerns. That may be so, but it is also true that his arguments show a logical growth and consistency.

Another general characteristic which Nyerere emphasizes is the absence of class structure or aristocracy in traditional African society. In fact he asserts that the concept of class was completely unknown and that the equivalent of the word 'class' does not exist in any indigenous African language. While there were kingdoms in pre-colonial Tanzania, they were not organized in the form of aristocracies. He claims that there were only two tribes in Tanzania with a distinct aristocracy, the Bahaya and the Baka, and both of these were historically foreigners and came from the same stock. The absence of classes is

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4Ibid., p. 103.
crucial to the 'African-ness' of African Socialism, for this fact distinguishes it from the beginnings and justifications of the more established socialism in Europe.

Traditional African society was based on three fundamental and unchallenged principles: (1) mutual respect among all members, (2) sharing of wealth and the fruits of joint production, and (3) the obligation of all members to work.¹ These were reflected in and bolstered by the communal ownership of land, collective work habits, the lack of capital acquisitiveness by members, and universal hospitality. All of these principles and practices can be found in Nyerere's conception of the universal characteristics of socialism.⁶

1. Mutual respect implied the recognition of the mutual involvement of all members with one another. Each member was accorded a common level of personal dignity, while the degree of respect and social rights varied somewhat with age, sex, and ability. This standard of behaviour ensured the individual security of all members of the society.

2. Sharing implied a basic economic equality. No one could go hungry or without shelter while others hoarded food

⁵Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, op. cit., p. 340
or occupied unnecessary space. There should be no need to hoard wealth if one feels secure in society and knows that society will look after you in all situations. That, maintains Nyerere, was the case in traditional African society. He also asserts that traditional African society produced no millionaires or the equivalent of such, even though there was enough wealth in some areas to create them. The method of distribution and the social norms of sharing left no room for paraisitism.

Inequalities existed, but they were tempered by comparable family or social responsibilities, and they could never become gross or offensive to the social equality which was at the basis of communal life. Private property of most objects certainly existed. Indeed, land was about the only truly communal property. But the use of private property was governed by the expectation of sharing in time of need.

3. Work by all.

Every member of the family, and every guest who shared in the right to eat and have shelter, took it for granted that he had to join in whatever work had to be done. Only by the universal acceptance

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7 Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, op. cit., p. 164.
8 Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, op. cit., p. 338.
of this principle was the continuation of the other two principles made possible.\textsuperscript{10}

Nyerere maintains that these three principles were, and are, the foundation of individual security, practical human equality, and peace between members of a society.\textsuperscript{11}

Nyerere does not go into great detail about the institutions and political procedures which governed the day-to-day running of the traditional system. He restricts himself to a generalized description of the values and social forces which dominated everyday behaviour. What he does say about political decision-making is that it was done in the Athenian style of long open discussions which ended in unanimous agreement. The 'authority' within the extended family was the hereditary head of the family. The wealth that he appeared to possess and the land that he allocated to members of the family was not actually his, but was held by him as trustee for the family. Respect that was given to the 'headman' or 'elder' was not based on his wealth or power, but on his age, wisdom, and long service to the community.\textsuperscript{12} Nyerere claims that he was basically a 'first among equals' and that his power and authority were balanced by expectations of social responsibility and compromise in

\textsuperscript{10}Nyerere, \textit{Freedom and Socialism}, op. cit., p. 339.

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., p. 340

\textsuperscript{12}Nyerere, \textit{Freedom and Unity}, op. cit., p. 165.
the interest of group harmony. The maintenance of the social values was undertaken by the all-encompassing system of education, which, in essence, was the family environment. Children were nourished on tradition and behaviour patterns by their parents and their elder relatives as well as by the activities of the society as a whole. Tribal initiation was a symbolic affirmation of these principles.

Nyerere's description of traditional African life is not all complimentary. He does say that the members were no more 'noble' than any other human beings, that the social principles were as much abused as other principles elsewhere, and that the conditions in which the society lived were far from idyllic. They were "... poor, insecure and frequently fear-ridden."\(^{13}\) In spite of the three dominant principles under which it operated, there were two major factors which made the system basically unattractive to Nyerere in its total context. One was the acceptance of a basic inequality within the system as a whole. This was the inequality of women. They were generally regarded as being socially inferior, and bore the brunt of labour both in the fields and in the home. The fact that they could be viciously exploited within the legitimate social milieu means that the system was not in fact theoretically socialist.

\(^{13}\)Ibid., p. 12.
Inequality and exploitation of man by man, as Nyerere often points out, cannot exist within a socialist system. The other factor was poverty. The economic equality that existed was one of subsistence living. He claims that it was the result of ignorance and the small scale of social and economic organization and cooperation. Without knowledge of different agricultural techniques and without wider cooperation than among the extended family for production and exchange of goods, the system was doomed to perpetual poverty.

It is perhaps ironic to note that while the system in isolation was doomed to poverty the factor which Nyerere claims placed the traditional values in severe jeopardy was the introduction of the money economy. This will be discussed in more detail later. At the moment we should note that Nyerere claims that money itself was not destructive. The significant factors were the accompanying behaviour patterns of individualism, acquisitiveness, and competition, and the growing acceptance of the fact that status in the wider society depended upon one's possessions.

By introducing the possibility of hoarding wealth through money and by encouraging the acquisitive instinct in man, and by basing social status on material wealth, the very basis of traditional society is undermined.14

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14 Ibid., p. 11.
These factors have created severe strain within the family structure, for when the individual possesses more wealth his obligations to the family increase, but his status and well-being outside the family (i.e. the urban money economy) depend upon him keeping that wealth to himself. The result is that the unity and equality of the family is broken.

Conclusion—Transference of traditional values to a modern political system. The crucial question about Nyerere's political thought is whether it is possible to build a modern nation state based upon the behaviour patterns and social values that existed in traditional society. The traditional values of the past were based on kinship ties and a sense of local identification. The behaviour patterns were enacted among people who had known each other from birth, and their feeling of mutual responsibility was no doubt largely based upon kinship and personal acquaintance. Is it reasonable to expect that these local, traditional values can be extended to include eleven million people in a large money economy nation? Nyerere admits that the traditional system was doomed to economic poverty, and that its social values were in the end severely damaged by the introduction of the money economy. This leads me to question whether the equality and unity of the traditional system was not in fact really determined by its poverty, so that the introduction of greater possibilities of mobility
and wealth doomed the old values and behaviour patterns to certain extinction.

Nyerere strongly rejects both of these arguments, but he does so more by an act of faith than by the logic of past experience. As far as wealth is concerned, he merely states that it can be harnessed to be used for the maintenance and growth of the three traditional principles of mutual respect, sharing of joint production, and work by all. As far as the transference of values to the larger society is concerned, he claims that the idea of the social family can be logically extended to include the whole nation and even the world. In fact, the African socialist regards all men as his brothers—as members of his ever extending family. His expression of faith is best summed up thus:

The principles which worked in this one case (the traditional extended family) are equally valid for larger societies because, however large it is, men are always the purpose and justification of society. There are very great problems involved in adapting the principles to really large units where individual brotherhood and interdependence is not immediately obvious as in the family unit. But they are still the only basis on which a society can hope to operate harmoniously and in accordance with its purpose. Social principles are, by definition, ideals at which to strive and by which to exercise self-criticism. The question to ask is not whether they are capable of achievement, which is absurd, but whether a society of free men can do without them.

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Despite his lucid theoretical arguments to the contrary, the practical problem of transferring traditional values which were rooted in the small, local environment to the day-to-day activities of a modern, large nation is one that cannot be overrated. It is obvious that a large society cannot be run like a small group where everyone knows each other and where intimate social pressures serve to regulate behaviour. The sheer scale on which Nyerere hopes these values will operate may be too great. His generalized professions of hope quoted on page 42 must obviously be backed by some practical methods of implementation. Nyerere does this by attempting to link the traditional values to every aspect of the modern state. First, he seeks to convince his people that the values exist in every one of them, that they have been lying dormant through the period of social confusion resulting from colonialism and the introduction of the money economy, and that they can now set about bringing them to the fore in the new African and socialist Tanzania. Speaking to the National Assembly in 1962 he said, "Ujamaa is a way of life, and there are no experts better qualified than yourselves to expound that way of life. We are all of us Ujamaa experts." He feels that the spirit of mutual responsibility is best

\[18\text{Ibid., p. 186.}\]
reflected in the Cooperative movement. Agricultural production cooperatives existed before independence, and in 1962 a major drive was launched to expand them into all fields of production and distribution. *Ujamaa*—familyhood—is best reflected in the cooperative spirit, and Nyerere stressed the fact that cooperation in production was a traditional value that is the most applicable in the development of a modern agricultural economy. Apart from the cooperatives, the role of the national government is the most crucial in ensuring that the society develops according to the three basic principles. The socially obligatory private socialism of the untechnical society cannot be expected to operate in a modern state unless the central authority takes a strong hand in preserving the traditional values in such ways as ensuring an equal distribution of goods and services among the people. Within this theoretical framework Nyerere rationalizes the centralization of power, which is a common political feature of most new nations in the world today.

There is one other question in regard to its logical consistency and feasibility of implementation arising from Nyerere's belief in the transferability of traditional values to a modern society. It concerns the role of authority in preserving values and behaviour patterns. In the modern setting, the central government attempts to
be the focus of loyalty and seeks to enforce the preservation of the traditional values. Which institution in the traditional setting played this role? Nyerere discusses this point very briefly. He implies throughout his analysis of traditional life that this institution was in fact the extended family. If this was really the case we might expect that he could be successful in preserving these values both through the family today and through the transfer of political authority to the state. One institution whose role he does not mention at all is the tribe and its chief. This is understandable because he has forthrightly attacked any continuing signs of political loyalty to the tribe and has removed the chiefs from positions of direct political power. The question then remains whether the traditional values he wishes to maintain were preserved in any way by the authority of the chief and the tribe, and if so, can they be maintained when the traditional symbols of authority have been destroyed? This is really an unresolvable question because no independent work has been done in Tanzania which examines these specific concerns. It does, however, have great bearing on whether Nyerere is going to be successful in building the new Tanzania on the three principles--the principles which are the key to his political philosophy about the future of the country. A political leader can attempt to build a nation on any
principles he chooses. Nyerere has chosen three which he hopes will be easily implemented because of their past acceptance. If his analysis of their past relationship with the society is correct his task may be quite easy. If it is not, their implementation will be doubly difficult because of the theoretical confusion concerning the relationship between traditional and modern values and institutions.

