

**Leadership for Democratic
Development in Tanzania:
The Perspective of Mwalimu Julius K.
Nyerere During the First Decade of
Independence**

by

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Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Peter Häussler
Cape Town, July 18 2005

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Abstract

This study analyses the perspectives about 'good leadership' as spelt out by an outstanding African leader, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, who ruled Tanzania from independence in 1962 until 1985, and influenced African history until his death in 1999. This research reveals an exciting and interesting time in politics and social development in Africa, and puts questions forward in order to unveil Nyerere's perspectives on leadership. The particular period investigated is the decade of the 1960s, the critical time of independence and nation building.

The study is composed of two parts, the understanding of the context of Tanzania's development, and the hermeneutical analysis of Nyerere's perspectives. To understand Nyerere in his context, I randomly selected seven authentic speeches and a handpicked one. I used content analysis (manifest and latent coding) and hermeneutics as my methodological approaches. Key-concepts explored in the study were Democracy, Development, Unity and Peace, and Leadership.

The underlying assumption of this study is that 'good leadership' is needed to promote participation, democracy and socio-economic development, creating national stability. The research proves this assumption right. The qualitative character of the research does not allow for generalisation of the results, which is limited by the small sample of speeches. However, recent challenges of economic globalisation and its impact on the 'poor' countries remind us of the social and political responsibility of leaders. Understanding the importance of good leadership for development is one of Nyerere's legacies. Political leadership has to be learnt.

Core to the research was a 'dialogue' between Nyerere, in his historical, political and personal context, and I, in mine. Hans-Georg Gadamer, a prominent hermeneutical philosopher, taught me how to understand first, in order to interpret and then to influence social reality. I have developed a methodological technique, the 'triple-jump', to understand and to interpret the text and to approach the 'truth'. The central research question, "what in Nyerere's perspective is a good leader for democratic development?" could be answered through the study: a leader has to be ethical, reliable, knowledgeable, decisive, accountable, humble, hard working and socially responsible. Nyerere's perspectives on good leadership also serve as guidance to contemporary political leaders, who are committed to democratic development. It is hoped that the results of this study will enrich the Youth Leadership Training Programme (YLTP) in Tanzania and other leadership training programmes elsewhere in Africa.

Abbreviations

APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
ASP	Afro Shirazi Party (Zanzibar)
AU	African Union
CAP	Centre for Applied Policy Studies (Germany)
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (the Party of the Revolution)
CPP	Convention People's Party (Ghana)
CUF	Civic United Front
EES	European Employment Strategy
EAC	East African Community
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance
ESRF	Economic and Social Research Foundation
FACEIT	Front Against Corrupt Elements In Tanzania
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments
HDI	Human Development Index
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung ¹
GDP	Gross domestic product
GOT	Government of Tanzania
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IGD	Institute for Global Dialogue
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LHRC	Legal Human Rights Centre (Tanzania)
MAP	Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MNF	Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation (Tanzania)
MP	Member of Parliament
NAI	New African Initiative
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OAU	Organisation for African Unity
PAP	Pan African Parliament
PPP	Purchase Power Parity
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
TAA	Tanganyika African Association
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TAWLA	Tanzania Women Lawyers Association
TGNP	Tanzania Gender Networking Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WTO	World Trade Organization
YLTP	Youth Leadership Training Program

