

CHANGING PERSPECTIVES ON JULIUS NYERERE

By

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A Thesis Submitted to The Honors College

In Partial Fulfillment of the Bachelors degree  
With Honors in

History

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

MAY 2016

Approved by:

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## Abstract

This paper seeks to examine the changing perspectives of academics in regards to the ideology and policies of Julius Nyerere. Academics are influenced by a variety of pressures - both internal and external - which create a bias that is evident in their writing. These pressures change over time, and with it so does bias and perspectives. Nyerere was active politically from the late 50s till the end of his life in 1999 - this paper will therefore be broken into different sections, one for each decade, in order to track these changes.

## Background

The Cold War was a defining characteristic of Western history after World War II. It impacted domestic and foreign policy in the United States and her major allies. It was also a factor in the decisions of newly independent nations that were meant to take a side - Western and capitalist or Soviet and socialist. The side a country chose decided what kind of foreign aid and how much it received. Some leaders tried to forge their own path and remain a neutral party on the international stage. They were often forced to find alternative sources of aid - from China or neighboring nations with a more stable economy. Julius Nyerere, an African Socialist and defining leader of Tanzania, was one such leader.

Nyerere was an educated man - he attended university, spoke several languages, was a teacher and a scholar. He first attended the Makerere University in Uganda to receive a teaching diploma, which he then used to teach at St Mary's School in Tabora.<sup>1</sup> He would later attend the University of Edinburgh in Scotland before teaching at St Francis' College near Dar es Salaam.<sup>2</sup> Before Tanganyika became independent of the United Kingdom Nyerere was an activist in the independence movement: president first of the Tanganyikan African Association and later of its

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<sup>1</sup> "Profile: Mr. Julius Nyerere." 1955. *Africa Today* 2 (1). Indiana University Press: 14.

<sup>2</sup> "Profile: Mr. Julius Nyerere," 14..

successor TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) which he organized.<sup>3</sup> This role eventually forced him to choose between his political aims - independence - and his career as an educator. This decision would impact the rest of his future, and that of his country. Nyerere chose to continue his work in the independence movement. He continued as a leader after Tanganyika was granted independence as a Commonwealth realm in 1961 and became president in 1962 when Tanganyika officially abolished the monarchy and left the Commonwealth. He was instrumental in the unification of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964 to create the current nation of Tanzania and remained president until 1985.



Tanzania was an underdeveloped country with little infrastructure in 1964 when it became a nation. It lies on the eastern coast of Africa - between the Indian Ocean and the Great Lakes of Africa (See Right for maps) and unlike other former colonies in Africa Tanzania does not have raw materials like diamonds, coal, or oil to support its economy. There was also no previous trade connections to assist in national development. It was not strategically important like Egypt to have enticed the British, or the Germans before them, to fund infrastructure. It had a diverse and disconnected populace which spoke multiple languages. According to Khapoya there are over a hundred language groups within Tanzania - these include the four largest the Bantu, Khoisan, Cushitic,



<sup>3</sup> "Profile: Mr. Julius Nyerere," 15; Nyerere, J. K.. 1961. "The Transition Profile: Julius Nyerere". *Transition*, no. 2. [Indiana University Press, Hutchins Center for African and African American Research at Harvard University]: 21.

and Nilotic language groups.<sup>4</sup> While this means that hundreds of different languages are spoken in Tanzania local languages are mostly spoken in small areas and only a few languages have gained wider use - these include Swahili and English (the official languages of Tanzania), Sukuma, Nyamwezi, and Chagga.<sup>5</sup> In 1961 Tanganyika was called “politically stable but economically poverty stricken.”<sup>6</sup> This all sets the stage for analyzing Nyerere’s policies - both domestic and foreign. Major events during the Cold War and its end, movements in politics, it all impacted how academics viewed Nyerere’s choices. The same can be said for modern scholars who look back on those policies with their own current biases. Nyerere’s decisions are thus judged by different standards at different times. This paper endeavours to parse these changing views to understand how and why opinions have changed regarding Nyerere - both in Africa and in the West.<sup>7</sup>

### **Early Policies and Ideology in the 1960s**

In order to analyze the perspectives of scholars writing about Julius Nyerere in the beginning of his political career we must first look at what his ideals were. Nyerere wrote and spoke extensively about what he wanted in a free Tanganyika well before the state received its independence. For the sake of brevity this paper will not go into each and every one of his speeches; many established and more experienced historians have already done this work. Instead we will look to our first source: *The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945-1968* by Cranford Pratt. This book covers most of Nyerere’s early



<sup>4</sup> Khapoya, Vincent B. 2016. *The African Experience*. London: Routledge, 2016: 3.

<sup>5</sup> Khapoya, 15.

<sup>6</sup> “The Transition Profile: Julius Nyerere,” 22.

<sup>7</sup> Images: Google Maps, 2016.

career and Tanzania's first steps in economic and social development. Pratt himself was a Canadian, but served as the principal of the University of Dar es Salaam from 1961 to 1965.<sup>8</sup> This gave him a unique perspective in understanding Nyerere and an overall preferential bias.

The first section of Pratt's fourth chapter - "Nyerere's political thought 1954-62" - outlines the main ideals which informed Nyerere's arguments, and later his policies: equality, democracy, and socialism.<sup>9</sup> Pratt expands on each of these ideals and presents evidence from Nyerere's writing and published speeches.<sup>10</sup> The first ideal that Pratt discusses is equality. Nyerere advocated for uncompromising equality before and after independence. In his view equality in Tanganyika, and later Tanzania, had to extend to non-Africans in the nation - to Europeans, Asians, Indians, etc - and to do otherwise was to turn their back on the foundations of their own independence movement. When others proposed to limit citizenship to only those of Tanganyikan descent Nyerere stood by this ideal and condemned those who would discriminate against others as racists in the vein of Hitler and Verwoerd.<sup>11</sup> Pratt used the following quote to show Nyerere's dedication:

My friend talks as if it is perfectly all right to discriminate against the white, against the Indian, against the Arab, against the Chinaman. It is only wrong when you discriminate against a black man. Sir, what is the crime of the world today? It is the oppression of man by man.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *The Legacies of Julius Nyerere: Influences on Development Discourse and Practice in Africa*. Edited by David McDonald and Eunice Njeri Sahle. African World Press: Trenton, NJ, 2002. Contributors.

<sup>9</sup> Pratt, Cranford. *The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945 – 1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of Socialist Strategy*. Cambridge University Press: New York, 1976: 63-71.

<sup>10</sup> Image: Julius Nyerere, 1965 Elections. National Archives. Tanzania.

<sup>11</sup> Pratt, *The Critical Phase*, 64-65.

<sup>12</sup> Pratt, *The Critical Phase*, 64-65. This is an excerpt from a much longer quote. Please see Notes for the whole quote.

Democracy is the next ideal that Pratt discusses, and the one he spends the longest time explaining. He calls it “the logical political corollary [to Nyerere’s] belief in human equality.”<sup>13</sup> There is certainly a connection between the two as Nyerere rejected any kind of elite rule, whether it be qualitative\*, African, colonial, or otherwise. In Nyerere’s mind democracy was “government by discussion among equals.”<sup>14</sup> His ideas on equality thus fed directly into his thoughts on democracy as he felt the need to secure minority seats for Asian and Europeans in the National Assembly. This reservation of seats for minorities was criticized by later academics, primarily Western, for violating the idea of one vote equalling one voice and assuming that the diverse minority population could be represented only by a specific few representatives.

Tanzania’s form of democracy was a different model than that of Western democracies like the United States or Britain which had before this dominated the idea of democracy. Rather than allow for multi-party elections Tanzania worked from a single-party system which was at times heavily criticized as undemocratic. Pratt argues that many of Nyerere’s early writings on democracy were intended to justify this one-party democracy to Western liberals for this reason.<sup>15</sup> Nyerere believed that “traditional institutions of constitutional democracy were unworkable in tropical Africa.”<sup>16</sup> Pratt runs through many of Nyerere’s early discussions on democracy - calling them both internal debates and apologetics - before coming to Nyerere’s conclusions about an “ideal democratic community.”<sup>17</sup> Nyerere eventually came to argue that a multi-party system of democracy led only to competition that would confuse or mislead the populace.<sup>18</sup> In his view a one-party system “would be an expression of the underlying harmony of interest in a larger society” and keep the negative aspects of the multi-party system from

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<sup>13</sup> Pratt, *The Critical Phase*, 65.

<sup>14</sup> Pratt, *The Critical Phase*, 66. This is an excerpt from a longer quote. Please see Notes for the whole quote.

<sup>15</sup> Pratt, *The Critical Phase*, 67-70.

<sup>16</sup> Pratt, *The Critical Phase*, 67.

<sup>17</sup> Pratt, *The Critical Phase*, 70.

<sup>18</sup> Pratt, *The Critical Phase*, 70.

affecting the Tanzanian model.<sup>19</sup> “Factionalism...is, by definition, self-interest” according to Nyerere and this contradicts the final ideal: socialism.<sup>20</sup>

Pratt argues that that Nyerere’s socialism differed from other popular forms of the time.<sup>21</sup> Nyerere’s version parallels some theories from other African socialist but derived primarily from his own personal values and experiences rather than a close reading of socialist literature. While his thoughts on socialism went mostly unexpressed during his early years in politics they were a major factor in the system he wanted to create in Tanzania. Nyerere felt that socialism was the “distinctive ethical core of a departing African traditional way of life.”<sup>22</sup> This idea connects to many of his economic policies and relates to the system of ujamaa that Nyerere is often most associated with. Ujamaa was the spirit of familyhood, and personal wealth or greed was in contrast to the morality of its aims.<sup>23</sup> In this way it is easy to see how morals, rather than economics or politics, informed Nyerere’s decisions regarding the development of his country.