(b) Social Perspectives

The last section has shown Nyerere's concern with three basic traditional values which he wishes to see preserved in the modern state, and which he hopes will create a social and political milieu uniquely suited to Tanzania. In this section I will look at how Nyerere moves these three principles from the level of theoretical commitment to the practical plane of specific policies regarding the individual's relationship to the state and society. It will be seen that the concern for mutual respect among all members becomes refined to a strong stand on social equality--especially in regard to race relations. The sharing of the wealth produced by joint production is only partly covered in this section by his generalized concern for the just distribution of wealth and the creation of a classless society. The aspect of joint production will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter V, as will the other traditional principle of 'work by all'.
At this point it would be wise to indicate the sort of universal perspective Nyerere places on his efforts to build a society. On the one hand he feels that Africa and Tanzania have much to offer the world in terms of new approaches to social relations, and on the other he appreciates that all efforts at solving the problem of living harmoniously within a just society are bound to fall short of perfection, but that does not stop one from trying. It is somewhat like an individual's spiritual journey through life as he continually struggles toward a goal that he knows is unattainable on the temporal level. In speaking of man's societal development, Nyerere talks of "... groping forward in the dark, towards a goal so distant that even the real understanding of it is beyond us--towards, in other words, the best that man can become." 19 Obviously, with such a perspective, Nyerere strongly rejects any social theories or ideologies which claim to have the blueprint for a perfect society, but he leaves open the hope that the Tanzanian experiment may lead to:

... a new synthesis of individual liberty and the needs of man in society; freedom for each individual to develop the spark of divinity within himself at the same time as he contributes and benefits from his membership in a community. 20

19 Ibid., p. 120.
20 Ibid., p. 121.
In 1961, at the time of independence, Nyerere talked about the importance of having a "National Ethic" which would be understood and accepted by the people. It would serve to create a moral climate within the nation that would ensure that the country progressed according to the accepted principles, and that any tendencies to ignore them by the leadership or any other segment of society would be checked by the moral awareness of the nation as a whole. This was certainly an idealistic and even naive conception, but it was in accordance with the general tone of Nyerere's thought since he had entered politics. In 1964 the National Ethic was set down as a statement of principles that the government would follow. It has since been incorporated into the philosophy of the ruling party--entitled the "TANU Creed". The National Ethic is a set of eight principles followed by eight policies that the government will carry out to ensure the implementation of the principles. They are not unlike the general ideals found in many nations constitutions, but there are a few unique points that bear mentioning. The first five principles cover equality, the right to take part in government, freedom of expression, protection according to law, and just return for labour. The sixth claims all the natural resources of Tanzania as the property of all its

citizens to be held in trust for their descendents. The resources cannot be surrendered in perpetuity to anyone. In effect this means that ownership of all land and other resources is vested in the state. The seventh principle entrusts the state to intervene in the economy to ensure the well-being of all and guard against exploitation or the accumulation of wealth to the extent that it is inconsistent with a classless society. The policies include the establishment of equality of opportunity, outlawing of discrimination and propagation of group hatred, and the establishment of an impartial judiciary.

The National Ethic is really quite a lacklustre document, although it does lay down in shorthand the social philosophy of the government. The idea of a 'national ethic' itself is not mentioned after 1964, and Nyerere seems to have reverted to emphasizing three basic principles. His expression of the three traditional principles has remained fairly constant over time, but a few variations have crept in. In March, 1967 he produced the pamphlet "Education for Self-Reliance" as a follow-up to the Arusha Declaration. In it he lays down the three basic principles as follows:

1. Equality and respect for human dignity.
2. Sharing of resources produced by our efforts.
3. Work by everyone, exploitation by none.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{22}Nyerere, \textit{Freedom and Socialism}, op. cit., p. 272.
Also in 1967, he noted the need to reactivate the policies of cooperation in production and sharing in distribution, which seems to indicate that unsatisfactory progress had been made in these areas since he first talked about them in 1961.

Nyerere's concern with equality and dignity is basic to his political thought. At the end of this section I shall examine its importance in greater detail. Here, I shall look at how these concepts have been affected by that strong social undercurrent of race relations. The fact that Tanzania was a colony and that racial discrimination and cultural oppression were hallmarks of the colonial period led Nyerere to a strong commitment to social and economic equality. His political philosophy rests firmly on equality. He does not believe that any society of human worth can be built on any other principle. If the members of the society are not equal in respect, dignity, standard of living, and opportunity the society cannot hope for stability or harmony. These ideas were readily accepted during the independence struggle. It was after independence, when the people were looking for the fruits of their struggle, that the real test came in implementing the ideal.

As mentioned in Chapter II, there was an outbreak of racism within the party shortly after independence, and it has continued periodically ever since. Consequently,
Nyerere has had to spend considerable effort in explaining equality and human rights in terms of non-racialism. In 1962 he took a strong stand on Tanzanian citizenship, making residence and loyalty to the country the only criteria, rather than giving in to those who argued on racial grounds. Even in 1967, after Arusha and its nationalization measures which sparked some racial actions in the name of Self-Reliance, Nyerere had to issue a strong statement called "Socialism is not Racialism," the two being incompatible because of the socialist commitment to equality.

One of the reasons why there has persisted an attitude that opportunities should be weighted in favour of race is that this is precisely what happened for a few years after independence. The clause in the National Ethic concerning the necessity of preventing discrimination on the grounds of race, sex, tribe, colour, creed or religion also went on to say:

Temporarily this shall not preclude the government or any other appropriate authority from taking steps to correct any imbalance which results from past discrimination on any of these grounds.

Thus, until January, 1964 preference was given to African citizens of Tanzania in appointments to government service. The fine line between this reasonable attempt to correct

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employment imbalances and outright racism is one that Nyerere has had difficulty in maintaining, and that is why he has placed so much stress on non-racialism in regard to equality. His difficulty has been somewhat compounded by the fact that TANU, from the time of its formation in 1956 until 1962, restricted its membership to Africans, although it accepted the help of people of other races. This policy was undertaken in order to bolster the feeling of dignity and self-respect among the Africans--to give them back the self-confidence they had lost during the colonial period--by proving that they could work together and achieve independence through their own efforts.

It can thus be seen that the principle of equality has been through the fires of implementation in a pretty thorough manner. Its defence and refinement has also affected the practical implications of mutual respect and dignity.

Another aspect of the general principles which is worth a closer look is the social implications of wealth. Nyerere maintains that wealth in itself is good, and that the creation of wealth for its citizens should be one of the goals of every society. The problems generated by wealth concern its distribution, not its production. He claims that colonialism brought with it the money economy, new techniques for creating wealth, and the individual
attitudes and behaviour patterns associated with a capitalist approach to wealth. Desire for wealth in order to outdo others, have power and domination or even prestige over others, and to amass wealth as a symbol of one's personal worth are all attitudes that are unacceptable in a socialist society. Nyerere's goal is a classless, or minimally stratified, society. His understanding of classes is based on the hierarchial structuring of society according to wealth—from which power and privilege flow. He maintains that the socialism which emerged in Europe earlier in this century was a reaction to the capitalism which had been established since the Industrial and Agrarian Revolutions. The rise of socialism was a class struggle, and it was based on the notion of conflicting classes. For this reason, the pattern of socialist development in Europe is inappropriate to Tanzania because African traditional society was never stratified in classes. The only danger is the spread of capitalist attitudes generated in the colonial era. Therefore, as more wealth is created in Tanzania, the state will have to ensure its just distribution and guard against the growth of capitalist tendencies among the political and educated elite. In regard to the distribution of wealth, Nyerere holds that the individual should receive a fair share of the total wealth produced, and should not necessarily be entitled to reap all that he sows. For instance,
some groups of individuals, such as mine-workers, produce a
greater proportion of the national wealth than others—in
market terms that is. But the intrinsic value of a commo-
dity such as foodstuffs is greater than that of mineral
wealth as far as the basic well-being of the nation is
concerned—although foodstuffs may not equal minerals in
market value. The same thing applies to personal and
professional skills. The state, therefore, must ensure a
just distribution according to individual need, not relative
production.²⁵

The area of Nyerere's thought concerning the relation
between the individual and the society which is most
interesting, and which most lends itself to comparison with
other leaders', is his discussion of the conflict between
freedom and authority, between the individual's desires and
the common good of the state.

Nyerere's recognition that there is an inherent
conflict between the individual and the state right away
places him on a different theoretical perspective than such
leaders as Sekou Toure of Guinea and Kwame Nkrumah. While
all three leaders tend to define politics in collective and
not individual terms, they also maintain a humanistic
outlook—man is the end, not the means. The differences in

²⁵Ibid., pp. 168-169.
approach come from the emphasis placed on the individual. Toure, for example, seeks to argue away any conflict between the individual and the state and emphasizes a monistic reality of society.

It is . . . useless to ask if man must prevail over society or vice versa. For us, the two terms are not dissociable, they are dialectically merged, the one exists through the other.26 In effect, he holds that society is not the sum of its individuals, that the individual cannot and must not act except in the common interest, and that "Freedom means to act in harmony with other people."27 Both Toure and Nkrumah, despite their protestations of belief in traditional African humanism, appear to regard man as an instrument of society. Nyerere, on the other hand, places greater emphasis on the individual and seeks to at least theoretically resolve the inherent conflict between the individual and the state. He is certainly more realistic than Toure in acknowledging the existence of that eternal conflict. His only pat answer about the relation between the two is the statement "The State is the People",28 which is a relatively open sort of stance.


28 Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, op. cit., p. 263.
On the theoretical level Nyerere believes that the nature of society demands that there be inevitable conflict between the freedom of the individual to pursue his own desires and the necessity that he join a collective to guarantee his security and well-being. In effect, the individual has no choice except to belong to society, and as a member of society he must sacrifice some individual freedom for collective benefits. Cooperation is necessary for survival, and cooperation restricts the freedom of one in the interest of all. The more complex the society, and hence the more complex the individual's relation to it, the more potential rewards he gets from it, but the potential of conflict also becomes greater because there are more chances that the individual's relationship with society will break down or become unsatisfactory.

On a more practical level, Nyerere holds that there cannot be an easy answer to the question of whether the good of the individual or the group should be served first, because both have to be served. And yet,

... underlying everything must be a consciousness that the very purpose of society - its reason for existence - is and must be the individual man, his growth, his health, his security, his dignity and, therefore, his happiness.29

29Ibid., p. 7.
In regards to stability and authority he, in effect, states the obvious, but he does so with such clarity that it is worth quoting.

Thus there is, and must be, in every society a balance between that voluntary agreement which is necessary to give stability, and that element of force which ensures that people abide by their own decision to pay the price of social living.  

Underlying much of his discussion of socialism is the feeling that the individual has a strong potential for exploiting his fellow men. He does not elaborate on the nature of man in this respect, but merely recognizes that each individual has a selfish and a social instinct. Socialism, therefore, must be the deliberate organization of society to prevent individual desires being pursued at the cost of others, but not so much as to stifle individual desires. The state must ensure that individuals are prevented from exploiting one another. The state, however, does not have the right to regulate things which are strictly personal--such as religious and artistic beliefs. In fact, socialism is the attempt to enlarge the real personal freedoms of man while ensuring his security and well-being within the collective.