¹ *Stiftung* is the German word for 'foundation'.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1	9
Introduction – General Overview of this Leadership Study	9
1.1. <i>Background: Tanzania and the Youth Leadership Training Programme</i>	11
1.2. <i>Rationale: Nyerere – A Role Model for the Future?</i>	13
1.3. <i>Significance: Good Leadership and Democratic Culture</i>	16
1.4. <i>Objectives: Nyerere's Perspective of Good Leadership</i>	18
1.5. <i>Concepts: Democracy, Development, Unity and Leadership</i>	19
1.6. <i>Methodology: Content Analysis of Speeches and Hermeneutics</i>	19
1.7. <i>Orientation as Limitation: Understanding and Biases</i>	21
1.8. <i>Results: Discussion, Conclusion, Recommendations</i>	22
Chapter 2	24
Concepts – Democracy, Development, Unity and Leadership	24
2.1. Democracy: A Perspective for Development and Peace.....	24
2.1.1. African Culture and Human Rights	29
2.1.2. Democracy and Social Democracy – Aspects of Tanzania and Germany.....	32
2.1.3. Nyerere, the One-Party State and the Tanzanian Society	37
2.1.4. Multiparty Democracy and Pluralism in Tanzania	43
2.2. Development: Social and Economic Improvement for the People.....	47
2.2.1. Liberal Concepts: Economic Growth for Development.....	48
2.2.2. Socialist Development, Ujamaa and Self-Reliance	50
2.2.3. Arusha Declaration and the Leadership Code.....	51
2.2.4. People-Centred Development: Nyerere's Vision.....	54
2.2.5. Education: Basis for Development in Tanzania.....	57
2.2.6. Social-Democratic Reform and Partnership: A Short Excursion to Germany	63
2.3. Unity and Peace.....	65
2.3.1. Solidarity – The Campaign for International Support	66
2.3.2. African Unity despite Ideological Differences	67
2.3.3. OAU and the Principle of 'Non-Interference' Versus 'Intervention'.....	68
2.3.4. Leadership: Nyerere's Last Struggle for the Tanzanian Union	70
2.4. Leadership and the 'Good Political Leader'	71
2.4.1. Political Leadership – A Historical Perspective.....	73
2.4.2. Leadership in Africa – History and Problems.....	74
2.4.3. Women's Role in Leadership.....	78
2.4.4. Charismatic and Visionary Leadership – Role Model for Africa?	84
Chapter 3	89
Nyerere: Father of the Nation	89
3.1. Historical Context: The Struggle for Independence.....	89
3.2. Political Context: Nyerere, Architect of <i>Ujamaa</i> –Socialism in Tanzania	95
3.3. Personal Context: Mwalimu and Leader with a Vision	97
3.3.1. Nyerere: Some Aspects of Good Political Leadership.....	100
3.3.2. Nyerere: Some Aspects of Bad Political Leadership	102
3.3.3. Leadership Encounter: Julius Nyerere and Willy Brandt	105
3.3.4. Nyerere: Stickler for Principles and Visionary	106
Chapter 4	108
Methodology – Conversation with Nyerere in his Context	108
4.1. Philosophical Discourse: How to Understand Nyerere in African History	108
4.1.1. Hermeneutics – About Understanding.....	110
4.1.2. Trends of Hermeneutics in African Philosophy.....	110
4.2. Hountondji versus Oruka: What is African Philosophy?.....	112