This lack of politicism is the focus of an article written in 1967 by Ali Mazrui, a Kenyan scholar of political science at the Makerere University College - the same one that Julius Nyerere once attended for his teaching diploma years before.<sup>24</sup> In the article, “Tanzaphilia,” Mazrui attempts to explain why Tanzania became the fascination of so many Western intellectuals.<sup>25</sup> His answer was that Julius Nyerere, an intellectual leading a nation, was a savior to those “starved of intellectual leadership” in the politics of their own nation.<sup>26</sup> In Tanzania intellectualism was revered in politics, rather than scorned as it often was in the West. Mazrui makes the point that

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<sup>19</sup> Pratt, *The Critical Phase*, 70.

<sup>20</sup> Pratt, *The Critical Phase*, 70. This is an excerpt from a longer quote. Please see Notes for the whole quote.

<sup>21</sup> Pratt, *The Critical Phase*, 71.

<sup>22</sup> Pratt, *The Critical Phase*, 71.

<sup>23</sup> Pratt, *The Critical Phase*, 71.

\* Qualitative in this instance refers to requiring voters or candidates to have a certain level of education.

<sup>24</sup> *Britannica Academic*, s. v. "Ali Al Amin Mazrui," accessed March 21, 2016.

<sup>25</sup> Mazrui, Ali. 1967. “Tanzaphilia”. *Transition*, no. 31. [Indiana University Press, Hutchins Center for African and African American Research at Harvard University]: 20.

<sup>26</sup> Mazrui, “Tanzaphilia,” 21.

no Western scholar would like to be called “The Teacher” as Nyerere was affectionately called ‘Mwalimu’ - such a connection would be considered a liability.<sup>27</sup> In the same vein as Pratt’s discussion of Nyerere’s one-party system Mazrui says that the clean, respectable politics of Tanzania were of interest to those disenchanted with the multi-party ‘mudslinging’ of Western politics.

Mazrui himself comes across as more skeptical of Nyerere than admiring, like the Western intellectuals he is attempting to explain. Tanzania is young and there is no opposing party to threaten or create competition for Nyerere.<sup>28</sup> According to Mazrui “he has an easier country to handle” than other African leaders at the time and Nyerere’s one-party system, which he called honest and unified, allowed him to stand uncontested as leader.<sup>29</sup> Mazrui talked at length about what he saw as Nyerere’s anti-intellectual policies. In his discussion of the National Service program that makes two years of “nation-building forms of toil like digging and construction” compulsory for those that complete higher and specialize education before they start a “regular career.”<sup>30</sup> This criticism was likely biased to a certain extent given Mazrui’s position as an established intellectual. Mazrui was, in fact, educated in several prestigious schools in England - similar to, but leagues above Nyerere’s own Western education.<sup>31</sup> He compares intellectuals doing manual labor, “toil,” to Marie Antoinette playing shepherdess at Versailles.<sup>32</sup> This comparison indicated a condescending view of these labor duties as useless symbolism.. Another indication of bias in this critique is his later criticism of the University College in Dar es Salaam as an “ideological institute”- which he himself admitted was not reality, but a failure on its own terms; the movement that called for ideological conditioning

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<sup>27</sup> Mazrui, “Tanzaphilia,” 21.

<sup>28</sup> Mazrui, “Tanzaphilia,” 20, 23.

<sup>29</sup> Mazrui, “Tanzaphilia,” 21; Pratt, *The Critical Phase*, 70.

<sup>30</sup> Mazrui, “Tanzaphilia,” 24.

<sup>31</sup> *Britannica Academic*.

<sup>32</sup> Mazrui, “Tanzaphilia,” 24.

came from inside the university. It had little to do with Nyerere - and it becomes difficult to ascertain whether Mazrui is merely trying to understand Nyerere as a politician or whether he is condemning him. Mazrui's statements do not fully reflect Nyerere's vision and the influences on his rhetoric. Mazrui's critiques suggest that he was speaking for a small number of highly educated East Africans who feared that their voices and expertise would be devalued in Nyerere's system.

In the same year, 1967, an announcement was made by Nyerere that the banks in Tanzania would be nationalized. *Economics and Political Weekly*, an Indian journal, covered the news. In the short article the discussion moved from restrictions on currency exchanges to the effects of a smaller profit margin until finally landing on the question of whether the other East African nations would follow suit. They discussed the "effects of nationalization" in terms of the possible surplus, or profit, which might be repatriated to India.<sup>33</sup> According to the article "it is...unlikely on the whole...that there would be any substantial surplus to be repatriated to India" and that "Indian banks would not stand to lose financially."<sup>34</sup> Rather than negatively affecting the economy of India the article argued that trade between Tanzania and India would diminish, which would impact Tanzania's economy.<sup>35</sup> Yet the article concludes with an assurance to the reading audience, most likely Indian business owners and bankers, that Tanzania has a different economic stance than the other East African nations of Kenya and Uganda. The economies of these other nations "accepts and encourages...dependencies on the skills of non-Africans."<sup>36</sup> It thus appears that the nationalization of the banks in Tanzania was of more importance to India than the article would have us believe. The article was critical of Nyerere's policy as it is in line

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<sup>33</sup> "Takeover of Banks in Tanzania". 1967. "Takeover of Banks in Tanzania". *Economic and Political Weekly* 2 (6). *Economic and Political Weekly*: 353.

<sup>34</sup> "Takeover of Banks in Tanzania," 353.

<sup>35</sup> "Takeover of Banks in Tanzania," 353.

<sup>36</sup> "Takeover of Banks in Tanzania," 353.

with the greater goal of self-reliance, which would impact India's trade with Tanzania and greater East Africa. The journal appears to be against this nationalization because of the impact, however small, it might have on the economy of India. The end of the article backs this up as it finishes with yet another assurance that "what is sauce for the Tanzanian goose is likely to be much less palatable to the other East African ganders."<sup>37</sup>

In another article written by an African scholar from Makerere University College we find the criticism now focused on Nyerere's ideas about socialism. In 1968 Ahmed Mohiddin - a colleague and friend of Mazrui - published "Ujamaa: A Commentary on President Nyerere's Vision of Tanzanian Society."<sup>38</sup> Mohiddin makes it clear in the first paragraph of his article that he is looking only at "Nyerere's ideas on socialism before the Arusha Declaration."<sup>39</sup> This is because the Arusha Declaration, published only a year earlier in 1967, went into greater detail outlining what form this socialism would take and Mohiddin is looking instead at the "theoretical base."<sup>40</sup> In looking at Nyerere's idea of socialism as an 'attitude of mind' Mohiddin refers to those capitalists that become socialist as "social freaks" and makes assumptions about Nyerere's supposed disdain for wealth as "a corrupting influence" without evidence.<sup>41</sup> These early commentaries in the article reveal Mohiddin to be biased against Nyerere on fundamental ideological grounds. In many instances Mohiddin applied a capitalist critique to Nyerere's socialist theory, such as when he questions Nyerere's idea that economic development could be achieved by traditional African values. These values would mean that "every able-bodied

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<sup>37</sup> "Takeover of Banks in Tanzania," 353.

<sup>38</sup> Mohiddin, Ahmed. 1968. "Ujamaa: A Commentary on President Nyerere's Vision of Tanzanian Society". *African Affairs* 67 (267). [Royal African Society, Oxford University Press]: 130-43; Mwapachu, Juma V. "A rich legacy: The life and times of Ali Mazrui." *The Citizen*. Oct 16, 2014. Both Mohiddin and Mazrui hailed from Mombasa and taught at Makerere University College. In the footnotes of the first page of the article Mohiddin acknowledges Mazrui for his encouragement and comments on the paper as well.

<sup>39</sup> Mohiddin, *African Affairs*, 130.

<sup>40</sup> Steele, Murray. 2004. "Tanzania (Tanganyika): Arusha Declaration". In *Encyclopedia of African History*, edited by Kevin Shillington. London: Routledge; Mohiddin, *African Affairs*, 130.

<sup>41</sup> Mohiddin, *African Affairs*, 131.

person” would be put to work.<sup>42</sup> He applied economics concepts of of employment - if everyone was employed then why was there such a “low level of economic development in Africa.”<sup>43</sup> Mohiddin described Nyerere’s view of traditional African society as inherently socialist and is critical of how such a society would fit into the modernizing world if “the traditional African never desired wealth for the purpose of dominating others.”<sup>44</sup> Without the desire to dominate or create capital as there was in the West there would be little chance for development to occur on the same scale, even with a ‘fully employed populace.’ This is because “the traditional economy was not geared to surplus production, and hence there was no room for the substantial economic development normally associated with countries that do plan for surplus production.”<sup>45</sup> Mohiddin adds that “to survive today...modern African states must bring about rapid economic development.”<sup>46</sup> Mohiddin’s article then goes on to discuss whether the claims that Nyerere bases his ideas of socialism on are in fact valid. Nyerere’s traditional African society was classless.<sup>47</sup> Mohiddin heavily disputes this claim as he says that “very few [African traditional societies] were egalitarian” as they had “strong elements of status and hierarchy.”<sup>48</sup> Through his discussion of classlessness in so-called traditional African societies Mohiddin is criticising, if not correcting or undermining, the foundation of Nyerere’s socialism. According to Mohiddin the “unrestrained idealism” that colors Nyerere’s view of socialism would later be disillusioned by reality.<sup>49</sup> Mohiddin’s critique revealed an alternative imagining of Africa in which the priority was development rather than equality, as it was in Nyerere’s.

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<sup>42</sup> Mohiddin, *African Affairs*, 132.

<sup>43</sup> Mohiddin, *African Affairs*, 132.

<sup>44</sup> Mohiddin, *African Affairs*, 132.

<sup>45</sup> Mohiddin, *African Affairs*, 133.

<sup>46</sup> Mohiddin, *African Affairs*, 133.

<sup>47</sup> Mohiddin, *African Affairs*, 136.