Nyerere's very liberal attitude toward personal freedom at the time of independence also extended to the

30 Ibid., p. 269.
31 Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, op. cit., p. 303.
political sphere. He pledged that the state would protect the right of the individual to think and be different in a political sense because it would thus force the constant re-evaluation and adjustment of priorities and policies. By 1964, however, events had transpired which led to a tougher attitude in regard to personal liberties. One of these was the Army mutiny of January, 1964. Another was the start of the Five Year Development Plan in the same year. Both of these served to create new priorities of the nation which took precedence over individual rights. The first priority was established as the physical security of the nation, and the second was the social and economic development of the nation as a whole. If necessary, individual freedom was to be sacrificed to the pursuit of these objectives. Thus, while the basic principles of freedom of speech, movement, and association were respected, it was recognized that a handful of determined people could do great damage to the new and fragile nation. As a result, preventive detention measures were instituted which allowed for an individual to be held in custody without trial at the President's pleasure. Nyerere spent much effort in explaining these measures, and admitted that they were in conflict

\[32\text{Nyerere, } \text{Freedom and Unity, op. cit., p. 122.}\]

\[33\text{Ibid., p. 314.}\]
with basic principles he had established earlier. In fact, apart from Zanzibar which has a different legal system, these powers have been used sparingly—insofar as information is available to judge. Preventive detention measures are a common feature of modern African states. The fact that they exist in Tanzania indicates that even though Nyerere has a tolerant attitude toward individual freedom and believes in governing through reason and discussion, he realizes that coercive measures of rule are sometimes necessary—no matter how reasonable and responsive the government might be.

Conclusion—The key value of equality. If one takes an overview of Nyerere's social and political thought one finds that the greatest emphasis is placed on the value or principle of equality. It appears again and again in his writings, especially in relation to socialism. For instance, "Socialism is, in fact, the application of the principle of human equality to the social, economic, and political organization of society," \(^{34}\) and:

The Rule of Law and Equality before the Law are one essential means of preventing exploitation. But they are only practical when the society as a whole is based on the principle of equality—when, in other words, a socialist policy is being followed. \(^{35}\)

\(^{34}\)Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, op. cit., p. 303.
\(^{35}\)Ibid., p. 304.
Socialism is equality and equality is socialism. Nyerere never really defines equality in a strict sense. It seems that he assumes that its meaning is self-evident. One can best discern what he means by it by looking at the contexts in which it is used. In the social sense it refers to equal respect and dignity among all members of society, especially in regard to race relations. Economically it means the approximate equality of opportunity and standards of living. Politically it refers to the full and free participation of all people in the government of society.

The essence of Nyerere's thought is the commitment to a vaguely defined principle of equality. It is here that one can best see that, in actual fact, his thought is really quite simple, and is simply expressed. He does not have a theory of history, or an analysis of the nature of man or of his technological and social progress through time. His thought consists of a few basic moral principles which he promises to attempt to implement. His basic method of implementation is inherent in his ideas. It is based on the hope that the people of Tanzania will come to accept the principles and apply them in their daily lives. The state can only do so much in arranging the appropriate structures. After that it is up to the individual. He has often stated that socialism is an 'attitude of mind', and that the success of socialism will depend on the existence of a
national or social ethic which will ensure that the institutions and the leaders remain true to their purpose. His belief in the individual, including those in authority, is a fragile basis for the creation of a new society. In fact, it will become obvious that, as in the case of the Army mutiny, events have forced him to take stronger steps to enforce these principles than he had hoped was necessary.

(c) **Responsive Government**

As mentioned briefly in the last section, Nyerere's core value of equality is manifested in the political arena by the freedom of the individuals to participate in their government. His conception of 'democracy' revolves around three essentials: equality, freedom, and discussion. The last is derived from the traditional village setting in which the chief or headman governed with a council whose consent was necessary for all major decisions. Decisions rarely involved an expression of majority and minority opinions; they evolved after long discussions resulted in a consensus, after which there was collective responsibility for the consequences of the decision. Obviously this process cannot be transferred to a national system, but Nyerere maintains a commitment to free and open discussion within the context of the one party—which represents the consensus of the nation. The other essential of democracy, besides freedom, equality and discussion, is the regular
opportunity for the people to join together in reinstating or replacing the government by means of the ballot box. 36

Democracy is one essential part of the socialist society, but it must exist in conjunction with the socialist organization of the rest of the society.

The freedom of the people to choose their own representatives is important, but it is equally important that the people's representatives should possess the freedom and power to exert effective control over those sectors of the social organization for which they have been given responsibility. And none of these things is possible unless every other aspect of society - its economic, social and legal organization - is such as to emphasize and serve man's equality. A political democracy which exists in a society of gross economic inequalities, or of social inequality, is at best imperfect, and at worst a hollow sham. 37

In regards to democracy Nyerere expresses the same attitude he displays toward the implementation of social principles. It is necessary to create an ethic of behaviour in the nation as a whole to truly safeguard democracy and guard against tyranny. A constitution or statement of principles by themselves cannot do this.

... democracy is a declaration of faith in human nature, the very thing we are struggling to safeguard here, the very idea of democracy is a declaration of faith in mankind. And every enemy of democracy is some person who somewhere has no faith in human beings. 38

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36 Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, op. cit., p. 103.
37 Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, op. cit., p. 5.
38 Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, op. cit., p. 175.
He displays shrewd political sense in this statement, for he is in effect telling the people of Tanzania (in 1962) that anyone who opposes his conception of democracy does not have the interests of the people at heart.

At the Annual Conference of TANU (the ruling party) in January, 1963 it was decided in principle that Tanzania should become a one-party state. It took two years of study and preparation before it became a reality. The arguments advanced at that time by Nyerere and the party for the creation of the one-party state give us the best possible conception of Nyerere's attitudes towards democracy. Basically, there are two strands of argument. One is the rejection of the Anglo-Saxon model of parliamentary democracy as being inappropriate to Tanzania, and the other concerns the overwhelming popularity of TANU. The facet of the Anglo-Saxon model that is considered most inappropriate is the existence of an organized opposition. Traditional African political life did not have such. Differences of opinion were spontaneous and free and led to a final consensus. The two or more parties in the West represent different groups within the nation, meaning that at any one time a significant group of people do not have representatives in power. One party in Tanzania would represent the whole nation and would prevent needless divisions within society. A national party would ensure that no discontented
groups were left out, and would have nothing to fear from criticism and free expression within the party.

The existence of two or more stable political parties implies a class structure of society, and we aim at avoiding the growth of different social and economic classes in our country.39

Nyerere feels that two parties would only be justified when there is a fundamental difference over the goals of the nation—not methods—and that difference would be so fundamental that it would probably warrant a civil war.40 Otherwise, two parties play a needless political game with little to distinguish between them, and they serve to prevent a pooling of talent in the nation's service by keeping many good people out of the administration at any one time. Nyerere's conception of democracy rejects the necessity of bargaining and competition between different interest groups—which has evolved as the crux of pragmatic democratic politics in the West. Instead, he believes that a political system and process can be based on consensus, while still taking into account differing viewpoints.

Apart from the theoretical arguments about unity and dissent, there was a very real practical reality which had to be faced. Tanzania was already a one-party state. Since

39Ibid., p. 134.
40Ibid., p. 196.
1958 only one Member of Parliament had been elected who did not belong to TANU. The people had indicated that they accepted the principles and policies of TANU. In effect, the system at that stage was less democratic than after the creation of the one-party state, because the people saw no alternative platform and did not have a choice as to methods or individuals within the TANU structure. They just rubber-stamped any TANU candidate that was put forward. The independence movement united virtually the whole of Tanzania behind Nyerere and TANU. With somewhat wry humour he attacks the pettiness of those Westerners who insisted that a strong organized opposition was essential to democracy.

...it could hardly be expected that a united country should halt in mid-stream and voluntarily divide itself into opposing political groups just for the sake of conforming to what I have called the 'Anglo-Saxon form of democracy' at the moment of independence.41

At the time of independence Tanzania was an unusually united country, and, in comparison with most other states, it enjoys a remarkable low level of tribal and geographic rivalries. It only seemed logical that it would become a one-party state. But it would be dangerous to generalize from the Tanzanian experience to the rest of Africa. The determining factor in Tanzanian unity was not traditional

41Ibid., p. 106.
political behaviour, so that cannot be used to suggest that one-party rule is appropriate to all of Africa.

There are many potential dangers in a one-party system which Nyerere recognizes. He has stressed that TANU must remain open and undogmatic, and be a channel for grievances and opinions to reach the leadership. Even before independence he wrote:

We believe in fact that a second party will not need to grow provided that a broad two-way channel of ideas and information is maintained through TANU between the people and the Government. It is the establishment and maintenance of this channel of communications which is the real problem of democracy in Tanganyika, not the establishment of an artificial opposition.\(^{42}\)

The crucial aspect of the one-party system is the ability of the party to encompass and satisfy all interest groups and differing points of view, and to ensure that they all have access to decision-makers. TANU has had a chequered history in achieving this goal. As noted previously, Nyerere resigned in 1961 to try to make the party more meaningful. In 1966, one year after the establishment of the one-party state, a study of the party was undertaken which revealed that it was severely lacking in organization suited to serving its purpose of being a bridge between the people and the government.\(^{43}\) The most obvious faults seem

\(^{42}\)Ibid., p. 134.

to have been rectified somewhat after the Arusha Declaration in 1967 when the party was given the task of mobilizing the people to understand and implement the new socialist measures. A recent significant development was the announcement by Nyerere in October, 1970, after the general elections, that he would not seek re-election in 1975 but would then devote his time to the organization of the party.

The practical details of the operation of a democratic one-party state revolved around the question of elections. Candidates for election were sent from each constituency to the National Executive of the party. They choose two of those presented to run in each constituency. The candidates were not allowed to question the basic philosophy of the party as laid down in the TANU Creed or the foreign policy of the government. Thus, election issues in 1965 centered around the worth of the individual candidates and local concerns familiar to the people. There was no choice for President. TANU and the Afro-Shirazi Party of Zanzibar agreed on a common candidate, Nyerere, and the people were asked to vote 'yes' or 'no' for him. If the majority had voted against him the parties would have selected another candidate and submitted him to the public. In the National Assembly it was decided that there would be

44 Almost Identical to the National Ethic.
no party Whips ensuring the correct voting of members. All discussion and voting was to be free and open. Another innovation was the opening of party membership to all civil servants and government employees, even members of the armed forces. The absence of more than one party meant that the civil servants need not keep their impartiality, because there would be no changes of government. It was also felt that all members of society should be allowed to express their views and participate in the political process. At the same time as the one-party proposals were implemented, a Permanent Commission on the Abuse of Power was established which reported directly to the President. All people were to have direct access to it, not through TANU or local officials, and it would receive and investigate complaints and make recommendations to the President. The existence of such a body is a frank admission by a government that its administrative system and its personnel are imperfect. Such an admission is unusual in new nations--where governments are often more concerned with defending the images of their integrity and efficiency than in admitting their weaknesses.

The elections of 1965 were the first test of the practicality of the new measures, and they seemed to have succeeded with honour. Racism seemed to have been overcome when Indians and Europeans were elected over African rivals in predominantly African constituencies. A European and an
Indian cabinet minister were also re-elected in 1970. There was a large turnover of politicians. Twenty-two out of thirty-one TANU officeholders were defeated, as were sixteen of thirty-one sitting Members of Parliament, including two Cabinet ministers. This seemed to indicate that there had not been enough practical and personal contact between the politicians and their constituents in the past, and the election served to shock the survivors into becoming involved at the grass-roots level.