4.3. Gadamer and Hermeneutic Philosophy.....	115
4.4. The Process of Research – Methodological Approach with Political Texts.....	119
4.4.1. The Power of Nyerere's Speeches for our Understanding	121
4.4.2. Nyerere Speaks to Us about Leadership	123
4.4.3. The Understanding of Two Philosophers: Nyerere and Gadamer	124
4.4.4. Methods: Content Analysis of Speeches and Hermeneutics.....	126
4.4.5. Coding and Interpretation of Keywords and Sections of Text.....	128
4.4.6. Application of the 'Triple-Jump'	132
Chapter 5	136
Presentation and Discussion of Results: Nyerere's Perspective as Leader.....	136
5.1. Methodology: The 'Triple Jump'	136
5.1.1. Understanding in the Specific Context	137
5.1.2. How to Approach the "Truth": Technique of the Triple Jump	138
5.2. Manifest Coding and Interpretation of the Top Keywords	138
5.3. Analysis: Latent Coding and Hermeneutical Understanding.....	141
5.3.1. Speech 1: Africa's Place in the World, 1960 (Africa-Symposium, USA) ...	142
5.3.2. Speech 2: The Future of Africa, 1961 (article for 'Whites Only' school, RSA)	146
5.3.3. Speech 3: President's Inaugural Address, 1962 (Tanganyikan Parliament).	149
5.3.4. Speech 4: Frugality, 1965 (Radio speech, one year of Tanzania).....	152
5.3.5. Speech 5: The Tanzania Economy, 1966 (Budget speech Nat. Assembly).	155
5.3.6. Speech 6: Policy on Foreign Affairs, 1967 (TANU National Conference) ..	157
5.3.7. Speech 7: Things we must correct, 1968 (Republic Day broadcast)	160
5.3.8. Speech 8: Adult Education Year, 1969 (New Year's Eve Broadcast).....	165
5.4. Nyerere's Leadership Perspective: Summarized Conclusions	169
5.4.1. Nyerere's Perspectives on Good Leadership after Independence	169
5.4.2. Nyerere's Views of the Leader for a Just and Socialist Society.....	175
Chapter 6	177
Nyerere – A Role Model for the 21 st Century?.....	177
6.1. Economic Globalisation, Neo-liberalism and the African Perspective.....	179
6.1.1. Alternative Criticism: Western Democracy versus African Democracy?	180
6.1.2. Critical Discourse: Economic Capitalism versus Social Justice.....	182
6.2. Role Model for Young Leaders of YLTP	183
6.3. Nyerere's Leadership Limitations and Requirements	185
6.4. African Union – A Renaissance of Nyerere's Legacy?.....	187
6.4.1. Ethical Leadership and Development of Self-Reliance	188
6.4.2. Search for a New Global Human Philosophy	190
6.5 A Short Epilogue.....	191
References and Bibliography	193
Appendix 1	214
Nyerere's Leadership Speeches and Articles	214
Appendix 2	218
Nyerere's Ujamaa – Socialism (excerpt)	218
Appendix 3	228
Eight Tally Sheets 'Triple Jump'	228
Appendix 4.....	285
Hermeneutical circle or "spiral of understanding".....	285
Appendix 5	286
Comparison of the profile of a "good leader" by Nyerere with that by YLTP	286

Short Glossary: Kiswahili / English

Bunge: parliament

Harama: forbidden

Madaraka: self-governance/ -government

Maendeleo: development

Mwalimu: teacher

Uhuru: freedom

Utupu: nothingness

Umoja: unity

Ujamaa: familyhood, brotherhood

Wananchi: people, citizens

Chapter 1

Introduction – General Overview of this Leadership Study

Leadership topics and training activities are high on the agenda of political, educational and business institutions nowadays. 'Good leadership' is a new product, offered and sold on the numerous markets in Africa and elsewhere. Leadership is expected to improve organizational results and bring competitive advantage. Demand and supply of good leadership are determined by political actors, economic players and civic groups with different interests. This study has a specific focus: it analyses the perception of 'good leadership' by an outstanding African leader, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, who ruled Tanzania from independence in 1962 until 1985, and influenced African history until his death in 1999. This research reveals an exciting and interesting time in politics and social development in Africa; it provides lessons and raises questions in order to understand and interpret Nyerere's perspectives of good leadership.

The particular period of my research is the decade of the 1960s; the critical time of independence in Africa. To better understand Nyerere in his context, I selected authentic speeches and worked with content analysis and hermeneutics to interpret the texts. The results of this study could contribute to further develop the Youth Leadership Training Programme in Tanzania and others elsewhere. The underlying assumption of this study is that 'good leadership' is significant in promoting participation in democracy, socio-economic development and national stability.

In this study, when I use the pronoun 'we', I indicate the character of the 'dialogue' with Nyerere. In other cases the 'we' shows that more people (mostly Tanzanians) were involved in this research as partners in dialogue. The influence of 'others' in this study is part of the hermeneutical approach, which is centered in "understanding before interpreting". Hermeneutics relies on context-reference, on 'our' common perspective, Nyerere's and mine. When I present and comment on the results in Chapters 5 and 6, I return to the personal pronoun 'I', to 'disconnect' from the conversation with Nyerere.