<sup>48</sup> Mohiddin, *African Affairs*, 136.

<sup>49</sup> Mohiddin, *African Affairs*, 137.

If we now turn our attention to the Western scholars who were, according to Mazrui, under the “romantic spell which Tanzania casts.”<sup>50</sup> An open-minded review of several of Julius Nyerere’s speeches and writings was attempted by Hal Mettrick, a British economic-agriculturalist who worked in various parts of East Africa throughout his life.<sup>51</sup> Mettrick calls Nyerere articulate and says that “his philosophy [is] probably more clearly [set out] than any other African leader.”<sup>52</sup> In his review Mettrick sets out to discuss the foreign policy Nyerere had continued since independence and how it relates to the economic development of Tanzania. Nyerere practiced a form of non-alignment called positive neutrality, which meant that Tanzania was not aligned with any of the so-called super powers in the United States or the Soviet Union. Mettrick points out that Nyerere’s principles - his commitment to African unity and self-determination - are “more applicable to Tanzania’s foreign policy than [they are] to most.”<sup>53</sup> It is because of principle that foreign aid was less available to Tanzania than it was to other African nations that were willing to make adjustments to their domestic policies in order to obtain said aid. Since Tanzania did not rely on foreign aid - even if it were more readily available to become dependent foreign aid was against the principle of self-reliance that played so heavily on Nyerere’s domestic policies as well - Mettrick says there is “more concentration on rural development, particularly agriculture” which requires the support of the people to make successful.<sup>54</sup> According to Mettrick this is why Western scholars, specifically those in Britain,

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<sup>50</sup> Mazrui, “Tanzaphilia,” 20.

<sup>51</sup> Mettrick, Hal. 1969. Review of *Tanzania Policy on Foreign Affairs; After the Arusha Declaration; Principles and Development; the Honour of Africa; the Arusha Declaration and Tanu's Policy on Socialism and Self-reliance; Socialism and Rural Development; Education for Self-reliance; Arusha Declaration: Answers to Questions; Speech by the President, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, on Independence Day Anniversary, December 9th 1967*. *African Affairs* 68 (271). [Royal African Society, Oxford University Press]: 169–72.

<sup>52</sup> Mettrick, *African Affairs*, 169.

<sup>53</sup> Mettrick, *African Affairs*, 170.

<sup>54</sup> Mettrick, *African Affairs*, 171-2.

have an interest in Tanzania, in contrast to Mazrui's claims: they wanted to see how such an experiment turns out. They were curious.

Yet another review of Nyerere's writings, this time his essays on Ujamaa, in 1970 from James Barber, an American political scientist, focused on the 'socialist experiment' that Tanzania was for the Western world.<sup>55</sup> Barber "proposed that politicians' personalities could -- and should -- be analyzed."<sup>56</sup> He focused on how Nyerere viewed his own form of socialism. Barber argued that Nyerere views socialism not as a philosophical speculation, but as a "path...to steady development."<sup>57</sup> Nyerere uses socialist literature not as a guidebook, but as one component of a greater whole. The biggest piece was the African environment. Where Mohiddin viewed Nyerere's idealism of the traditional African society as a handicap to finding a plan for development Barber asserted that it was a purposeful "idealised view" meant "to help [stimulate] future development."<sup>58</sup> By mixing in this idealization with practical suggestions Nyerere is able to inspire his people, the main force behind his socialist policies. Barber asserts that Nyerere's writings will eventually enhance both his own reputation as well as humanity.

In this early period of his career Julius Nyerere is more heavily criticized by his fellow Africans than by Western scholars. This is due in no small part to the "mystique that Nyerere has had for Western intellectuals" which Mazrui discusses. There is obviously some bias in Nyerere's favor from both Mettrick and Barber which we can see in the lack of criticism, constructive or otherwise. It is also notable that while Barber heaps praise on Nyerere as "a major figure of African politics" Mettrick acknowledges that Nyerere's policies do negatively impact Tanzania's economics when he says that "Tanzania has suffered economically for her

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<sup>55</sup> Barber, James. 1970. Review of *Freedom and Socialism/uhuru Na Ujamaa: A Selection from Writings and Speeches, 1965-1967.; Ujamaa-essays on Socialism.. International Affairs (royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 46 (1). [Wiley, Royal Institute of International Affairs]: 193-94.

<sup>56</sup> Lawrence, Keith. "Presidential Scholar James David Barber Dies at Age 74." *Duke Today*. Sept. 13, 2004.

<sup>57</sup> Barber, *International Affairs*, 194.

<sup>58</sup> Barber, *International Affairs*, 194.

principles” which he establishes as Nyerere’s stance on foreign policy.<sup>59</sup> Two Kenyan scholars, Mazrui and Mohiddin, and an Indian journal appear to be biased against Nyerere due to their own preference for either intellectual superiority or the economic benefits of capitalism.

### **Western Opinions Dominate in the 1970s**

In the previous section the sources discussed were reacting or challenging the rhetoric of Julius Nyerere without going into his specific actions or events within Tanzania that related to the speeches, pamphlets, and essays. The first source for this section does. “Socialism in Africa: The Tanzanian Experience” was written by James Kariuki and published in 1973.<sup>60</sup> The article focuses predominantly on the Arusha Declaration by discussing key events in Tanzanian politics which led to the declaration’s creation and the specific actions Nyerere took after the declaration to implement the expressed goals.

The first focus of the article is Nyerere’s principles, something several scholars from the previous section noted as his primary basis for foreign diplomacy. Rather than merely stating this Kariuki explains why these principles are so important and how they came to be formed from early experiences in Tanzania’s political history. The early foreign aid that Tanzanyika received created a reliance that “led to a mountain of frustrations” and the leaders in Tanzania came to believe that “to base [their] economy on foreign investment [was] a serious mistake.”<sup>61</sup> Kariuki then discussed how the unification of Tanzanyika and Zanzibar led to a merging of their foreign policies - specifically their different stances on West and East Germany at the time - to avoid either nation appearing “hegemonic.”<sup>62</sup> The response of West Germany forced Nyerere to make

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<sup>59</sup> Barber, *International Affairs*, 194; Mettrick, *African Affairs*, 170.

<sup>60</sup> Kariuki, James N.. 1973. “Socialism in Africa : The Tanzanian Experience / LE SOCIALISME EN AFRIQUE : L'EXPERIENCE TANZANIENNE”. *Civilisations* 23/24. Institut de Sociologie de l'Université de Bruxelles: 31–50.

<sup>61</sup> Kariuki, “Socialism in Africa,” 32; Kariuki is quoting Mohamed Babu, the Minister of Commerce and Co-operatives in Tanzania when this was written. “We...came to the conclusion that to base our economy on foreign investment is a serious mistake.”

<sup>62</sup> Kariuki, “Socialism in Africa,” 33.

a decision - to allow foreign powers to dictate policy within Tanzania for the sake of aid or to stand on the principles that he and Tanzania would become known for. He chose principle and this colored his decisions for all future foreign relations; Tanzania would not be bullied.

The Arusha Declaration is the next piece of Tanzanian policy that Kariuki chooses to focus on and it is a commonly criticized domestic document.<sup>63</sup> While the Declaration was considered by some to be an emotional document on Nyerere's part Kariuki argued that it was a well-thought out response to events in Tanzania - the attempted military revolt and the student protest to the National Service program are the two that Kariuki focuses specifically.<sup>64</sup> The military revolt was inspired by a desire for higher salaries and speedier Africanization, which were certainly anti-socialist aims and in direct opposition with Nyerere's vision for his nation.<sup>65</sup> This led to an increase in government control of the trade union and the integration of the military in TANU.<sup>66</sup> The 1966 complaint by Dar-es-Salaam students was equally anti-socialist and met with a strong reaction from Nyerere. The National Service program was intended to create a "fraternal attitude" and remind graduates of the privilege they received from the sacrifices of the rural communities.<sup>67</sup> The students' protest only fueled Nyerere, proving his point as it were, and he reacted in a disciplinary manner - expelling 393 students.<sup>68</sup> He also responded to the students' complaint about "highly paid government and party officials" by cutting said salaries by up to fifteen percent and cutting his own by twenty.<sup>69</sup> After these events the Arusha Declaration was

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<sup>63</sup> This can be seen in the criticism from early scholars, Mazrui and Mohiddin, and in the *New York Times* editorial that Kariuki takes apart from 1967 on pages 38-39.

<sup>64</sup> Kariuki, "Socialism in Africa," 35 - 38.

<sup>65</sup> Kariuki, "Socialism in Africa," 35.

<sup>66</sup> Kariuki, "Socialism in Africa," 36.

<sup>67</sup> Kariuki, "Socialism in Africa," 37. This is in reference to the fact that all citizens paid taxes towards the schools these graduates were taught in.

<sup>68</sup> Kariuki, "Socialism in Africa," 38.

<sup>69</sup> Kariuki, "Socialism in Africa," 38.

meant to “[emphasize] the need to obtain leaders who were concerned about the nation as a whole, not only themselves.”<sup>70</sup>

Karioki then turned to education initiatives and ujamaa for the remainder of the article. Tanzania received its education system from the British and Nyerere believed that the system “emphasized academic pursuits and a corresponding disdain for manual labor.”<sup>71</sup> Karioki believed that the system “was based upon the Darwinian theory of survival of the fittest.”<sup>72</sup> This created a sense of superiority amongst the students who rose through the levels. Critical of the system, just as Nyerere was, Karioki said that it focused on “things that were of little actual value or relevance to [the rural-based population of Tanzania].”<sup>73</sup> This is why Nyerere shifted that system through education initiatives that focused on practical training that supported his policies on self-reliance. This fed directly into the ujamaa villages - which were aimed at creating a collective living situation that would “provide social quality and security familiar to traditional African societies.”<sup>74</sup> A system of incentives was established, priority for social works projects for instance, which encouraged the creation and continued vitality of ujamaa villages.<sup>75</sup> In the article Karioki makes the point that the same close-knit community within these villages that created security for the population in case of illness or disaster could also lead to social “evils” such as gossip and paranoia or increase the spread of disease.<sup>76</sup> This shows that Karioki was able to view Nyerere’s policies in a critical manner, but even so his bias towards the Leader showed through.