In his theoretical writings Nyerere has never really examined the question of the degree of authority which the state must exercise in order to ensure the implementation of its goals and ideals. His feelings on the importance of individual liberty and his concern for a Man-centered society seem to indicate that he wishes to decentralize authority as much as possible. Ideally, he would like to see decisions and priorities emanating from the local setting and being implemented by those most concerned. His ideal for the party is to have it assisting in the expression of people's wants and coordinating their efforts in order to have them realised. Experiences in the reality of exercising power and the realization of the difficulties in mobilizing people around ideals, however, seem to have led him to acquiesce in the seemingly inevitable centralization of authority in a modern state. He has also been hampered by
the fact that his dedication and commitment to the stated ideals of the nation have not been equaled by that of some of his fellow leaders and party executives. This too has led him to strengthen his personal leadership. This question, and his thoughts on leadership, will be examined in the next chapter.
Leadership, as a social and political concept, commands greater attention and is more often a subject for debate in new states than in older ones. The responsibilities and expected behaviour patterns of political leaders in 'developed' nations have evolved through time to become established and taken for granted. Little controversy or public debate develops around leadership behaviour unless it explicitly goes beyond well established social norms--such as in the case of corruption or criminal activity. Newer nations, however, are still evolving norms of behaviour for their leaders. Their situation is distinguished by the fact that the political leaders have recently taken the place of a colonial set of rulers whose administration they struggled against. Having attacked the old administration they were obliged to establish a distinctive behaviour pattern which would justify their struggle and win, or maintain, the loyalty of the people. In many new states there has been more emphasis placed on establishing behaviour patterns which would ensure the legitimacy and continuation of the leadership than on developing behaviour patterns which would ensure the efficient social and economic progress of the state. Thus, what Western observers would call corruption,
is often tolerated as a useful means of maintaining the political loyalty of some segments of the population.

President Nyerere's conception of leadership is distinguished by two general precepts. One is that he seeks to keep leadership behaviour firmly within the socialist ideals of the society. In this way he does not create a distinction between maintaining legitimacy and furthering societal progress, but attempts to maintain the loyalty of the people by developing leadership behaviour patterns that serve social and economic progress. The second point is that his conception of leadership is not restricted to the political sphere but extends to cover the whole spectrum of what may be called the 'elite'. The elite can best be defined in educational and occupational terms. All political leaders, down to the district party chief, can be included regardless of their educational qualifications. The elite also includes the senior civil servants, all professional people—such as doctors, lawyers, engineers—university staff, senior military and police officers, and the few business leaders. In any developing country the total number of people included in all these categories is very small, and each is in a position to command considerable social influence if he so desires. Nyerere considers that all of these people are in positions of leadership whether they like it or not, and consequently they must
conform to the social norms of leadership behaviour being worked out by the new state.¹

The behaviour patterns that Nyerere is trying to encourage in the elite are designed to destroy themselves as an elite in the selfish, exploitative sense and prevent the emergence of elitist attitudes in the society. The idea of an Elite—a privileged, powerful minority—is directly contrary to the socialist ideals of equality and mutual respect. The attitudes and behaviour patterns of the educational and occupational upper strata must, therefore, be such as to identify themselves with the common man as much as possible. Nyerere does recognize that this cannot mean complete equality in income and standards of living, and that scarce skills will have to command greater rewards than common ones. What he is working for is first, the elimination of gross disparities, and second, norms of behaviour among all strata of society that will treat all people with equal respect and dignity. Thus, a certain acceptable degree of privilege will remain, but elitist attitudes will be eliminated. This, again, seems to be a vision of quite an idealistic state of affairs, but there are indications that Nyerere has had some success in achieving it. In 1968 he claimed that this was the case.²


²Ibid., pp. xv-xvi.
Part of the reason for success is that Nyerere has gone into this question in detail. Later in this chapter I shall look at some specific measures he has taken to create a socialistic leadership behaviour pattern. Some of these stem from his examination of the role played by education in producing elites and elitist attitudes. He feels that the education system, started in the colonial era, tended to equate status with education and bred subservient attitudes in those without education. It also served to denigrate manual labour and place the highest social esteem on white-collar jobs. Apart from all this, it fostered the spirit of individual achievement and helped to destroy the traditional communal values. The system did not change markedly until after Arusha and the appearance of "Education for Self-Reliance" in March, 1967. In the meantime, the school leavers and university graduates were fostered on the notion that graduation was a ticket to high wages, comfortable employment in cities, and personal status. Until the structural changes started in 1967 Nyerere relied on exhortation to destroy elitist attitudes. As early as 1961 he talked about the dangers of an Elite when addressing


\[4\] To be discussed in Chapter V.
the first students at the TANU adult education centre on the outskirts of Dar Es Salaam.

You are not being trained as 'leaders' who do all the thinking for others to follow blindly; if any student leaves believing that, the College will have failed in its task. Kivukoni College is not intended to be a college for an Elite.5

What seems to be one of Nyerere's strongest dislikes is intellectual arrogance--the educated despising the uneducated. This in itself serves to illustrate Nyerere's moral strength, for he is one of the most educated and intellectual of Tanzanians. In a way Nyerere's commitment to his socialist ideals serves to indicate that the colonial education system could not have been as bad as he sometimes makes it out to be--for it produced him. At the time he received his M.A. from Edinburgh he was the most Western educated of any Tanzanian. A reportedly impromptu speech Nyerere gave to some villagers on Mafia Island in February, 1966 is a good example of his simple, earthy communication with people as well as his view of education. It is titled "Leaders Must Not Be Masters".6 He expressed his sorrow at the fact that the colonial system had led the people to fear authority and assume that leaders and educated men know everything, which meant that there was no point in the people talking to leaders about their problems and ideas.

5Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, op. cit., p. 122.
This is a bad habit . . . . What is the meaning of leadership? When you are selected to lead your fellow men, it does not mean that you know everything better than they do. It does not even mean that you are more intelligent than they are - especially the elders. (Here he mentions that his uneducated mother is not afraid of giving him advice.) Does it mean that a person who does not have formal education is a fool? What does education mean? An uneducated man has a brain given to him by God. Does a man become a goat because he is uneducated? . . . It may be true that I am educated; but how can this mean that I am more intelligent than my mother?  

In regards to leadership, Nyerere's primary concern is with the politicians. He has spent some time in explaining the difficulties they encounter when making the transition from agitators for independence to responsible administrators in authority. During the independence struggle they identified intimately with the people; they ate and lived with them. Then, suddenly, they were thrust into power and prestige, pomp and privilege. It is extremely difficult for any individual to make this transition and not be overwhelmed by his new environment and quickly lose touch and empathy with the people from whom he has come. There is also the question of the motivation of the leaders who took part in agitation for independence. At the time no questions were asked, all were working towards an easily identified goal. Nyerere has suggested that some of them did not have socialist convictions, but were motivated by a desire to

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7Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, op. cit., p. 140.
place themselves at the apex of wealth and prestige generated by capitalism.\textsuperscript{8} This may also be true for large parts of the general population, who saw themselves living like white men after independence. Nyerere soon realised that a massive education campaign had to be undertaken, directed as much at the political leaders as at the population at large, which would orient the country toward building a socialist state rather than continuing on the capitalist and elitist road started during the colonial era. His resignation as Prime Minister six weeks after independence and his writing of "Ujamaa, The Basis of African Socialism" during his absence from office is indication of his awareness of the need for a new approach. It also suggests that little thought had gone into this matter before independence.

When one talks of leadership in Western countries one usually thinks of such qualities of honesty, competence, decisiveness, eloquence, and charm. Nyerere agrees that these are necessary. When speaking to students at the Police College in 1961 he also talked of the ability to think logically, express yourself clearly, and understand the implications of decisions.\textsuperscript{9} He has also spoken to Members of Parliament on the necessity of having the courage

\textsuperscript{8}Ibid., p. 30.

\textsuperscript{9}Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, op. cit., p. 124.
to follow their consciences on basic issues, even though it may result in personal unpopularity. Thus, his conception of the personal qualities of the ideal leader is no different from that of most other people. He does, however, add a few different perspectives which may make the Tanzanian leader a different kind of individual. Apart from the usual platitudes about serving and guiding the masses, he places emphasis on the leaders really identifying with the people and working with them.

They must listen to the people, and talk with them. This is not just a question of holding public meetings, and giving magnificent speeches. It means working with the people on the self-help projects, taking part in educational activities, constantly travelling, and discussing the affairs of the nation, the region, and the village.

Arusha and its aftermath produced a change in the official attitude toward leadership, as it did with many other topics. Although the change was not drastic, it intensified the concentration upon the ideals of equality and dignity. The following quotation serves to indicate that his belief in the sovereignty of the individual was, if anything, heightened.

Leaders cannot do anything FOR the people. We can only provide the necessary information, guidance and organization for the people to build their own country for themselves. Leaders of Tanzania should not be

10Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, op. cit., p. 95.
11Ibid., p. 92.
making promises; we cannot fulfil them for others. We should not be complaining (about external reasons for the failure of policies); complaints help no one. We should know the facts of Tanzania's situation, understand them, and give guidance to the people in the light of them.12

This is a much more open attitude to the relation between leaders and the people than is found in most African countries--especially those that consider themselves 'socialist'. A more usual attitude is to regard the leadership as the vanguard of socialist thinking and commitment, whose duty it is to lead the people out of their ignorance to the new Utopia.

There are two current problems in new African states--tribalism and corruption--which enjoy a curious public exposure in different parts of the world. Western observers, especially journalists, tend to emphasize these problems and see them as the main hindrances to progressive development on the part of these states. African governments and news media, on the other hand, tend to downplay the importance of these factors and even ignore them completely. It is my opinion that the Western observers over-emphasize these problems and probably focus on them because they provide easy answers to the problem of analysing the current reality of Africa. It can also be surmised that African leaders

12Ibid., pp. 394-395.
downplay these factors in the hope that by minimizing their public exposure these problems may very well fade away. In many African states tribalism and corruption seem to be unpleasant bogymen whose existence is best ignored. As was seen in Chapter III, Nyerere follows this pattern as far as tribalism is concerned. He does, however, take a different approach to corruption. It is probable that he feels that it is realistically possible for tribal loyalties to die away through time and inattention. Corruption, on the other hand, probably flourishes in such an atmosphere. Nyerere stands apart from other African leaders in his willingness to admit that corruption exists and in his determination to do something about it. Other statesmen espousing socialist or other ideals may feel that its very existence is a fundamental embarrassment which is best denied.

The concern with corruption is an essential part of Nyerere's perspective on leadership, for corruption in this context means the betrayal of public trust by those in authority through such actions as the theft of public funds, the selling of public favours, or the use of influence for personal gain. In 1960, even before he came to power, Nyerere denounced corruption in government as one of the fundamental enemies of society--along with poverty, disease and ignorance. He felt that corruption would destroy a nation. People would have no confidence in the
government and no belief that justice could prevail. "There is corruption . . . . I believe myself that corruption should be treated in almost the same way as treason."\(^{13}\) His strong stand has been maintained ever since. In 1965 he spoke to the newly elected National Assembly and advised politicians against finding jobs for their family and friends, or lending them government funds, or accepting gifts that would put them under social obligations to other people.