This chapter presents the different phases of this research journey on the perspective of Julius K. Nyerere on leadership for democratic development in Tanzania. Chapter 2 is an

overview of the key concepts resulting from Nyerere's life work and speeches. The literature review discusses concepts on a wider perspective and their theoretical foundations: democracy, development, unity, and leadership in a local, African and global dimension, with a focus on political leadership as it is perceived in Africa or described by African scholars. For example, to specify the concept of 'democracy', I focus on human rights and democratic culture in Tanzania, and I look into the concept of 'development' by focusing on education and social reform policy – the heart of Nyerere's lifework.

In Chapter 3, I draw a rough profile of Mwalimu Nyerere as a multifaceted personality – philosopher and orator, and an outstanding political leader in Africa. Three aspects of Nyerere's life will be highlighted in this context: the struggle for independence, the project *Ujamaa*-socialism in Tanzania, and the teacher (Mwalimu) and political leader. The above time span represents almost his entire political life, and creates a link between the political leader, Nyerere, with the young leaders of the YLTP. The information in this chapter is mostly taken from Nyerere's works, well-known biographies and from my own experience, gained during almost five years working in Tanzania.

In Chapter 4, I explain Nyerere's philosophical 'environment' and explore his views on political leadership, by listening to his ideas and opinion in an 'appropriate' historical and political context. Nyerere and 'I', the researcher, 'dialogue' about experiences in the crucial period of Tanzania's independence and consolidation, and discuss the future of leadership for development. The data for this section is a selection of Nyerere's speeches (eight) about leadership in the 1960s, seven of them randomly selected. Other selected texts are added. The predominantly qualitative research – I call it a 'methodological triple-jump' – comprises content analysis (both manifest and latent) of the speeches and the process of hermeneutical 'understanding and interpretation' (see section 1.6.).

In Chapter 5, I will present the results of the findings according to my 'triple-jump' system and draw the perspective of Nyerere. Chapter 6 will present the picture of 'good political leadership' as illustrated by President Nyerere, and discuss Nyerere's relevance for leadership training, in particular for the YLTP.

1.1. Background: Tanzania and the Youth Leadership Training Programme

In the year 2000, I was part of a small group who, with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), launched a training programme for young political leaders in Tanzania. The group was composed of Tanzanian scientists and a non-Tanzanian development expert. The programme was called the Youth Leadership Training Programme (YLTP), and FES was my employer. The YLTP was the starting point and ignition for the present study.

FES is a political, non-profit, public-interest institution, committed to the principles and basic values of social democracy in its education and policy-oriented work². It was founded in 1925, as a political legacy of Germany's first democratically elected president, Friedrich Ebert, who died in that year. Ebert, a Social Democrat of humble origins, had risen to hold the highest office in his country despite considerable opposition from his political adversaries. He assumed the presidency in a country that was crisis-ridden following its defeat in World War I. The objectives of the FES are the construction of a democratic and pluralistic political culture through the political education of all classes of people; the facilitation of access to higher education by gifted young disadvantaged people; and the promotion of social justice and human rights. Other FES work focuses on peace and understanding between peoples, with an emphasis on co-operation and dialogue between the 'North' and the 'South'. The Foundation has worked in Tanzania since 1970 (Salles and Haecussler, 2003:6).

Tanzania is in East Africa, with an area of 930.000 square kilometres, and an estimated population of 35 million (2003). The life expectancy at birth is 46 years and the adult literacy rate is about 70% (2003). The GDP per capita is 621 PPP USD (2003). The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper shows that about 48% of the population are living below the 'poverty line' (PRSP, 2000). The official languages are Kiswahili and English. The major religions³ on the mainland are Christian (43%), Muslim (35%), indigenous beliefs (20%), and Hindu (2%), and on Zanzibar 99% are Muslim.

The United Republic of Tanzania is composed of a mainland portion (former Tanganyika) and the islands that form Zanzibar: Unguja and Pemba. Tanganyika became independent from Britain in 1961; Zanzibar followed in 1963 (after a violent revolution); and

² FES (2002). Political Handbook & NGO Calendar 2003. Tanzania.