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<sup>70</sup> Karioki, “Socialism in Africa,” 38.

<sup>71</sup> Karioki, “Socialism in Africa,” 43.

<sup>72</sup> Karioki, “Socialism in Africa,” 42.

<sup>73</sup> Karioki, “Socialism in Africa,” 43.

<sup>74</sup> Karioki, “Socialism in Africa,” 44.

<sup>75</sup> Karioki, “Socialism in Africa,” 45-6.

<sup>76</sup> Karioki, “Socialism in Africa,” 76.

Karioki was biased in favor of Nyerere; this was obvious from the beginning of the article. It was apparent in certain phrases and tonal changes within the article. In an abstract for his book, *Tanzania's Human Revolution*, Karioki was called a “self-confessed Tanzophile.”<sup>77</sup> His defense of Nyerere against Western critics, which was seen in his ripping of a *New York Times* editorial, was evidence of that bias. This same defense is seen in later publications, such as the aforementioned book, where he contradicted or corrected several African scholars, including Mazrui and Mohiddin who were discussed early in this paper.<sup>78</sup> It was further shown in his conclusion where he admits to being a supporter of Tanzanian socialism and states that he “[remains] convinced that Tanzania is where she is because Julius Nyerere is who he is.”<sup>79</sup> This obvious and admitted bias means that Karioki’s article must be viewed critically - while he may bring up many good points, he may also omit the things which would counter his positive opinions of Nyerere and Tanzanian socialism.

In 1970 an expanded edition of *Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development* by Henry Bienen, an American scholar, was released.<sup>80</sup> In general the book discussed TANU’s position within first Tanganyika and later Tanzania, focusing on how the group was organized and how it may have influenced economic development. A major argument that Bienen brought up was that Tanzania did not accurately fit into preconceived models used for developing nations at the time.<sup>81</sup> He pointed out that “the images which these typologies convey are essentially misleading.”<sup>82</sup> This paper will focus on the sections of this book in

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<sup>77</sup> Karioki, James N. *Tanzania's Human Revolution*. University Park, Pa. and London: Pennsylvania State University Press: 1979. 229

<sup>78</sup> Karioki, *Tanzania's Human Revolution*, 88, 170-175.

<sup>79</sup> Karioki, “Socialism in Africa,” 47.

<sup>80</sup> Bienen, Henry. *Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development*. Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ, 1970.

<sup>81</sup> Bienen, 4 and 450.

<sup>82</sup> Bienen, 4.

chapter five which discussed Nyerere's input and connections to TANU, specifically his ideology and political presence.<sup>83</sup>

Bienen brought up the "battle of ideas" which was taking place within TANU over whether Nyerere's ideas would facilitate the necessary development in Tanzania.<sup>84</sup> The unorganized groups within TANU were split on the kind of socialism which they believed would be effective - scientific socialism was a popular branch among Zanzibaris and many middle-level leaders in Tanzania, whereas Nyerere preached a type of African socialism that he thought would "retain the bonds of [the] traditional community" without "[conflicting] with economic development and social change."<sup>85</sup> These varying opinions are expected in organizations like TANU because of its lack of institutionalized rhetoric, yet TANU was often recognized only for the ideas of Nyerere, as if they were the same.<sup>86</sup> This appears to frustrate Bienen who goes on in the chapter to discuss the fact that for the sake of unity Nyerere was not contradicted or challenged in public.<sup>87</sup> In Bienen's opinion this meant that there was no dialogue occurring in Tanzania; that it could not occur under such restriction.<sup>88</sup> This was a major critique of Nyerere, painting him not as the teacher many saw him as but more as an overprotective or controlling father figure. This chapter is not a critique of Nyerere though; it is a discussion on the difference between ideology and reality. Bienen pointed out that "neither the programs...nor the definitions of TANU" were completely based on Nyerere's ideals; "new streams of thought" from divergent opinions like those of the Zanzibari ministers of the Dar-es-Salaam mid-level leaders impacted both the causes and the effects of changes in Tanzania.<sup>89</sup> An example later in the chapter is the

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<sup>83</sup> Bienen, 203-238.

<sup>84</sup> Bienen, 203.

<sup>85</sup> Bienen, 203-204.

<sup>86</sup> Bienen, 204-205.

<sup>87</sup> Bienen, 206-207.

<sup>88</sup> Bienen, 207.

<sup>89</sup> Bienen, 212 & 208.

first Five Year Plan which was created before Tanganyika merged with Zanzibar and implemented after.<sup>90</sup> The Zanzibaris who took over several key economic ministries interpreted, and implemented, the plan in a way contrary to the original design.<sup>91</sup> Bienen refers to the Zanzibaris rhetoric as “Stalinist in style and content” - An approach that Nyerere has at times condemned.<sup>92</sup> Throughout the book Bienen stops short of criticizing Nyerere. He instead focused on how Nyerere and his ideas interacted with the realities of Tanzania. It makes him appear almost unbiased.

The next source is an analysis from 1976 of how Nyerere as a philosopher influenced Nyerere as a leader written by James D. Graham, another American scholar - “Julius Nyerere: A Contemporary Philosopher-Statesman.”<sup>93</sup> He was fairly positive throughout his discussion of Nyerere’s socialist-humanist philosophy. Graham focused on explaining and analyzing two collections of Nyerere’s writing and speeches - *Freedom and Development* and *Man and Development* - published in 1973 and 1974. Many of the ideals of Nyerere that Graham brings up have already been brought up in this paper: democracy, socialism, equality. They are the same as his political ideals from Pratt’s chapter in the first section. The new publications that Graham was looking at were aimed at “clarifying these fundamental concepts.”<sup>94</sup> Pan-Africanism was the primary lens that Graham choose to view these clarifications. He saw Pan-Africanism as one of the three pillars in Nyerere’s philosophical framework.<sup>95</sup> The other two being non-alignment and ujamaa - which Kariuki discussed in his article from the beginning of this section. Pan-Africanism was to “be based on humanist principles” that allowed “for national self-

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<sup>90</sup> Bienen, 221.

<sup>91</sup> Bienen, 221.

<sup>92</sup> Bienen, 221.

<sup>93</sup> Graham, James D.. 1976. “Julius Nyerere: A Contemporary Philosopher-statesman”. Review of *Freedom and Development/uhuru Na Maendeleo: A Selection of Writings and Speeches, 1968-1973; Man and Development/binadamu Na Maendeleo. Africa Today* 23 (4). Indiana University Press: 67–73.

<sup>94</sup> Graham, “Philosopher-Statesman,” 68.

<sup>95</sup> Graham, “Philosopher-Statesman,” 68.

determination.”<sup>96</sup> This was because self-determination was central to Nyerere’s thoughts - a major point where his philosophical pillars and his political ideals converged. In his own words Nyerere said that “people cannot be developed; they can only develop themselves.”<sup>97</sup> On an individual level this may be true, but Graham noted that this self-determination required self-discipline and that the realities of the ujamaa village were not reflecting that.<sup>98</sup> This was the only major criticism Graham had throughout the article. The remainder of the fairly short article focused on a close reading of Nyerere’s philosophical outlook - his views on capitalist development and its interaction with socialism - and the need to look at said outlook as background for his politics “not a substitute” for them.<sup>99</sup> This is a criticism of previous academics for focusing only on Nyerere’s ideology rather than considering the realities of Tanzania in tandem with those ideologies.

Our next two sources come from the same book - *Tanzania and Nyerere*.<sup>100</sup> This book was published in 1976, at the same time as Graham’s article. William Redman Duggan wrote the first half of the the book and said that he had known Nyerere for two decades at the time.<sup>101</sup> This gives an established bias. This paper will look first at the fifth and sixth chapters where Duggan attempted to explain the sources of Nyerere’s influences, how they correlated to his ideals and decisions, and to the makeup of TANU as it related to Nyerere.<sup>102</sup> While the fifth chapter is mostly biographical in nature it established that Nyerere’s pre-political influences were

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<sup>96</sup> Graham, “Philosopher-Statesman,” 71.

<sup>97</sup> Graham, “Philosopher-Statesman,” 70. This is an excerpt from a longer quote. Please see Notes for the whole quote.

<sup>98</sup> Graham, “Philosopher-Statesman,” 70.

<sup>99</sup> Graham, “Philosopher-Statesman,” 73.

<sup>100</sup> Duggan, William Redman and John R. Civile. *Tanzania and Nyerere: A Study of Ujamaa and Nationhood*. Orbis Books: New York, 1976.

<sup>101</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 42

<sup>102</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 42-59.

American Catholic missionaries and African nationalists.<sup>103</sup> In it Duggan asserts that Nyerere “gained pragmatism with political responsibility” unlike other idealists of Nyerere’s caliber.<sup>104</sup> Nyerere’s philosophy was distilled “from the world’s great thinkers and writers.”<sup>105</sup> Previously Duggan had mentioned that Nyerere had “taken some political meaning and lessons both from President John Kennedy and Chairman Mao Tse-Tung - probably in equal parts.”<sup>106</sup> This is similar to an idea expressed by Graham in his article about Nyerere having “read more widely and [formulated] his thoughts more creatively than any other living head of state, except Mao Tse-tung.”<sup>107</sup> This reflects a connection between Tanzania and China made by many scholars, and by Tanzania’s foreign aid. Nyerere’s determination to create a non-communist socialism within Tanzania, and to specify the distinction in many of his writings, may be related to this connection.