Members of this House, and of the Government, will be well advised not only to resist corruption, but also to conduct themselves in such a manner that it is obvious that they are not corrupted.\(^{14}\) This is an amazing statement to be heard in any country's parliament, especially right after an election. Normally a party or government will try to maintain a perfect public image of their members, not question their honesty. This behaviour on the part of Nyerere is another example of his unique personal style as a politician. It certainly shows qualities of courage and frankness. It is demonstrated again in that impromptu speech he gave on Mafia Island in 1966.

If we do not remove fear from our people, and if we do not abolish the two classes of masters and servants

\(^{13}\)Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, op. cit., p. 82.

\(^{14}\)Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, op. cit., p. 95.
from our society, clever people will emerge from among us to take the place of the Europeans, Indians and Arabs. These clever people will continue to exploit our fear for their own benefit. And we leaders can become the clever people. 15

Nyerere has taken a number of practical steps to try to ensure that the leadership remains uncorrupted and committed to the people. Not all of these are mentioned in his writings. In 1961, after TANU came to power, the salaries of Government Ministers were cut. They were reduced again in 1967, as were those of senior civil servants. There are indications, however, that this trend has not been maintained. In 1968 seven M.P.'s were suspended from TANU by the party executive. Some of them had been vigourously denouncing a plan to increase ministerial pensions. 16 There was also opposition to the new constraints placed upon the leadership after Arusha. It is not clear whether all those who opposed the measures left politics or not. In 1966 Nyerere indicated in a speech that TANU officials had been barred from owning farms. 17 In 1965 he admitted that the government had made a mistake in purchasing big cars for the use of Regional Commissioners, and they were withdrawn. These were the celebrated Mercedes Benzes

15 Ibid., p. 141.
16 See Clyde Sanger, Half A Loaf (Toronto: Ryerson, 1969), p. 69
17 Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, loc. cit.
which have become a symbol of the new elite in East Africa. In Kenya a new word has entered the Swahili language, Wabenzi—those who drive in Mercedes Benzes. Nyerere has also undertaken a series of symbolic acts designed to identify himself with the people. After the Arusha Declaration was published in January, 1967 many groups of people walked to their regional TANU headquarters or even to Dar Es Salaam to show their support. In October Nyerere walked 134 miles to the TANU National Conference in Mwanza. In 1963 he circulated an amazing memo to all government officials titled "Pomposity". In it he attacked the growing public ostentation of government officials, including himself, saying that dignity was being confused with sheer pomposity. He mentioned such things as singing the National Anthem wherever even a minor official appeared in public, and using police escorts to clear roads in front of traveling officials. He attacked his own behaviour in this regard, calling it "Presidential Pomp".

... as a result of growing insistence on pomposity and ostentation, the President of Tanganyika is fast becoming the worst public nuisance the city of Dar Es Salaam has ever had to put up with!18

He felt that this sort of behaviour was not democratic, served to annoy people, and created artificial barriers

18 Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, op. cit., p. 225
between the leaders and the people. Behaviour was said to be significantly altered after the circulation of this memo.

His concern with the social and material gap between the educated and the uneducated has led him to take harsh measures with students who demonstrated elitist attitudes. He has indicated that it takes the incomes of fifty ordinary people to keep one student in university for one year, and has demanded that the students' main ambition be in serving the masses who have allowed them the privilege of attending university. In 1966 394 students demonstrated in front of his residence, State House, against being required to participate in the newly-created National Service. This was too much. Here was the new elite already taking their privileges for granted. He lectured them on their anti-social and elitist attitudes and dismissed them all from the university. Most were re-admitted a year later. After that episode a five-month work camp was instituted for all entering university, and two years of National Service was required for all persons completing secondary school. In 1969 an observer wrote that "The gap between the privileged and the poor has closed noticeably."\(^{19}\)

The Arusha Declaration was mainly devoted to topics of socialist economic development and the principle of Self-

\(^{19}\)Sanger, op. cit., p. 66.
Reliance. But a small, significant section dealt with leadership. It first promised that a leadership training program would be instituted at all levels in order to ensure that all leaders understood the economic and political policies of the party. It then laid out a rigorous set of directives for leadership behaviour as follows:

The Arusha Resolution

a) Leadership

1. Every TANU and Government leader must be either a peasant or a worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of capitalism and feudalism.

2. No TANU or Government leader should hold shares in any company.

3. No TANU or Government leader should hold directorships in any privately owned company.

4. No TANU or Government leader should receive two or more salaries.

5. No TANU or Government leader should own houses which he rents to others.

6. For the purposes of this resolution the term 'leader' should comprise the following:
   Members of the TANU National Executive;
   Ministers; Members of Parliament; senior officials of organizations affiliated to TANU; senior officials of para-statal organizations; all those appointed or elected under any clause of the TANU constitution; councillors; and civil servants in the high and middle cadres. (In this context 'leader' means a man, or a man and his wife; a woman, or a woman and her husband.)

20 Found in Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, op. cit., p. 249.
These stringent demands were accepted unanimously by the party, but they did not go unopposed in private. A number of M.P.'s and TANU officials were forced to rid themselves of extra houses, but it is probable that some of them merely signed them over to a more distant relative than their spouse. Two prominent members of the party resigned, and there may have been many more minor officials. The two were Oscar Kambona, a founding member, Secretary-General of the party, and a Cabinet minister, and Bibi Titi Mohamed, also a founding member and President of the women's arm of TANU. Both of them claimed they had resigned for health or personal reasons. Bibi Titi Mohamed owned a number of houses and was a director of at least one company. Kambona was thought to be second only to Nyerere in power and popularity, but his influence had declined since he had demonstrated incompetence in a string of different Ministries. After his resignation he left the country for England. He was said to have handed out many jobs to incompetent friends (who were removed after his departure), owned at least five houses, and during one nineteen-month period deposited $45,000 in one bank account—which was eight times as much as his salary for the period.  

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In fact Mr. Kambona was badly out of step with present-day Tanzania. His power was created in the independence struggle, but as the emphasis shifted from soap-box oratory to practical planning he became a demagogue.22

Kambona seems to have been an example of the politician who could not make the transition from the independence struggle to progressive government without exploiting his position for personal gain. He is one of those Nyerere referred to as having had a capitalist motivation for seeking independence. Public reports seem to indicate that there are many more Kambonas in other African states. It remains to be seen whether Tanzania has got rid of them all or persuaded them to change their minds.

Conclusion

Nyerere's ideas about leadership are not so much fundamental value commitments as means of ensuring the implementation of his socialist beliefs. The evolution of his ideas and actions in regards to leadership behaviour shows consistency and a continuing commitment to the ideals of equality, dignity, work by all, exploitation by none. It also demonstrates that it has not been realistic to expect even his closest colleagues, let alone the country as a whole, to accept and live by the ideals of the nation

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without the existence of specific coercive measures designed to ensure their compliance. The unique nature of Nyerere's personal leadership has been his determination to stick to his ideals and maintain a continual, evolving struggle for their realization. Other leaders have been content to leave their ideals on paper and succumb to the harsh, interest-serving realities of government. Nyerere has time and again demonstrated shrewd political judgement in carrying out his policies. I know of no other leader who has had the courage to admit to the possibility or potential of so much corruption in his government. Nyerere has done this in such a way as to add to his stature as a leader and alienate only those segments of the population who were opposed to his ideals. Among the population at large, whose standard of living is so low, the public moves to deprive the elite of much of their ostentatious wealth were extremely popular. It may be cynical, but not beyond the realm of possibility, to suggest that Nyerere has used the issue of virtuous leadership norms to maintain his own popularity among the population. This in turn would strengthen his authority over the party and government, for he would have an unassailable position as the initiator and defender of the leadership norms while the officials would be subject to having their behaviour questioned by him.
The key question of course is whether he can make his leadership norms binding. It is still too early to tell, but the outcome will be determined by the methods he chooses to make them stick. It appears at present that he is making use of at least three methods: personal example, ideological imperative, and mild coercion. His personal standard of behaviour in regard to these norms is of the highest order, and there are no doubt many in the party and civil service who have a high respect for him as a leader and obviously try to emulate his behaviour. The fact that strict leadership rules are written into the Arusha Declaration makes them part of the socialist philosophy, so no public figure having a sincere desire to be an African socialist can consider breaking them. Personal example and ideological imperative probably take care of the majority of the officials involved, but there are always those left over who are willing to take personal advantage of any situation unless they are resolutely prevented from doing so. Nyerere's coercive measures have not been overly strict. The rules are laid down in a party document, and those who do not agree with them must leave the party and resign from their government positions. Whether or not a continual or periodic check is made on individuals' behaviour is unreported. Close scrutiny, physical intimidation, and harsh extra-legal punishments would not be consistent with
Nyerere's respect for the freedom of the individual, but it is possible that he is not being harsh enough. The combination of these three tactics may produce the desired effect. If it does not it will be because his coercive measures have not been sufficiently strong.
CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

If economic development is defined in terms of the growth of per capita income and the Gross National Product, and the industrialization of a modernizing society, then the concern of this chapter is with far more than economic development. Economic development in Tanzania is certainly concerned with raising living standards and creating more wealth, but it is only concerned with this if it serves the basic social goals of the nation—mutual respect, dignity, equality and cooperation. Increasing wealth is a primary goal of Tanzania if it occurs in conformity with the social and political ideals examined in the last two chapters. The ideals which are most relevant in this context are sharing of joint production, work by all and exploitation by none. The methods and programs undertaken in order to increase wealth are used as means of implementing the societal goals. Or, conversely, the societal ideals are used to determine the methods by which wealth will be increased. This is the ideal theoretical framework which Tanzania under Nyerere attempts to utilize in its activities concerning what is the primary consideration of the governments of all new nations—satisfying the material expectation of their peoples by raising standards of living. As we shall see in this
chapter, the attempts to utilize the framework have varied in their intensity through time.

**Actions From Independence to 1967**

Even prior to independence Nyerere realized that the major task of the government would be to improve living standards, and that this would not be easy. At the time of independence he attempted to popularize the slogan *Uhuru na Kazi*, "Freedom and Work", in order to impress upon the people that *Uhuru* did not signal the automatic attainment of Utopia. In the area of economic and rural development the first six years of independence are marked by exhortations to build a socialist society and by a series of actions that seem more orientated toward nurturing the productivity of the semi-capitalist economy inherited from the colonial regime. Thus, Nyerere talks a lot about equality, dignity, hard work and creating a classless society, but these appear to be general principles which remain at the level of rhetoric. A typical example in August, 1964:

The people and the Government of the United Republic are aiming to build a just society of free and equal citizens, who live in healthy conditions, who control their own destiny, and who co-operate together and with other people in a spirit of human brotherhood for mutual benefit.¹

¹Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, op. cit., p. 311.
He also eloquently discussed the relation between wealth, production and human happiness.