³ See FES (2002:36).

the United Republic was created in 1964. Zanzibar has a semi-autonomous status with a government and a parliament (Bakari, 2001). A policy of "socialism and self-reliance" was declared in 1967 through the Arusha Declaration (Nyerere, 1968:231ff), under the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and the leadership of President Julius K. Nyerere, who stepped down as President in 1985. Nyerere died on 14th October 1999 (Mwakikagile, 2002).

Tanzania changed its political system from single to multiparty in 1992⁴; the power of the Union President however remains very strong. Multiparty elections were held in 1995 and 2000 with overwhelming victories for the ruling party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), the "Party of the Revolution" (Mmuya, 1998). Since 1995, Benjamin Mkapa has been President of Tanzania, and Abeid A. Karume became President of semi-autonomous Zanzibar in 2000. The next general elections will take place at the end of 2005. Tanzania is considered one of the poorest countries in the world (UNDP, 2004). In 1987, a deal between Tanzania under the presidency of Ali Hassan Mwinyi, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) forced the liberalisation of the economy under the conditions of structural adjustment. During his tenure, Nyerere opposed such "subjugation" as a violation of *Ujamaa*-socialism and the policy of self-reliance (Othman, 2000).

Among the current objectives of the FES in Tanzania is the strengthening of democracy. One of the measures within the scope of that objective is the YLTP, which supports young people who hold political leadership positions in different organisations. The first YLTP was launched in December 2000, and ran for 18 months until August 2002. The second programme started in January 2003 and ended in December. The third programme ran in 2004, and the fourth started in February 2005. YLTP's major goals are to contribute to:

Enhancing capacity and moral standing among the youth so that they become future capable and reliable leaders; to the promotion of good governance qualities among future leaders both nationally and within institutions; and to enhancing networking and collaboration possibilities among the young leaders themselves and within the institutions they come from. (FES, 2000c:8)

The concept and the curriculum of the YLTP were developed in a participatory style by a core group of trainers and were approved by the trainees themselves. The programme contains three major areas:

⁴ Despite the fact that a Presidential Commission (Nyalali Commission) set up in 1991 to measure the opinion of the citizens found that a majority of 77, 2 per cent of the people still favoured the single party system (Mmuya, 1998:3).

a) Basic knowledge: Covering a variety of fields such as politics, economics, sociology and other topics, such as globalisation, human rights and gender issues, as a means of establishing a common base from which the trainees can move on to address more specific subjects.

b) Leadership techniques: Providing the trainees with tools, instruments of management and organisational skills for effective managerial leadership.

c) Ethics: Addressing personality and behavioural issues fitting for a leader, and philosophical and institutional subjects deemed effectual for becoming a 'good leader', a leader for good governance (ibid).

The YLTP participants were selected from institutions that deal with youth matters, such as political parties, the Ministry of Labour and Youth Development, trade unions, media, the University of Dar es Salaam and some NGOs.

The assumption of the core group of FES trainers who were responsible for the content and methods of the programme was that good leaders are relevant in promoting participation and democratisation of a country as it moves towards good governance and socio-economic development (Salles and Häussler, 2003:6-7).

1.2. Rationale: Nyerere – A Role Model for the Future?

Several independent scholars (Anyang'nyongó, 2002; Aké, 1996; Mmuya, 1994, 1998; Cheru, 2002; Adedeji, 1993) believe that leadership and democratic governance are means to achieving a quality of development that is not only synonymous with economic growth, but is also 'people-centred' and participatory. Leadership is crucial for poverty reduction and social development. I have been working in different countries of Africa for fourteen years, together with local and international scientists, researchers and practitioners, mainly in the field of political and socio-economic development and democratisation. My interest in an assignment in Tanzania was motivated by the peculiar and peaceful process of Tanzanian development after independence, and – perhaps the strongest reason – by the exceptional leadership personality of Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere.

Tanzania – still a pillar of peace and stability in East Africa – is facing great challenges: global trade and unfair competition, heavy external debt and increasing poverty, despite partial debt-cancellation and programmes for poverty reduction (PRSP, 2000). Other burdens are the HIV/Aids epidemic, continuous armed conflict in the region with the influx of a flood of refugees, widespread serious corruption, and environmental degradation (UNDP, 2000).