In Duggan’s next chapter he defended TANU from criticisms about being non-democratic. He made the point that “the number of parties in a nation [was] no proper measurement of democracy.”<sup>108</sup> The argument he goes on to make is focused on explaining the importance of TANU’s role, including “the restoration of the Tanganyikans’ confidence.”<sup>109</sup> Most of the chapter was then focused on the necessity for loyalty within TANU - comparing both a loyal and disloyal party member in Rashidi Kawawa and Oscar Kambona respectively.<sup>110</sup> In general Duggan did not make many assertions, instead he referred back to opinions from Nyerere

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<sup>103</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 49.

<sup>104</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 43. Duggan specifically compared Nyerere to Adlai Stevenson, most likely referring to a U.S. Senator at the time from Illinois.

<sup>105</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 50.

<sup>106</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 49.

<sup>107</sup> Graham, “Philosopher-Statesman,” 73.

<sup>108</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 52.

<sup>109</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 54.

<sup>110</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 55.

and other Tanzanian leaders. This is an excellent method to appear unbiased, but his descriptions of Nyerere's lieutenants showed him to favor those that were 'loyal' to Nyerere's direction.

The second half of the *Tanzania and Nyerere* is written by John R. Civile, who was slightly more critical of Nyerere in the chapters that this paper will focus on which discussed political policies in Tanzania.<sup>111</sup> The sixteenth chapter defined the ujamaa system as equal in opportunity versus equal in outcome as it relied on people participating or fulfilling their duties to society.<sup>112</sup> Civile later asserts that "a developing country's poverty forces it to limit some personal rights" in order to maintain balance within the country "lest the whole society collapse."<sup>113</sup> These two conflicting aspects - the desire for equality and the restrictions on individuals - are "integral in the policies of Ujamaa socialism."<sup>114</sup> While Civile was critical of the practice of restricting freedom of speech he used Nyerere's own justification for imprisoning dissenters to discuss the issue.<sup>115</sup> The restrictions were meant to maintain balance as the nation struggled to achieve equality without losing the nation unity it had obtained from independence.<sup>116</sup> This showed a more neutral bias than Duggan had earlier in the book, but it is still a positive bias.

Civile also tried to explain and defend Nyerere's judgement for why capitalism was not a suitable system for Tanzania. He said that it "could not be developed in Tanzania without foreign money and expertise."<sup>117</sup> Several previous sources already noted that Nyerere was against relying heavily on foreign aid - financially or otherwise. This fear of "foreign domination" is

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<sup>111</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 181-198.

<sup>112</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 181.

<sup>113</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 183-184.

<sup>114</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 186.

<sup>115</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 183-4.

<sup>116</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 183-184.

<sup>117</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 190.

what led to nationalization.<sup>118</sup> That same fear was likely why criticism of Tanzania's one-party system was so quickly defended against, both by Nyerere and other scholars. In 1965 when the one-party system was constitutionalized there was an election, the results of which were held up "as an expression of the freedom of the people" because half of the seats in parliament were lost by incumbents.<sup>119</sup> Civile's discussion of this election ended with a statement that "TANU [was] the real center of power and decisions."<sup>120</sup> This continued Civile's neutral positivity towards Nyerere as it praised TANU as a potential vehicle for criticizing the government.

There is a wide mix of academic bias in this section. The Western scholars appear to have a mix of positive bias and neutral positivity, which may be evidence of a transition towards more critical and negative thoughts as international tensions permeate into academic opinions. This was evident particularly in the Graham and Civile texts. At the same time the African scholars are strangely silent - very few sources came up during this time frame, likely due to severed ties and wars amongst the East African states that had previously produced scholars like Mazrui and Mohiddin. Kariuki discussed the opinions of other scholars, both in his book and in the article analyzed, but does not respond to any recent African academic criticism. This may reflect the changes made to education systems at the time as the East African nations developed their own curriculums and universities to replace the Western colonial schools. At the most it shows a distinct lack of interest in Nyerere from African scholars at the time.

### **The End of Nyerere's Presidency**

By the end of Julius Nyerere's presidency in 1985, and in the half decade after, the most representative works on Tanzania reflected a more intense question of Nyerere's starting premises. These years were marked by a general embrace of the Chicago school of economics

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<sup>118</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 194.

<sup>119</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 195.

<sup>120</sup> Duggan and Civile, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 196.

and a worldwide political turn away from socialist ideas and policies. The first two sources are from American scholars writing before Nyerere's decision to step down. The remaining four are articles published in the 1988 anthology collected by Michael Hodd after Nyerere's departure from the presidency.

Steven Metz was an American scholar who published a critical examination of African socialism through a comparison of the ideas of Julius Nyerere and his contemporary Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana.<sup>121</sup> He referred to Nkrumah and Nyerere as the "founding fathers of African socialism."<sup>122</sup> "Socialism was a goal to be sought rather than an extant condition" in both the leaders' views.<sup>123</sup> There was not such agreement on how that goal should be sought. Nyerere's style of socialism was meant to be "an attitude of mind rather than an institutional structure" as Nkrumah's advocated.<sup>124</sup> Metz discussed at length that Nyerere's socialism "placed greater emphasis on the mental aspects," on the ethical element, as it was reliant on the discipline and desires of each individual.<sup>125</sup> The values that Nyerere emphasized "[did] not correspond to the life experience of Tanzanians" though, and this was because "the myth of communal Africa" was used "to generate a desire to transcend an unhappy present."<sup>126</sup> Metz was calling Nyerere's 'traditional African society' rhetoric; it was meant only to inspire and was not a reflection of the true Tanzania.

The paper ended with Metz attempting to classify the leaders' styles of socialism in terms of their orthodoxy, their connection to Marxism. Nyerere was the less orthodox, almost

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<sup>121</sup> Metz, Steven. "In Lieu of Orthodoxy: The Socialist Theories of Nkrumah and Nyerere," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. Vol 20, No. 3 (Sep., 1982): 377-392.

<sup>122</sup> Metz, "Nkrumah and Nyerere," 378.

<sup>123</sup> Metz, "Nkrumah and Nyerere," 379.

<sup>124</sup> Metz, "Nkrumah and Nyerere," 388.

<sup>125</sup> Metz, "Nkrumah and Nyerere," 389.

<sup>126</sup> Metz, "Nkrumah and Nyerere," 381.

uncategorizable.<sup>127</sup> While the paper was mostly comparative it also tried to look critically at the situations in both Ghana and Tanzania. In terms of Tanzania he openly asserted what previous critics had danced around - Nyerere's goals did not translate into reality.

The Nicholas Horton article "Tanzania: Does Father Know Best?" from 1983 made that same assertion, with harsher language and a more critical perspective.<sup>128</sup> Horton did praise Nyerere in the beginning of his article in his brief overview of the results of Tanzania's education initiatives: increased literacy rates and primary education attendance.<sup>129</sup> Horton, however, then turned to economics where he criticized Nyerere's policies for "spreading poverty rather than alleviating it."<sup>130</sup> Primary to this analysis was the role of ujamaa villages and foreign aid. Foreign entities withdrew support from the villagization initiative when they saw results that had only one in five villages becoming self-sustaining on the proposed timetables.<sup>131</sup> This was the norm for many of the development initiatives in Tanzania which consistently fell short of the goal of a self-sufficient Tanzania that Nyerere had set.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Metz, "Nkrumah and Nyerere," 391.

<sup>128</sup> Horton, Nicholas. "Tanzania: Does Father Know Best?" *Harvard International Review*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Dec, 1983): 38-40.

<sup>129</sup> Horton, "Does Father Know Best?" 38.

<sup>130</sup> Horton, "Does Father Know Best?" 38.

<sup>131</sup> Horton, "Does Father Know Best?" 38.

<sup>132</sup> Horton, "Does Father Know Best?" 39.

Horton ended with the argument that Nyerere's reputation at home and abroad was declining as issues became more prominent. There was opposition to his policies, refugees seeking asylum away from Tanzania, and a dissenter hijacked a plane to make a point.<sup>133</sup> Nyerere was eroding his own principles as he began to compromise with the International Monetary Fund, whose conditions for aid and advice he had previously refused to agree with.<sup>134</sup> As an outsider looking in on Tanzania Horton's perspective is limited, and his negative bias is evident from his tone and word choice throughout the paper, yet his highly critical analysis was well supported with statistics and facts.<sup>135</sup>



Yet, there were still some authors whose assessments did not place such a high value on economic indicators. Published in Hodd's *Tanzania After Nyerere* Colin Legum, a South African journalist, looked at how Tanzania developed during the years in which Nyerere led the nation.<sup>136</sup> Legum asserted that the economy of Tanzania in these period was "people-centered" and not "finance-centered" as other societies tended to have.<sup>137</sup> This was one of many factors that led to the "unbroken success" of development in the first fifteen years of independence.<sup>138</sup> The bulk of the article analyzed what factors did and did not impact the economic decline after 1977. The theory presented was Nyerere's, which postulated that the instability of the international economy along with population growth and failed policies were what led to the

<sup>133</sup> Horton, "Does Father Know Best?" 39.

<sup>134</sup> Horton, "Does Father Know Best?" 40.

<sup>135</sup> Image: Julius Nyerere in 1985. William F. Campbell—Time Life Pictures/Getty Images

<sup>136</sup> Legum, Colin. "The Nyerere Years." *Tanzania After Nyerere*. Edited by Hodd, Michael. Pinter Publishers: New York, 1988: 3-11.

<sup>137</sup> Legum, "The Nyerere Years," 3.

<sup>138</sup> Legum, "The Nyerere Years," 5.

decline.<sup>139</sup> Legum presented Nyerere's explanation with a tone of agreement, he went so far as to call the explanation a "rational analysis."<sup>140</sup> He then went on to discuss myths associated with failures in Tanzania's economy regarding foreign aid, food production, and the villagization program.<sup>141</sup> Throughout the article Legum referred back to Nyerere's own opinions and consistently praised him. In his conclusion he cited Nyerere's adherence to "quiet and patient diplomacy" over military action in the unification of Zanzibar with Tanganyika.<sup>142</sup> The article kept a positive position on Nyerere throughout the discussion. This showed Legum's bias as an exiled African scholar. He defended Nyerere against criticism.