... production is important. It is important to the extent that it serves man, and his interests as he currently sees them. But production is not the purpose of society; humanity's progress must be measured by the extent to which man is freed from the domination of the need to produce. When the demands of 'efficiency' and 'production' override man's need for a full and good life then society is no longer serving man, it is using him.²

For a new and very poor country this is certainly an idealistic viewpoint which would find difficulty in being understood by the mass of the people who are desperately seeking some new material comforts. It must be very difficult to convince those in poverty that production is a means and not an end. When he speaks of "society using man", who does he regard as 'society'? If the bulk of the population, who comprise 'society', wish to place emphasis on production rather than social ideals it makes it difficult to get their cooperation in implementing the latter possibly at the expense of the former. Nyerere seems to have been aware of this problem during this period, and appears to have acquiesced to placing emphasis on production by itself while searching for a means to relate it to his social ideals. Thus, in 1966 at the opening of the Bank of Tanzania he flatly stated that "Our people know that it

²Ibid., pp. 15-16.
is their responsibility to increase the wealth of our country, and that this can only be done by producing more goods."\(^3\)

Significant actions which occurred during the period 1961-1967 include the establishment of the National Development Corporation (NDC) in 1965, a para-statal organization which invests mostly in industrial projects and retains all profits for future expansions. The NDC maintained a small level of operation until the nationalization measures of 1967, and operated in conjunction with the policy of encouraging as much private investment as possible. Soon after independence all land was brought under the ownership of the state. In conformity with African traditional practice, the concept of private ownership of land was rejected in favour of the attitude that all land belonged to the community, and individuals had the right to use it but not own and market it. The actual takeover involved a very small amount of land. Now and again Nyerere's moralistic nature surfaced with a desire for frugality as reflected in penny-pinching gestures. He spoke against prestige projects designed to impress foreigners, and praised the self-discipline and frugal nature of the Chinese development efforts. In 1965 alcoholic beverages were

\(^3\)Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, op. cit., p. 176.
barred from government receptions and the guests had to make do with coffee, tea or soft drinks. Also, no cars for government service except four-wheel drives were to be purchased that cost more than £900. In 1966 the size and frequency of delegations to foreign conferences and meetings were cut down. Two Development Plans were initiated in this period, one from 1961 to 1963 and the other from 1964 to 1968. They acknowledged agriculture as the highest priority, but more resources were put into communications and industrial infrastructure. As noted in Chapter III, Nyerere in 1964 stated that social freedoms were to be sacrificed if necessary in order to meet the objectives laid down in the Plan. \(^4\) In 1962 he talked of the necessity of grouping the rural population in larger villages in order to increase agricultural production. As a result, the Village Settlement Program was instituted in 1964. In June, 1966 came the first mention of the term 'Self-Reliance', which was to occupy a prominent place in the development language of the country after the Arusha Declaration in 1967. In 1966 Nyerere stated that the country could not rely on outside help which was too little and too compromising to national independence, and that the country would have to do more for itself in the way of self-help and communal projects.

\(^4\)See p. 58 of this paper.
In general, the period prior to 1967 saw economic development policies that were very similar to those of many other new nations--capital expenditures on infrastructure and urban development, with concern, if not action, for the rural areas. The social ideals which were being implemented in the electoral system and leadership behaviour patterns were not moulded into a coherent economic and rural development policy. The social rhetoric was always present, however, and Nyerere certainly maintained consistency in the social ideals he was concerned about. One cannot fault him for his commitment to his socialist beliefs, even in the economic sphere, but he had yet to work out a practical method of seeing them introduced. His creative imagination seems to have been blunted by the ever-present pressure faced by all leaders of new nations--the material expectations of the people must be satisfied to some degree as soon as possible, or the very existence of the regime is threatened. The fact that his efforts had not met with much success by 1967 no doubt influenced him to try a new approach. The only real attempt to implement the social ideals prior to 1967 was the Village Settlement Program, and that was a failure.

The Village Settlement Program

In order to preserve the traditional values and at the same time increase agricultural productivity Nyerere
established the Village Settlement Agency in 1964. Agricultural products comprised the bulk of Tanzania's exports. It was thus necessary to increase agricultural output in order to earn foreign exchange with which to buy goods to modernize the economy and provide more services for the people. The bulk of the population were subsistence farmers working by traditional agricultural methods on small, scattered plots of land. The solution was to group them together in larger villages where they could share modern agricultural equipment, such as tractors, and thus collectively increase their output. The government would provide technical advice and social services such as roads, water, and even electricity if necessary. The people would share the ownership of the modern equipment and pay for it from their surplus. The Village Settlement Program:

... was originally aimed at transforming completely a selected few areas of the Tanzanian countryside into coherent quasi-modern communities possessing rational agricultural systems and increased social services.5

The first development plan provided for sixty-eight village settlements, each with two hundred fifty families. By 1965 there were twenty-three functioning settlements containing 3,300 people.

In April, 1966 the program was drastically cut back to an experimental level. The government revealed that it had become far too expensive for them, that there was a lack of skilled administrators, and that the settlers' productivity was disappointingly low. It appears that the promises of facilities and services were often not fulfilled, and that the settlers, who had been attracted by the high expectations of quick results and dramatically increased standards of living, had become quickly disillusioned. Nyerere admitted as much in 1968.

When we tried to promote rural development in the past, we sometimes spent huge sums of money on establishing a Settlement, and supplying it with modern equipment, and social services... we acted on the assumption that there was a shortcut to development in the rural areas. All too often, therefore, we persuaded people to go to new settlements by promising them that they could quickly grow rich there, or that the Government would give them services and equipment. John Nellis also claims that the settlement program was used as a 'catch-all' for the "back to the land" enthusiasm which was being encouraged at the time. In fact, many of the urban unemployed who had been forcibly removed from the cities seemed to have turned up in the settlements, along

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6 Ibid., p. 480.
with other troublesome groups that the government wished to keep out of harms way. Obviously, such recruits did little to ensure the success of the scheme.

One of the reasons that the Settlement Program failed was that there was no coherent and emotive ideology provided that would have secured the understanding and emotional commitment of the settlers. Promises of material rewards were used to induce the people to take part, and these were not fulfilled. Administrative difficulties were also a prime cause of failure. At the time the settlements were started in 1964 the country was woefully short of skilled administrators. Many colonial personnel had left, and the education system had not yet produced a significant increase in trained manpower. Each of the settlements required careful organization and planning and astute handling of the new settlers. The people qualified to carry out these roles were not available. So, mismanagement combined with doubtful recruits and the lack of an inspiring ideology spelled failure. It would be difficult to determine which of these factors was the most crucial, but the argument could be made that the ideology would not be needed if the administration and the settlers were of a high calibre. This would only be true if Tanzania had the resources to

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make the settlements a success with government inputs—with machinery, technical training, fertilizers, etc. The fact is, however, these resources were not available; the settlers would have had to provide for themselves and, at least initially, be prepared for very hard work and sacrifices. It is probable that only an emotive ideology generating high morale and cooperative spirit would have attracted the people to participate in such a venture. In his first attempt to implement his social ideals on a very comprehensive and specific level Nyerere had failed to provide the necessary social impetus and motivation which would give it a chance of success. He did not give up, however, and by 1967 a new attempt was in the making.

The Arusha Declaration

The Arusha Declaration is by now a widely circulated and famous document. Its fame rests on the fact that it was the first frank admission by a new nation that its development effort was failing, and that a radical re-appraisal had to be undertaken. It said in public and officially what had been murmured in private for some time, and what is now fairly widely accepted as a realistic perspective on development:—that aid is inadequate, restrictive and sometimes damaging, and that significant improvement in a country's wealth and standard of living can only come about through the massive utilization of its basic human resources,
as opposed to relying on capital-intensive projects and a high level of technological skill. For outside observers its main significance lay in its frank appraisal of the realities of international aid and finance, but for Nyerere and Tanzania it was primarily an admission that the social ideals of the nation had not been realised in the past six years. The Declaration was the start of a concerted attempt to change this situation.

Nyerere admitted in September, 1967 that economic development plans prior to 1967 had concentrated too much on highly capitalized projects which benefited too few people. The attempts at increasing agricultural productivity had succeeded in introducing cash-crop farming:

But in the process the old traditions of living together, working together, and sharing the proceeds, have often been abandoned. Farmers tend to work as individuals in competition and not in co-operation with their neighbours.9

A number of successful farmers had emerged whose hired labourers did not receive a fair share of the profits, but were paid minimum wages. The spirit of equality was broken, and a class system was beginning to emerge in the rural areas.10 Added to this was the old problem of the urban/rural split. There was widespread acceptance of the

9Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, op. cit., p. 342.
10Ibid., p. 343.
colonial norms of selfishness and individual advancement which was reflected in the belief that the good life could only be found in wage employment in the towns. There was a real danger of the nation being divided dramatically between the country and the towns. The greater part of the capital used to modernize the towns came from outside loans which had to be repaid by currency obtained through exports, and the vast bulk of the exports were agricultural. "What does this mean? It means that the people who benefit directly from development which is brought about by borrowed money are not the ones who will repay the loans." In effect, the rural population was being exploited in favour of the urban. Most of the wealth of the nation is generated in the rural areas where 90 per cent of the population lives, and that is where the energies and the resources of the nation must be concentrated if there is to be any adherence to the values of equality and justice.

The Arusha Declaration re-emphasized the social values of hard work, grass roots democracy, absence of exploitation, and sharing of joint production. The realization of these values meant that the rural population could no longer continue to work for individual profit, creating a

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11 Ibid., p. 341.
12 Ibid., p. 242.
social system of masters and servants rather than one based on equality. The terminology of the Declaration was significant. The 'people' were now referred to as 'peasants and workers'--implying that no other type of individual was possible (or permissible) in Tanzania. The most stringent and most specific part of the Declaration was the strict analysis of the place of wealth in society. It noted that the creation of wealth is necessary in order to eradicate poverty, ignorance and disease, and ensure a decent standard of living for all. But the creation of wealth for its own sake, and the establishment of a consumer-orientated society that devotes much of its resources to non-durable luxury items, is an approach that totally contradicts Tanzania's social ideals--as well as being economically ruinous for a poor country. The Arusha Declaration is essentially a commitment to the quality of life.

It is a commitment to the belief that there are more important things in life than the amassing of riches, and that if the pursuit of wealth clashes with things like human dignity and social equality, then the latter will be given priority.\(^{13}\)

There is much emphasis placed on the point of view that it is a myth that money, or capital, is the essential prerequisite for development. The Declaration charged that Tanzania had been affected by a malaise brought about by the belief

\(^{13}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 316.}\)
that development projects could not be undertaken unless they were backed by vast amounts of capital. Capital had to come from abroad in the form of loans, and very little was available. Nyerere and the co-authors of the Arusha Declaration realised that it was futile to rely on outside aid. There was not enough, and the conditions it was offered under usually endangered Tanzania's independence. Tanzania possessed little of its own capital. The solution offered was 'Self-Reliance' and mass mobilization of the people to bring about improvement through their own physical labour and cooperation. Bridges, roads, schools, medical clinics, wells, could all be built with very small amounts of capital and much human participation. Money, and the wealth it represents, can only be the result and not the basis of development efforts. The Declaration contained a ringing call to action on this basis.

Industries will come and money will come but their foundation is THE PEOPLE and their HARD WORK, especially in AGRICULTURE. This is the meaning of self-reliance. Our emphasis should therefore be on:

a) The Land and Agriculture
b) The People
c) The Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance, and
d) Good Leadership.