To cope with these problems linked to the complexity of global changes, Tanzania needs an increasing pool of ethical, committed and knowledgeable political leaders in all sectors of society. The younger generation must be encouraged to take up the challenge and to believe that they can make a difference. The experience of the YLTP has been stimulating to trainees, trainers, and the institutions involved. Interest in and support for leadership training is increasing in Tanzania, among NGOs and governmental institutions⁵, as well as in other countries, such as South Africa, where the first Emerging Leadership Award was presented by Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu to 20 young leaders in 2003. An increasing number of initiatives for youth in business, political parties, HIV/Aids groups and other cultural organisations exist in South Africa and in Tanzania. Political leadership training programmes, partly supported by FES, have been initiated and will continue in South Africa, Ghana, Kenya and Uganda.

Julius K. Nyerere, the late President of Tanzania, is still regarded as an outstanding, charismatic political leader⁶ and an example for good leadership, twenty years after his resignation and five years after his death. The admiration continues in spite of his often authoritarian, and sometimes populist, personality and of the 'problems and failures' of his policy during his tenure (Aké, 1996). Anyway, "economically the odds were always loaded against Nyerere" (Ingram, 2000:27).

The significance of leadership is demonstrated by a recent and non-representative survey (Bagenda and Häussler, 2003) on leadership in Tanzania. The survey among more than 200 students of the University of Dar es Salaam indicated Nelson Mandela (95.7%) and Nyerere (95.4%) are 'role models'⁷ in Africa, because of their historical role in their own nations and in Africa as a whole. Accountability and transparency, management skills, knowledge and social responsibility were the most frequently mentioned qualities of these leaders, as indicated by about 90% of the respondents. The current Tanzanian president, Benjamin Mkapa, was placed at about the middle, with 31.9% 'acceptance'; his predecessor, Ali Hasan Mwinyi, was not mentioned at all.

Nyerere's reputation still seems to be high, and not only in Tanzania. The *New African* (2004, No 432), a pan-African magazine founded in 1966, has recently published a reader's

⁵ As demonstrated by public comments of the Development Minister Asha-Rose Migiro and by the Chief Minister of Zanzibar, Shamsi Vuai Nahodha, and the increased number of applicants for YLTP (FES, 2005).

⁶ See Meyns in Engel, Erdmann and Mehler (2000); Anyang' Nyong'o (2002); Othman(2000:), and Ajayi, in Mazrui (1999).

⁷ Role model is "a person who may be taken as an example to be copied" (Crowther, 1999:1018); see also Chapter 2.4.

survey (opinion poll) about the '100 greatest Africans of all times'.⁸ For a period from late 2003, readers were invited to make their choice and to select and name their favourites. The 'top four' Africans are: Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, Kwame Nkrumah, Robert Gabriel Mugabe and Julius K. Nyerere⁹. During the discussion of leadership concepts (section 2.4.), we will refer once more to this interesting public survey about African leadership role models to get a deeper insight into the issue. Unfortunately the methodological approach of that survey and the technique of analysis were not explained by the magazine.

Role models have tremendous influence in society as a whole. People generally, and young people in particular, have an inclination to follow the message, trace and pace of exceptional personalities; history is full of examples, not all of them positive, some even destructive. If there is a liking for a leader (perhaps a ruler or someone in power, an idol or an icon), then readiness to listen, to learn and to follow the messages the leader gives, and to "adopt similar attitudes" (Marshall, 1998:572) is usually high. However, trendsetters can sometimes be irresponsible and seductive, and their followers can be extremely uncritical, even submissive and servile. In such cases the impact of a role model can be harmful or destructive for the individual and society. In Section 2.4., we will discuss more on the strengths and limitations of leadership. There, the focus is specifically on the criteria of political leadership, leadership concepts and on the African cultural context.

Key Questions of this Research

The following key-questions shall lead the research:

- What is the picture of 'good political leadership' as illustrated by President Nyerere?
- What is Nyerere's relevance for leadership training, in particular for the YLTP?