An interesting source from this period is "Nyerere's Political Legacy" from Haroub Othman, a Tanzanian academic from Zanzibar, who was looking specifically at events and outcomes that would be important to Nyerere's long-term legacy.<sup>143</sup> Othman went through several categories to look critically at the impact Nyerere had on socialism, party creation, national unity, effectiveness of the state, et cetera. Othman both praised and criticized Nyerere in these categories. This paper will look at what Othman said about socialism, national unity, and party creation as they are the three areas most widely discussed in the others sources as well.

TANU is where Othman began. Nyerere did not want the national organization from the independence movement to change in structure after independence.<sup>144</sup> Othman makes the point that the ruling party of Tanzania, even after the 1977 merging with the Afro-Shirazi party from Zanzibar, "remained unchanged" as a "mass organization" until 1982 when the constitution

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<sup>139</sup> Legum, "The Nyerere Years," 6-7.

<sup>140</sup> Legum, "The Nyerere Years," 6.

<sup>141</sup> Legum, "The Nyerere Years," 8-9.

<sup>142</sup> Legum, "The Nyerere Years," 11.

<sup>143</sup> Othman, Haroub. "Nyerere's Political Legacy." *Tanzania After Nyerere*. Edited by Hodd, Michael. Pinter Publishers: New York, 1988: 158-164.

<sup>144</sup> Othman, "Nyerere's Political Legacy," 159.

made membership more stringent.<sup>145</sup> This analysis showed that Nyerere's impact on the party creation was strong but in the long-term he had much less influence over how the party grew. Othman did say that it was Nyerere's influence that created the highly political and unified population of Tanzania.<sup>146</sup> Tanzania was not divided by religion or ethnicity because of the environment that Nyerere had created.<sup>147</sup> In regards to socialism, however, Othman says that "neither in 1967 [when Tanzania declared its intention to create a socialist society] nor now twenty years after has Tanzania become a socialist state."<sup>148</sup> This is despite Nyerere's push for socialism both in discussion and in policy.<sup>149</sup> This all showed that Nyerere's influence fluctuated from sphere to sphere, which is the main point of Othman's paper.

As a Tanzanian academic Othman had a unique perspective to understand the effects of Nyerere's leadership. In his conclusion he said that future leaders would be compared to Nyerere.<sup>150</sup> While Othman did criticize Nyerere as much as he praised him there was still a subtle positive bias as he held Nyerere up as an example, someone who leaders would strive to be like.

The final source for this section is Jeannette Hartmann's "President Nyerere and the State."<sup>151</sup> Hartmann is a European scholar who at the time of writing the paper taught at the University of Dar es Salaam.<sup>152</sup> Hartmann began with praise for Nyerere by saying that he had achieved political stability in Tanzania.<sup>153</sup> This was the only praise she had for him though as she then called him a dictator who had failed "to create and consolidate a system to safeguard his

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<sup>145</sup> Othman, "Nyerere's Political Legacy," 159-160.

<sup>146</sup> Othman, "Nyerere's Political Legacy," 161.

<sup>147</sup> Othman, "Nyerere's Political Legacy," 160-161.

<sup>148</sup> Othman, "Nyerere's Political Legacy," 161.

<sup>149</sup> Othman, "Nyerere's Political Legacy," 161.

<sup>150</sup> Othman, "Nyerere's Political Legacy," 164.

<sup>151</sup> Hartmann, Jeannette. "President Nyerere and the State." Hodd, Michael. *Tanzania After Nyerere*. Pinter Publishers: New York, 1988: 165-174.

<sup>152</sup> Hodd, Michael. *Tanzania After Nyerere*. Pinter Publishers: New York, 1988: viii. Contributors page.

<sup>153</sup> Hartmann, "President Nyerere and the State," 165.

achievements.”<sup>154</sup> The bulk of the article was about the role of the president within the Tanzanian system. Hartmann referred to the president as a “coordinating mechanism” between the party (TANU) and the state (parliament).<sup>155</sup> This meant that the president was suppose to “modify policy in order to balance conflicting demands and objectives” from both the party and the state.<sup>156</sup> The position created a situation in which policy was constantly changing based on which ‘side’ the president took.<sup>157</sup> Hartmann criticized the position, and Nyerere as the creator and holder of said position, for “policy-instability” and “[destabilizing] the economy” through constant policy changes in regards to and forced implementation of the ujamaa villages.<sup>158</sup>

Hartmann then discussed changes in the constitution made in 1984 which changed the powers of the president and effectively severed the control the position held by splitting it up among three positions.<sup>159</sup> These positions were president, prime minister, and chairman of the party - which was a position that Nyerere held for a short time after his presidency.<sup>160</sup> Many of her comments represented changes in opinions since the sixties from Western scholars who were more positive about Nyerere’s decisions. Some of the early praise for Nyerere was his ability to quickly establish a working government system after independence.<sup>161</sup> This idea that Nyerere’s government system was not constructed on realistic principles does correspond to early African scholars’ opinions, particularly Mohiddin who was cited in the first section as believing Nyerere’s ideas to be too idealistic and unworkable in reality.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Hartmann, “President Nyerere and the State,” 165.

<sup>155</sup> Hartmann, “President Nyerere and the State,” 166-167.

<sup>156</sup> Hartmann, “President Nyerere and the State,” 166.

<sup>157</sup> Hartmann, “President Nyerere and the State,” 167.

<sup>158</sup> Hartmann, “President Nyerere and the State,” 171.

<sup>159</sup> Hartmann, “President Nyerere and the State,” 172.

<sup>160</sup> Hartmann, “President Nyerere and the State,” 172.

<sup>161</sup> Pratt; Barber; Mettrick.

<sup>162</sup> Mohiddin; Mazrui.

Hartmann's article was on the whole a criticism of Nyerere's power as president. It was obvious from her word choice that Hartmann was negatively biased against Nyerere; dictator is a word with some severely negative connotations. While she was a Danish scholar, she did live and teach for some time in Tanzania as a sociologist. This likely led to a more mixed perspective than that of Western scholars who were located in the United States, England, et cetera.

The 1980s are a period where a clear division in bias can be seen amongst academics on the subject of Nyerere. Similar to the 1960s. Yet the division has flipped - now it is the Western scholars criticizing Nyerere and the African scholars praising. This flip may be related to the fact that anti-communist and anti-socialist movements in the west were in full swing. Thus western scholars were less inclined to favor Nyerere, in fact the opposite would have been true. The 1980s were also the period in which the first generation of African-educated scholars from Tanzania was beginning to publish. Before most African scholars were educated purely in the West and not Tanzania, the only East Africans commonly represented were Kenyans like Mazrui. This is likely why more positive bias was seen from African scholars as those from or educated in Tanzanian universities were starting to influence the discussion.

### **Shifting Focus in the 1990s**

The 90s signaled a major change in how Nyerere was regarded. It was the first decade in which he did not hold any official power for any length of time. It was a period where scholars began to look at the long-term impacts Nyerere and his policies had on Tanzania when he was still in power. A focus of most of the academics was the implementation and failure of the ujamaa villages. This topic has found many different arguments and the analyses of them are a strong indicator of bias.

Donatus Komba was a scholar educated in some of the best universities in both Africa and the West.<sup>163</sup> The 1995 anthology *Mwalimu: The Influences of Nyerere* included Komba's paper "Contributions to Rural Development: Ujamaa and Villagisation."<sup>164</sup> The paper was predominantly an overview of how Nyerere's "improvement approach" and "transformation approach" succeeded in terms of rural development.<sup>165</sup> Komba argued that by attempting both at the same time Nyerere put too much pressure on the economy and opened the door for mishandling through dualistic thinking.<sup>166</sup> The discussion on ujamaa and the villages Komba said that it placed "common good above individual good."<sup>167</sup> He was incredibly positive in this discussion, calling the 1975 Ujamaa Villages Act a "resounding success in the creation of village structures."<sup>168</sup> This policy initiative was cited as the primary reason for the jump in 1973, when about 15% of the population lived in ujamaa villages, to 1976, when it was around 90%.<sup>169</sup> Komba did not include any mention of the forced methods of villagization that scholars like James Scott and James Read both discuss in their papers.

Positive bias is evident throughout Komba's paper. Not only in the arguments and evidence that he used, or ignored, but also in the way that he referred to Nyerere as Mwalimu. He argued that the failure of ujamaa villages was the fault of poor implementation and mishandling by lower officials.<sup>170</sup> He refrains from criticising Nyerere at all and praises him often. This all adds up to a preferential bias from Komba.

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<sup>163</sup> *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. Edited by Colin Legum and G.R.V. Mmari. African World Press. Trenton, NJ, 1995. Contributors.

<sup>164</sup> Komba, Donatus. "Contributions to Rural Development: Ujamaa and Villagisation." *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. Edited by Colin Legum and G. R. V. Mmari. African World Press. Trenton, N.J, 1995. 32-45.

<sup>165</sup> Komba, "Rural Development," 34-35.

<sup>166</sup> Komba, "Rural Development," 42, 38-39.

<sup>167</sup> Komba, "Rural Development," 36.

<sup>168</sup> Komba, "Rural Development," 40.

<sup>169</sup> Komba, "Rural Development," 40.

<sup>170</sup> Komba, "Rural Development," 42.