14Ibid., p. 239.
15Ibid., p. 243.
16Ibid., p. 246.
In addition to the analysis and emotive rhetoric, the Declaration also contained proposals for extending the policy of socialism and self-reliance to the towns and industries. It was regarded as essential that all the major means of production and exchange be under the control of peasants and workers, either through cooperatives or the state.

The Arusha Declaration is not solely the work of President Nyerere, but is the amended result of a draft that he submitted to the TANU National Executive Committee. It can, however, be regarded as reflecting the major trends of his thought at that time. It is not really a further extension of his political philosophy examined in the earlier chapters of this paper, but is the operational blueprint for putting his ideas into practice. It refines his previous ideas to a greater extent and sketches out the directions that must be taken in order to see them realized. Subsequent pamphlets and speeches fill in the details. These include: "Socialism is not Racialism", \textsuperscript{17} "Education for Self-Reliance", \textsuperscript{18} "The Purpose is Man", \textsuperscript{19} "Socialism and

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., pp. 257-261.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., pp. 267-290.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., pp. 315-326.
Rural Development", \textsuperscript{20} and "After the Arusha Declaration", \textsuperscript{21} all of which appeared in 1967. Frameworks for the implementation of his ideals are really the crucial parts of any political leader's thought. Nyerere's position as a political thinker rests heavily on the fact that he has produced a comprehensive set of directives of this nature. Further investigation of his thought would consist of an examination of the degree to which his ideals are now being enacted in the day-to-day life of Tanzania, but that is outside the scope of this paper. As mentioned at the end of the last section, the real significance of Arusha was that it attempted to rectify the omission of successful social impetuses which led to the failure of the Village Settlement Program. Nyerere illustrated this in a lecture to the University of Cairo in April, 1967 entitled "The Varied Paths to Socialism".

\textit{... it is not good enough just to deprive people of the incentives of selfishness. Development requires that these should be replaced by effective social incentives. While these do not exist, or to the extent that they do not exist, we have seriously to consider whether, and how far, we can dispense with the incentives of private profit at that time.\textsuperscript{22}}

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., pp. 337-366.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., pp. 389-409.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., p. 307.
State Control of The Means of Production

Nyerere enunciates very clearly what he considers to be the significance of control over the means of production. The fact that a country wants to have control over its economy has got nothing to do with ideology; it is economic nationalism. So, ensuring that foreign owned companies become locally controlled is of little ideological significance. "The real ideological choice is between controlling the economy through domestic private enterprise or doing so through some state or other collective institution." But in light of the fact that there is very little private capital in Africa, it becomes necessary for the state to act. This in itself is not socialism, for even a fascist state such as Nazi Germany could have control over significant parts of its industry. "If people are not involved in public ownership, and cannot control the policies followed, then public ownership can lead to fascism, not socialism." Socialism requires that the rest of the state--its economic policies, its method of choosing its leaders, its governing norms--be designed to serve the people and ensure that they have the opportunity to affect the control of the economy.

Within two weeks of the Arusha Declaration the government had announced its takeover of key sectors of the

\[23\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 264}.
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\[24\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 309}.
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economy, and had clearly spelled out the extent to which government control would be involved in the future. This left private investors with a clear indication of where they would be welcome in positions of control or in partnership with the government. The Arusha Declaration pledged that the people (i.e. the state) would have control of the land, forests, minerals, oil and electricity, news media, communications, banks, insurance, import and export trade, wholesale trade, iron and steel, machine-tools, motor-cars, cement, fertilizers, textiles, large plantations, and any other large industry significantly affecting the economy, plus those providing parts for the above goods and services.25 Some of these were already controlled by Ministries, the National Development Corporation, or cooperatives. The nationalization measures affected the banks, insurance, food processing, wholesale trade, and import/export trade; and fifty or more per cent control of the breweries, tobacco companies, shoe manufacturers, metal dealers, cement, and the sisal industry.26 All of these were to be paid for from future profits under terms which were acceptable to all the companies concerned except Bata Shoe—the only Canadian company affected.

25 Ibid., p. 234.
26 Ibid., pp. 251-253.
Nationalization is a common policy of African governments today. It is often undertaken in order to satisfy nationalistic or even racial considerations. Pride, as reflected in race or the nation, can be a significant factor in political decisions. Ideology, an example being African Socialism, is sometimes used only as the overt justification of nationalization measures. Tanzania's nationalizations, I feel, are of a different nature. It appears that they are the logical outgrowth of Nyerere's social and political ideas. The nationalizations were necessary in order to carry out the socialist policies agreed upon at Arusha. They may have served to satisfy purely nationalistic feelings, but that was not their primary purpose. Given the fact that the nationalizations were a socialist measure designed to serve new social and economic goals, it may be expected that the acquired enterprises would be organized and run in a manner consistent with the new principles. As far as I can tell, this does not seem to have happened to any great extent. Attempts have been made to keep prices down and spread service activities to all parts of the nation, but the organizational structures and management principles of the enterprises appear to be unchanged. They are required to operate efficiently and make profits, the only difference now being that all profits are re-invested rather than going
into the pockets of a few foreign owners. The main problem of the state enterprises appears to be lack of skilled administrators. Many expatriate workers left at the time of nationalization, and attempts are still being made to attract other foreign skilled personnel. This is not only in response to the departure of the old workers, but is also due to the fact that the state has expanded many of the activities of the enterprises—such as wholesale distribution services in new areas—as well as enlarging the government bureaucracy. I do not have the data that would indicate the comparative productivity of the affected enterprises before and after nationalization, but it would be safe to assume that the commitment to a socialist production policy has had at least short-run costs in terms of productivity.

Self-Reliance

'Self-Reliance' was a term introduced at the time of Arusha, and now occupies a prominent place in the political vocabulary of the nation. It implies the recognition of the poverty of the country, and the acceptance of the fact that progress depends solely on the collective efforts of the people. It shattered the daydreams which saw large modern industries and mechanized farms just around the corner. The people were now expected to become self-sufficient in such
basic necessities as food, serviceable clothes, and housing. Agricultural development was placed on a more realistic level in that farmers were expected to progress from the hoe to the ox-plough before assuming the necessity for expensive tractors, and basic transportation was to rely on oxen-carts before expecting the availability of trucks. It is probable that Nyerere was much influenced toward these ideas by the work and advice of Rene Dumont.

The policy of Self-Reliance was also an attempt to impress upon the people the fact that they could not continue to regard the Government as the initiator and resource supplier for all development projects. It simply did not have enough resources, and the real burden of the development effort must necessarily fall on the rural people themselves.

For a community, self-reliance means that they will use the resources and the skills they jointly possess for their own welfare and their own development. They will not take the attitude that the Government, or the Local Council, or anyone else, must come and do this or that for them before they can make any progress.

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27 Ibid., p. 247.

28 Ibid., p. 318.


The concept of self-reliance represented a shrewd change in the use that was made of the moral and social principles of Ujamaa. Before 1967 they were utilised as ideals that gave a sense of identity and self-respect to the people and justified government policies. Now they were used to justify a demand for sacrifice and hard work on the part of the rural people. It is here that one can see the practical merging of Nyerere's social and economic thought. The ideology of Ujamaa was to be used as a mobilization tactic to achieve economic as well as social goals. It would be very difficult to determine whether Nyerere places a higher priority on achieving his social ideals or his economic goals, and whether these two targets ever come into conflict. He did of course state in 1964 that national security and the economic targets of the Five Year Plan were to take highest priority. But, after Arusha, it seems more appropriate to consider Nyerere's ideals and plans in their totality. The economic goals have been wedded to the social ideals, and the intention appears to be that they will be realized together. Such a plan will obviously affect the pace of development. Economic targets may be achieved quicker if social ideals of equality and dignity are ignored, and the reverse may also be true, but it is likely that Nyerere considers that social ideals cannot be realised without some sort of economic development and that economic
development will not be possible in this poor country unless the people are organized around the social ideals. The likely threat to this approach is that one or other of these components--most probably the economic--will too easily achieve undue prominence, and thus produce increased benefits for a few and frustrated expectations for the majority. With these considerations in mind, I will now look at the second attempt to organize the rural communities in order to realise Ujamaa.

**The Ujamaa Villages**

The theoretical idea of the Village Settlement Program was a good one. It had failed because the implementation techniques were inappropriate. The idea remained intact in the Ujamaa Villages plans. It was to recreate the traditional life styles and production patterns that existed before colonialism and combine these with as many modern agricultural techniques as possible. The basis of Tanzanian life was intended to be "... rural economic and social communities where people live together and work together for the good of all."\(^{31}\) The traditional values which have been the continuing foundation of Nyerere's thought--mutual respect, sharing of joint production, and work by all--together with a grass roots village democracy were to be

\(^{31}\)Ibid., p. 348.
realised in new village communities throughout rural Tanzania. The nation would not base its future and development on industrialization in the urban areas and individual cash crop farming in the rural areas—the route being taken by many new nations.

The Village Settlements failed because the wrong incentive was offered to the people in order to get them to participate—that of material rewards—and because this led to increased attitudes of dependency on the Government to produce results. These problems were dealt with in the Ujamaa Villages through the policy of Self-Reliance and the emotive appeal of the whole Arusha Declaration. Arusha was the new model of the old ideology of Socialism. Its earthy language, its overwhelming concern for the 90 per cent of the population who live in the rural areas, and its attacks on the elite and urban dwellers served to rouse the people to a new effort and direct their energies and enthusiasm toward building the new rural life. The acceptance of self-reliance placed expectations upon the Government on a more realistic level. It was made clear at the outset that about all the Government could provide would be advice and help in establishing links for the cooperation of different communities, but "Government advice and help can only be of marginal importance."32

32Ibid., p. 358.
It is impossible to assess the success of the Ujamaa Villages at this stage. About all that can be said is that they are still active and expanding. The first ones were established in September, 1967, and by mid-1970 they numbered 1,200 in various stages of progress. It was estimated that in 1969/70 the people completed 19,300,000 shillings worth of self-help projects in the form of schools, dispensaries, bridges, wells, roads, etc.\textsuperscript{33}

The key question is, how long will the people maintain their enthusiasm for the new measures? Will they be satisfied with the material benefits slowly accumulating in the Ujamaa Villages while the urban centres continue to develop? And will it be necessary for Tanzania to undertake massive re-organizations (cultural revolutions?) on a regular basis in order to ensure the people's continued adherence to the nation's basic social principles? The answers to these questions lie in the future.

Conclusion

The economic and rural development philosophy and policies adopted by Tanzania have many unique characteristics when compared with those of other new nations. One of the most noteworthy factors is the unique blend of idealism and realism. Idealism is apparent in all of Nyerere's

public statements. Realism, less overtly evident, is manifested in two ways. It is reflected in Nyerere's cautious estimates of the rapidity and degree of possible realization of the socialist ideals, and is apparent in the frank appraisals of Tanzania's economic and social reality. For instance, the editor of a volume on the political thought of Lumumba, Nkrumah, and Toure has commented "Concerning domestic affairs, reality is falsified to the extent that diversity, poverty, inequality and exploitation are attributed exclusively to the colonial powers . . ." before independence and to neo-colonial intrigues after independence. While this may be an exaggeration, it contains some elements of truth. Nyerere, in contrast, is much more ready to admit Tanzania's own responsibility for these problems, as was indicated in the Arusha Declaration, and he rarely mentions colonialism or neo-colonialism. Arrighi and Saul have analysed the conceptions of African Socialism throughout the continent and have concluded that most thinkers do not have an adequate understanding of the economic process and the emerging socio-economic stratification between the urban and rural dwellers. They also feel

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that the commitment to socialism is often merely verbal, and the lack of ideological clarity and rigorous organization has resulted in little being accomplished in implementing socialist ideals. They specifically cite Ghana, Senegal, Kenya, and to a lesser extent, Guinea in this regard. They conclude that Tanzania may be the one country where things are different.