In the same anthology is a paper on “Education for Self-Reliance” by A.G. Ishumi and T.L. Maliyamkono, two professors of education from the University of Dar es Salaam.<sup>171</sup> The article started with an overview of the education system in Tanzania before independence before moving into the early initiatives made by Nyerere. These early policies included racial integration, expansion of secondary education, restructuring of exams, and a change in focus towards a hands-on, experience-based curriculum.<sup>172</sup> These changes were not well-accepted at first or effective on the primary school level because the Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) program encouraged terminal primary education for peasant children.<sup>173</sup> The children of government officials were almost guaranteed a secondary education though and classism permeated many of the complaints.<sup>174</sup> Ishumi and Maliyamkono said that this program was a failure due to “idealistic objectives.”<sup>175</sup> This had become a common criticism of Nyerere by this point.

The paper then moved on to secondary education where it claimed that there were already “falling standards” in 1980, only 10 years after the inauguration of the University of Dar es Salaam.<sup>176</sup> Ishumi and Maliyamkono also expressed their own observations of and frustrations with the lack of academic freedom within Tanzania.<sup>177</sup> They were critical of how Nyerere responded to complaints when he called them a “theoretical exercise.”<sup>178</sup> They also defended him shortly afterwards, saying that it was possible he had “not been briefed” about the secret

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<sup>171</sup> Ishumi, A.G. and T.L. Maliyamkono. “Education for Self-Reliance.” *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. Edited by Colin Legum and G. R. V. Mmari. African World Press. Trenton, N.J, 1995. 46-60.

<sup>172</sup> Ishumi and Maliyamkono, “Education for Self-Reliance,” 49-50.

<sup>173</sup> Ishumi and Maliyamkono, “Education for Self-Reliance,” 53-54.

<sup>174</sup> Ishumi and Maliyamkono, “Education for Self-Reliance,” 54.

<sup>175</sup> Ishumi and Maliyamkono, “Education for Self-Reliance,” 54.

<sup>176</sup> Ishumi and Maliyamkono, “Education for Self-Reliance,” 55.

<sup>177</sup> Ishumi and Maliyamkono, “Education for Self-Reliance,” 56.

<sup>178</sup> Ishumi and Maliyamkono, “Education for Self-Reliance,” 56.

arrests of academics based on their work.<sup>179</sup> The article then ended with a quick summary of Nyerere's "deep influence" on Tanzania.<sup>180</sup>

Ishumi and Maliyamkono were positively neutral in their analysis and discussion. They both criticized, praised, and defended Nyerere, As professors at Dar es Salaam it is assumed that they are biased - if not by their own thoughts and opinions than by the restrictions placed on academic freedom that they mentioned.

James S Read took a more negative view on Nyerere in his paper "Human Rights in Tanzania."<sup>181</sup> He said that "the record is very mixed" on Nyerere in terms of human rights.<sup>182</sup> The primary reason for this was "Nyerere's successive governments found it necessary to deny certain individuals their basic right of personal liberty."<sup>183</sup> Despite Nyerere's ideological perspective on democracy and equality Tanganyika did not adopt a Bill of Rights and it was not until 1984 that Tanzania gave in to popular demand for one.<sup>184</sup> Read gave several examples of Tanzania's position towards human rights - rule of law, union with Zanzibar, personal liberty, deportation, et cetera. The discussion on African socialism was particularly interesting given that he cited "the use of extra-legal, coercive authority" to deny freedom of movement to citizens in order to force millions into collected villages.<sup>185</sup>

Read took a highly critical stance towards Nyerere. Not just on the ujamaa villages, but on other issues like personal liberty. Nyerere, as president, held the executive power to "detain or restrict individuals...without judicial intervention."<sup>186</sup> This "undermined the rule of law" that

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<sup>179</sup> Ishumi and Maliyamkono, "Education for Self-Reliance," 56.

<sup>180</sup> Ishumi and Maliyamkono, "Education for Self-Reliance," 57.

<sup>181</sup> Read, James S. "Human Rights in Tanzania." *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. Edited by Colin Legum and G. R. V. Mmari. African World Press. Trenton, N.J, 1995. 125-145.

<sup>182</sup> Read, "Human Rights in Tanzania," 126.

<sup>183</sup> Read, "Human Rights in Tanzania," 128.

<sup>184</sup> Read, "Human Rights in Tanzania," 128-130.

<sup>185</sup> Read, "Human Rights in Tanzania," 132.

<sup>186</sup> Read, "Human Rights in Tanzania," 136.

Nyerere had promised.<sup>187</sup> Yet despite all of this criticism and apparent negative bias, Read ended by saying that “[Nyerere’s] legacy has effectively enshrined [human] rights in Tanzania.”<sup>188</sup> Read said that the Bill of Rights passed in 1984 was necessary in the “post-Nyerere” Tanzania.<sup>189</sup> This showed that Read did not think it necessary in Nyerere’s time as president. Overall Read is quite negative, but it is a fairly neutral negativity as he also acknowledged many of Nyerere’s strengths and victories in human rights.

The ujamaa villages were a major component of Nyerere’s development plans and opinions have varied from source to source on whether Nyerere was responsible for their failure. James Scott called it “large-scale social engineering” by a “benign and weak state” in his chapter on Tanzania from *Seeing Like A State*.<sup>190</sup> Scott gave a comprehensive overview of the villagization program from its voluntary roots to coercion from officials to the 1975 decision to make it compulsory.<sup>191</sup> The evaluation was relative to other collectivization programs - particularly those in the Soviet Union. It was apparent that Scott viewed the Tanzanian experiment as less violent or destructive and as such was less critical of Nyerere. This was likely because he focused on flaws not in the ideology but in Nyerere’s attitude.<sup>192</sup> It was Scott’s argument that the coercion period was a result of “Nyerere’s underlying conviction that the peasants did not know what was good for them.”<sup>193</sup> This was as far as Scott’s criticism of

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<sup>187</sup> Read, “Human Rights in Tanzania,” 136, 133.

<sup>188</sup> Read, “Human Rights in Tanzania,” 144.

<sup>189</sup> Read, “Human Rights in Tanzania,” 144.

<sup>190</sup> Scott, James. “Compulsory Villagization in Tanzania: Aesthetics and Miniaturization” in *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. Yale University Press: New Haven, 1998. 223.

<sup>191</sup> Scott, “Compulsory Villagization in Tanzania,” 231-234.

<sup>192</sup> Scott, “Compulsory Villagization in Tanzania,” 231.

<sup>193</sup> Scott, “Compulsory Villagization in Tanzania,” 231.

Nyerere went. He viewed villagization in Tanzania as “less destructive than the theory.”<sup>194</sup> In general Scott was fairly neutral in his analysis, with his negative bias appearing subtly.

Scott and Read show a shift from the overly-negative Western bias of the anti-socialist 80s. This is likely because the fanaticism was waning with the weakening of the Soviet Union. Scott’s book was even published the same year as the Fall of the Berlin Wall. At the same time the African scholars - Komba, Ishumi, Maliyamkono - were continuing on their positive trend as the influence of living and working in Tanzania curved their opinions towards a preferential opinion.

### **After Thoughts**

Julius Nyerere died on October 13th of 1999. While opinions had begun to shift to view him more positively in the year after he left office it is notable that after his death even his critics revered him. Three years after his death an anthology was put together after a conference commemorating Nyerere’s legacy by David McDonald and Eunice Njeri Sahle. In it scholars from around the world discussed his policies of self-reliance and education reform, amongst other legacies.

The Kenyan novelist Ngugi wa Thiong’o wrote “The Politics of Self-Reliance: Julius Nyerere and the Asmara Declaration” in regards to Nyerere’s commitment to the preservation of African languages.<sup>195</sup> He connected the preservation of the languages to the preservation of traditional African society.<sup>196</sup> In his discussion they connect to a desire to return to pre-colonial roots that is the basis for African unity and shared communities.<sup>197</sup> His bias was thus quite

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<sup>194</sup> Scott, “Compulsory Villagization in Tanzania,” 247.

<sup>195</sup> Thiong’o, Ngugi wa. “The Politics of Self-Reliance.” *The Legacies of Julius Nyerere: Influences on Development Discourse and Practice in Africa*. Edited by David McDonald and Eunice Njeri Sahle. African World Press: Trenton, NJ, 2002. 1-13.

<sup>196</sup> Thiong’o, “The Politics of Self-Reliance,” 7.

<sup>197</sup> Thiong’o, “The Politics of Self-Reliance,” 7, 10.

positive as he praised Nyerere's opinions on self-reliance and preservation of the Swahili language to be in line with his own political aims.

In the later chapter "Julius Nyerere's Critical Education Thought" by Eunice Njeri Sahle about Nyerere's education initiatives as it relates to development there is also a preferential bias.<sup>198</sup> Sahle argues that the new structure of the education system under Nyerere was "geared to the needs of the majority" yet continued to hold an element of classism in direct contrast to Nyerere's desire for a classless society.<sup>199</sup> Despite some failures and issues with implementation or effectiveness Sahle said that the system did provide the foundation for social change and most importantly gave hope for the future.<sup>200</sup> As a political scientist Sahle was better trained than Thiong'o to look critically at Nyerere's impact and while she did point out problems with the education system Sahle remained predominantly biased.

These first two posthumous perspectives were written not even three years after Nyerere's death and as such were influenced by the grief and reverence that would have permeated discussions on Nyerere during this period. It is also expected that works written to commemorate a person's life would be fairly positive about the accomplishments of that person. Over ten years later Marie-Aude Fouere published "Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa, and Political Morality in Contemporary Tanzania" in 2014.<sup>201</sup> She began by pointing out this very fact - "after Nyerere's death...the relative eviction of "Mwalimu" from the political landscape in the mid-1980s...was suddenly reversed."<sup>202</sup> She then compared the history of Nyerere's image with that of the various propagandized versions found in Tanzania at the time. The state used the image

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<sup>198</sup> Sahle, Eunice Njeri. "Julius Nyerere's Critical Education Thought." *The Legacies of Julius Nyerere: Influences on Development Discourse and Practice in Africa*. Edited by David McDonald and Eunice Njeri Sahle. African World Press: Trenton, NJ, 2002. 87-100.