Tanzania is, perhaps, the country in contemporary Africa where socialist aspirations figure most prominently and interestingly in the development equation, and most powerfully affect the kinds of policies which are being pursued. They mention especially Nyerere's sophisticated awareness of the rural/urban split, the danger of rural stratification, and the necessity of having some coercive measures to ensure elite compliance. In regards to realism, perhaps the most telling comment was given by Nyerere himself at the University College, Dar Es Salaam in August, 1967.

The Arusha Declaration is a declaration of intent: no more than that. ... Neither on 5th February, nor on any day since, has Tanzania suddenly become a socialist state, a self-reliant state, or a developed state. ... The Declaration is the beginning, not the end, of a very long and probably extremely hard struggle. It is necessary that we should be very clear about these things, for otherwise we shall fail to reach the goal stated and shall be liable to do great harm to our nation.

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36 Ibid.
37 Ibid., p. 165.
38 Ibid., p. 166.
John Nellis also agrees that realism is prominently displayed in the Arusha Declaration. Recognizing that the Government could not fulfill the grand material expectations which arose at independence:

... the new policy (Arusha) attempted to lay the groundwork for a more viable and less costly alternative. The new policy was to be paid for not with money, but with belief. Ideology had become the currency of Tanzanian rural development.40

This is a shrewd and, I feel, accurate comment. But just how workable is ideology as an impetus for large-scale development activities? It should be possible for an idea or set of beliefs to inspire activities. The parallel has been made between African Socialism and the Protestant Ethic insofar as they relate to productive functions.41 Marxist ideas have certainly inspired productive activities in the Soviet Union and China. The possibility is there for ideology to generate rural development. Perhaps a more relevant question is: will ideology be a more successful impetus for development than, say, material incentives in the form of individual farms and cash markets? I think the answer here is simple. Tanzania has no choice but to try ideology. The country does not have the resources or the


trained manpower to create the necessary transportation and market infrastructure over wide areas that would be necessary to make individual farms feasible. It certainly cannot afford to finance the purchase of modern machinery for numerous and widely scattered individual holdings. Significant improvements in rural living standards can probably only be brought about by collective efforts. Given this fact, there are two alternative courses of action: coerce the people into taking part in collective enterprises through legal and physical means, or persuade them to do so through an ideology which promises to better their individual and collective life-styles. Nyerere has rejected the first alternative through his social philosophy and its respect for individual rights, so ideology—the Arusha Declaration and the Ujamaa Villages—seems the only alternative left open.

Successful rural development under these terms will depend primarily on the ideology being attractive enough to induce the people to participate. It must satisfy their individual desires for advancement as well as arouse their commitment to a more remote and general goal of national development. If figures are any indication, it appears that this stage has been completed successfully. The 1,200 villages established by mid-1970 shows some indication of success. The most significant measure of success, of course, is whether the villages actually work.
productivity increasing? Are the people slowly enjoying more material benefits in their rural setting? I do not have the data to answer these questions, but there is one factor worth mentioning which will be a strong influence in the success or failure of rural development. That is the old problem of skilled administrators. Not only must the people who advise and administer the villages be competent, they must also be highly committed. If the administrators are corrupt, self-serving, or just plain incompetent the Ujamaa Villages will have little chance of success.

Ideology is not enough for development. It can only set the guidelines and general principles. Every development project, no matter who or what inspires it, needs plans, capital, administrators and expertise. Little mention is made of these factors in the Arusha Declaration or subsequent documents.

It is probably too early to tell if rural development is really taking place in Tanzania. It is my opinion that the theoretical blueprint provided in the Arusha Declaration is a good and realistic one, but successful implementation is by no means assured. The fact that little mention is made of the practical problems of day-to-day administration leaves one less able to judge its future effectiveness.
CONCLUSION

This study has provided some answers to the questions raised in the Introduction. The consistency of Nyerere's ideas cannot be doubted. Over a period of thirteen years, he has stuck to a few basic principles which have progressively been applied to numerous aspects of Tanzanian society. It is also apparent that he has been concerned with both theory and application in his thinking. The body of ideas expressed by Nyerere is only one of many national ideologies that have emerged in new nations since their independence. A number of general studies of emerging ideologies provide a good picture of their common characteristics. The concept of ideology seems to be defined primarily by its function. It is a body of ideas explaining the reality of a nation in terms understood by the populace and which contains a vision of the future reflecting the aspirations of the majority of the people. It is intended to mobilize and unite the

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1 The study essentially covers his thought from the formation of TANU in 1954 to the end of 1967.

citizens in supporting the government's programs—which are usually portrayed as being designed to realise the vision. The functions most commonly associated with ideology have been identified as: (1) the promotion of authority and the justification of the use of power by the elite, and (2) the creation of social solidarity and personal identity.\(^3\) Nyerere's ideas do seem designed to fulfil the above two functions. For one thing he is certainly aware of the necessity for paying attention to the constant struggle to remain in power. It appears, however, that the main use of the Tanzanian ideology is to mobilize the people to take part in social and economic development efforts. Ideology in Tanzania is a tool of the government, and has been chosen as an alternative to what are considered more costly and less useful methods. Lacking the wealth to purchase and the physical resources and mental will to coerce the desired behaviour from its citizenry it has to rely on persuasion. Ideology can thus be seen as an important tool for the political leader. In some cases it may be the crucial element in holding the new nation together, or in preventing profound dissatisfaction among the people. This may explain

why ideologies are so prevalent among developing countries, and why their political leaders spend so much energy on creating frameworks of ideas within which their policies are legitimized.

In general, ideologies do not seem to have been a great success in new nations. Even without examining their record as far as nation-building efforts are concerned—in terms of creating national consciousness and commitment to development goals—one can see that many have failed just by the fact that they have not survived. For instance, two of the most widely-publicized ideological experiments, in Nkrumah's Ghana and Sukarno's Indonesia, came to abrupt and rather inglorious ends. How, then, can we be optimistic about Nyerere and Tanzania? While not suggesting that the Tanzanian ideology is or will be an unqualified success in realizing its objectives, I feel that this paper has

3 Three of Tanzania's neighbours have produced some sort of ideology. Kenya has made a half-hearted attempt with its Sessional Paper No. 10 on "African Socialism". Uganda, before Obote's overthrow, had recently started a "Move to the Left" and produced a Common Man's Charter modelled after the Arusha Declaration. Zambia under Kaunda has been working out its "Zambian Humanism" since 1967. In West Africa there have been ideological creations in Ghana, Guinea, Mali, and Senegal. The fact that the ideological governments of Ghana, Mali, and Uganda have been overthrown and Guinea is under severe pressure may indicate that this tool is not that successful. But I think that it can be surmised that the leaders themselves perceived it to be a useful tool when they were formulating their ideologies.
demonstrated that there are certain elements in the formulation and execution of this ideology that may give it a better chance of success than most. First, it is a simple body of ideas simply expressed. The core of the ideology contains a few basic moral principles which Nyerere has publicized in a manner that makes them easily understood by the average Tanzanian. Second, leadership values and behaviour patterns have been devised which should avoid the worst excesses of elitism, and thereby maintain the people's confidence in the leadership. Finally, the ideology contains a realistic assessment of the present economic and social conditions of Tanzania and demonstrates a cautious attitude toward expectations of quick and easy success.

This paper has examined the uses to which Nyerere has put his ideas as well as the ideas themselves. I feel that Nyerere has demonstrated that he is sincerely committed to the basic principles he advocates while at the same time he realises their usefulness in mobilizing his people. I have suggested that the poverty of the country combined with the leadership's commitment to respect for individual rights has left ideology as the only possible alternative for mobilizing the people to achieve the national goals. The primarily exhortative nature of the Tanzanian ideology does not distinguish it from other national ideologies. What does distinguish it, and what makes it interesting to study, is
its comprehensive nature and the consistency and determination with which it is being made to work. It contains far more than the bare bones of a justifying ideology that does little more than legitimize government actions. The implications of the basic principles of mutual respect, sharing, and work by all are rigorously pursued in all areas of national life. Another distinguishing factor is that the Tanzanian ideological experiment has by and large remained true to its original ideals. One measure of the success of an ideology is the degree to which the people will willingly work for it. Once physical coercion becomes necessary to enforce the goals of the ideology it has failed in one of its primary purposes—that of mobilizing the people—and it can then do little more than tenuously justify government actions. It is certainly too early to say whether or not Nyerere's ideas have been widely accepted in Tanzania, but it is plain that the element of compulsion has not yet been introduced.

The most interesting subject in this study is the person of Nyerere himself. His personal attributes make him a unique politician. He combines shrewd political skill with a philosophic mind. His writings and speeches demonstrate

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5 One study, completed just before the Arusha Declaration, found that there was little widespread acceptance. See Henry Bienen, Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).
a high degree of intellectual precision and creativity. In an academic environment he would no doubt be a great success as a theoretical thinker. In the political arena he cannot afford the luxury of pure speculation. What he proposes has to work, and he has shown that he can combine theoretical thinking with practical application. Nyerere fills two roles as a statesman and a thinker, and seeks to apply his own intellectual concepts to the art of governing and the development of his nation. It is unusual to find a politician who is also a creative intellectual thinker. More uncommon still is to find an intellectual politician who is having some success in implementing his creative ideas on a practical level. One can look at a man like Leopold Senghor of Senegal and acknowledge his intellectual achievements, but it is difficult to see how they have affected his actions as a political leader. The results of Nyerere's intellectual efforts, however, can be seen in numerous aspects of Tanzanian society today. He also possesses great leadership ability which has enabled him to spread his ideas among the populace and maintain his pre-eminent position among his fellow politicians. Nyerere's skill in communicating with the people together with his own unostentatious life-style and personal humility have made him a popular leader, and the charismatic hold he has on the people helps to ensure that the rest of the political leadership follow
his direction. I have indicated, however, that he may be relying too much on his personal appeal to his fellow politicians and not enough on coercive measures designed to ensure their compliance. His humility is also apparent in his political thought, but at the same time the scope of his thought is very ambitious. While possessing great intellectual ability he has not indulged in intellectual posturing on the world scene as other African leaders have done, the most notable example being Nkrumah. He has also been very careful in assessing the chances of success that his ideas will have in being realised. He does not expect to change Tanzania overnight. On the other hand, the changes that he envisages are ambitious to the extreme. He is asking his countrymen to change many of their habits and live by a set of essentially moral principles. He is in effect trying to build a just, equal, and prosperous society by asking Tanzanians to be new and better men.
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