<sup>199</sup> Sahle, "Critical Education," 92-93.

<sup>200</sup> Sahle, "Critical Education," 97.

<sup>201</sup> Fouéré, Marie-Aude. "Julius Nyerere, ujamaa, and political morality in contemporary Tanzania" in *African Studies Review* 57 (1). 2014. 1-24.

<sup>202</sup> Fouere, "Julius Nyerere," 2.

and memory of Nyerere to encourage nationalism, going so far as to place images and forms of Nyerere in public spaces and increase the use of the name *Baba wa Taifa* - which means Father of the Nation.<sup>203</sup> He was also popularly reimagined by those that grew up under his socialist policies as a nostalgic hero of education and health care, the results of villagization and other failed policies either ignored or forgotten.<sup>204</sup>

Fouere said that there is a symbolic link between Nyerere and the nation of Tanzania; criticism of Nyerere is now often taken or used as criticism of the nation.<sup>205</sup> Her understanding of this connection comes from “multiple stays since 2004.”<sup>206</sup> She gave a few short examples of Nyerere’s image being used in a negative manner, primarily as a political tool to discredit or challenge the ruling party or the mainland.<sup>207</sup> While she herself is fairly neutral in her own discussion of Nyerere’s place in Tanzanian memory, Fouere portrays a population that largely has positive memories of Nyerere. The small selection of modern criticisms of Nyerere that she presented from Tanzania may be due in part to her position as an outsider, a French woman, which could impact what locals were willing to share with her.

Ogenga Otunnu also takes a positive approach in his article “Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere’s philosophy, contribution, and legacies” from 2015.<sup>208</sup> While the article is predominately made up of an overview of Nyerere’s career in regards to his philosophical outlook, which this paper has gone over through several earlier sources, it concludes with the declaration that “Nyerere’s philosophies flow together.”<sup>209</sup> It was the opinion of Otunnu that external forces were the primary reason for “the collapse of the socialist experiment,” though he

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<sup>203</sup> Fouere, “Julius Nyerere,” 6.

<sup>204</sup> Fouere, “Julius Nyerere,” 12.

<sup>205</sup> Fouere, “Julius Nyerere,” 18.

<sup>206</sup> Fouere, “Julius Nyerere,” 18. Acknowledgements.

<sup>207</sup> Fouere, “Julius Nyerere,” 14-16.

<sup>208</sup> Otunnu, Ogenga. 2015. “Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Philosophy, Contribution, and Legacies.” *African Identities* 13 (1): 18-33.

<sup>209</sup> Otunnu, “Philosophy, Contribution, and Legacies,” 31.

admitted that internal issues complicated the situation.<sup>210</sup> This shows that even now, almost two decades since Nyerere's death, his memory is still revered. Bias continues to influence critical analysis as even when failures are admitted, they are often defended.

## **Conclusion**

There is no doubt that Julius Nyerere left his mark on the government, economy, and population of Tanzania with twenty years as president and even more time as a political leader. At times his writing or actions also marked periods of academic work. Since the 1960s when he garnered international attention with his political charisma academics have analyzed and discussed Nyerere's ideas, his impact, his legacy. Perspectives were constantly changing due to ideological shifts in the academic community - internationally, in the West, and in Africa.

In the 1960s independence was spreading through Africa, but colonial ideas still held firm in many places. Most of the African scholars at the time who were interested in Tanzania came from Kenya, a capitalist country, and were thus critical of Nyerere's socialist plans for the East African nation. By the 1980s more educated Tanzanians were on the scene, either having studied in the West like earlier African scholars or coming up through the young African universities like the one in Dar es Salaam. Their opinions had started influencing African scholars in the 70s, as this paper showed through the Kenyan scholar Kariuki's writing, but did not start making a major impact on perceptions of Nyerere until the mid-1980s. Nyerere's exit from leadership in Tanzania also had an impact and in the 1990s African scholars were balancing praise and criticism in their discussions of Nyerere. The major area of criticism was the failure of the ujamaa villages, where opinions were the most split even without including Western scholars.

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<sup>210</sup> Otunnu, "Philosophy, Contribution, and Legacies." 31.

Nyerere's death did not change much how African scholars discussed the Tanzanian leader. Shortly after his death Ahmed Mohiddin, one of the early Kenyan critics of Nyerere, wrote a tribute for Nyerere.<sup>211</sup> Mohiddin referred to Nyerere in an almost reverent fashion with a positive tone, but reaffirmed that Nyerere's "great failures" stemmed from his "genuine human naivete and idealism."<sup>212</sup> This was the same major criticism he had in 1968, his bias remained unchanged, but tempered. African perspectives on Nyerere thus took a gradual journey from negative to positive in a fifty year span.

The Western scholars experienced this same journey in reverse as they started out overly-optimistic in their discussions of Nyerere. In the 1960s many European, but mostly American, academics were fascinated by the ideas of socialism. They wore rose-colored glasses and saw no wrongs in any of Nyerere's early writings. A point that the Kenyan scholar Mazrui pointed out in his 1967 article.<sup>213</sup> This obstacle was slowly pushed out of their way as the Cold War heated up and anti-socialist rhetoric forced its way into academia. The negativity hit its peak in the 1980s during the Reagan era, which lasted into the 90s, though it was in decline before Nyerere's death. It is almost as if the African and Western perspectives are always at odds. In Cranford Pratt's reflection in 1999 after Nyerere's death he laments on this contradiction, citing "the easy international generalizations" that condemned Nyerere and "the profoundly different judgement of Tanzanians themselves."<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> Mohiddin, Ahmed. 1999. "The Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere: A Distinguished African Statesman an African Giant, Amongst Global Giants A Token Tribute / Hommage Au Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, Homme D'état Africain, Grand Parmi Les Grands De Ce Monde". *Présence Africaine*, no. 160. Présence Africaine Editions: 3–26.

<sup>212</sup> Mohiddin, "Token Tribute," 11, 13.

<sup>213</sup> Mazrui, "Tanzaphilia," 20.

<sup>214</sup> Pratt, Cranford. 1999. "Julius Nyerere: Reflections on the Legacy of His Socialism". *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 33 (1). [Taylor & Francis, Ltd., Canadian Association of African Studies]: 138.

In the nearly two decades after his death that condemnation has receded as even Western scholars, like Fouere, have taken to the style of the African scholars in the 1990s with their balancing of praise and criticism. African scholars, however, have become overwhelmingly positive in a similar degree to the early Western scholars of the 1960s. Perspectives have changed gradually over time, like waves, and continue to do so as Nyerere's legacy is unceasingly reevaluated. That itself is a testament to Nyerere's importance that academics continue to debate his impact on Tanzania and the academic community.

## Notes

1. Full quote from pages 64-65 of *The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945 – 1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of Socialist Strategy*. Originally from Tanganyika, *National Assembly Official Report*, 36th Session, vol. 1, cols. 334-5, 18 Oct. 1960.

Discrimination against human beings because of their colour is exactly what we have been fighting against. This is what we formed TANU for and so soon, sir, so soon before even the 9th of December some of my friends have forgotten it. Now they are preaching discrimination, colour discrimination as a religion to us. And they stand like Hitlers and begin to glorify the race. We glorify human beings, sir, not colour. You know what happens when people begin to get drunk with power and glorify their race, the Hitlers, that is what they do. You know where they lead the human race, the Verwoerds of South Africa, that is what they do. You know where they are leading the human race. These people are telling us to discriminate because of the 'special circumstances of Tanganyika.' This is exactly what Verwoerd says. 'The circumstances of South Africa are different.' This is the argument used by racialism. My friend talks as if it is perfectly all right to discriminate against the white, against the Indian, against the Arab, against the Chinaman. It is only wrong when you discriminate against a black man. Sir, what is the crime of the world today? It is the oppression of man by man. It is the treatment by those in power, of those who have no power as if they are goats and not human beings; that is the crime of this world; that is what we have been fighting against...this government has rejected, and rejected completely any idea that citizenship[ with the duties and the rights of citizens of this country are going to be based upon anything except loyalty to this country.

2. Full quote from page 66 of *The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945 – 1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of Socialist Strategy*. Originally from Nyerere, *Demcoracy and the Party System* (Dar-es-Salaam, January 1963): 16.

Democracy, or government by the people, is a system based on theory - on reason - and can be defended rationally. Given that man is a rational being and that all men are equals, democracy - or government by discussion among equals - is indeed the only defensible form of government.... The 'good' imperialist regards the colonial people as children whom it is his duty to teach. The native tyrant persuades himself of some 'divine' right by which he is called upon to lord it over his fellows... The moment either of them admits the equality of those he rules, his position is untenable.

3. Full quote from page 70 of *The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945 – 1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of Socialist Strategy*. Originally from Nyerere, *Democracy and the Party System* (Dar-es-Salaam, January 1963): 22.

In a society which is united, which is like a family, the only differences will be those between individuals; then that is the best starting point from which to reach the most mutually valuable compromise between the good of the individual and that of the community. Factionalism, on the other hand, is, by definition, self-interest. Therefore it is bound to be anti-social.

4. Full Quote from page 70 of “Julius Nyerere: A Contemporary Philosopher-statesman” in *Africa Today* 23 (4). Originally from page 60 of *Freedom and Development/uhuru Na Maendeleo: A Selection of Writings and Speeches* by Julius Nyerere.

Development brings freedom, provided it is development of people. But people cannot be developed; they can only develop themselves. For while it is possible for an outsider to build a man’s house, an outsider cannot give the man pride and self-confidence in himself as a human being. Those things a man has to create in himself by his own actions. He develops himself by what he does; he develops himself by his own decisions, by increasing his understanding of what he is doing, and why; by increasing his own knowledge and ability, and by his own participation -as an equal- in the life of the community he lives in.

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### **Images**

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