I believe that a political leadership committed to values such as social democracy and human rights, good governance and people-centred development is crucial for poverty reduction and for the solution of problems in Tanzania, and elsewhere in Africa. I am also confronted with questions regarding the philosophical principles, theoretical assumptions, ethical conditions and biases of this leadership study.

- What are the fundamental principles and criteria for good leadership in Tanzania and can we foreigners understand them?

⁸ *New African*. August/September 2004, No 432, pp12-23, IC Publications, UK.

⁹ Winnie Madikizela-Mandela scored 12th, and was "the most popular women in Africa".

- What are the perceptions of democratic values nowadays in Tanzania?
- How do these perceptions match the so-called 'international values' embedded in a global environment?

To be able to respond to these questions within an 'unknown' cultural and historical situation, the research was based on an approach of 'understanding'. The chosen and applied methodologies (content analysis and hermeneutics) combine the euro-centrally coined cultural experiences of the researcher with the 'life-world' of the African leader Nyerere, in his historical, political and personal context. The research provides understanding that allows for a critical interpretation of Nyerere's perception of leadership.

1.3. Significance: Good Leadership and Democratic Culture

Within the political realm of nations and between nations, as well as on the micro-level of communities and local organisations, the quest for democratic leaders and democratic leadership is gaining momentum. It is hoped that this study will contribute to the debate and discourses on the issues of leadership and governance in Tanzania and elsewhere in Africa. It will be argued here that political leaders such as Nyerere can make a difference in promoting a people-centred and accountable governance process that will ultimately lead to more social and economic development and better conditions for all.

Political, cultural and socio-economic crises affect the legitimacy of democratic systems and people's interest in active political participation – people who are the heart of democracy. The young generation in particular is faced with serious questions about their future chances for peaceful development with human dignity, poverty reduction, fair trade and employment. Many doubt the ability of contemporary leaders to come up with durable solutions. Their democratic commitment, their strategies and their willingness to tackle pressing problems seem to be limited. Despite the continuing lip service of prominent political leaders to democratic values and human rights, tactics to gain and stay in power often coins the reality.

Worldwide democratic culture is damaged; terrorism and counter-terrorism have led to despair and to a new 'militarisation of minds' – of which the Iraq war and post-war 'peace-policy' are evidence. Even democratically elected leaders show lack of respect for human rights to achieve their aims. One example is the current discussions on making the use of torture a legal possibility in case of security threat. Political visions seem to be limited to 'projects', lack consistency and political and social consensus.

In Africa, but not only there, the leadership issue appears to be a crucial problem in democratic development. This is partly because of patrimonialism, nepotism and corruption, but also because of “dysfunctional modes of conflict management” (Kiggundu cited in Carlsson, in Wohlgemuth et al. 1998:23). Political leaders such as Nyerere and Mandela seem to be the exception; they are icons, grown under difficult circumstances to become extraordinary personalities: charismatic, value-oriented, visionary and reliable. Carlsson (in Wohlgemuth et al., 1998; see also Jackson and Jackson, 1997) suggests that good political leadership is a rarity. Reasons for this, drawn specifically from African culture, include patronage as well as the historical legacy of colonial oppression, discrimination and deprivation. The effects of the limitations during colonial times and a lack of education and further training activities in the post-colonial times are crucial to explain the deficit, especially if good leadership is seen from a democratic, participatory and conflict-solving perspective.

It is hoped that the findings of this research will help promote political leadership training as an educational tool for good leadership and democratic development in Tanzania. Surveys in Tanzania (FES, 2000c; Bagenda and Häussler, 2003) show that young political leaders, such as the trainees from YLTP feel especially attracted to Nyerere's leadership. What makes Nyerere – five years after his death – still so influential a role model? What kind of leadership did he stand for? Are his principles still valuable? Or is he perhaps outdated? Would he have been able to cope with the present challenges of globalisation? Four years ago, when we started the first YLTP at FES, there were no similar initiatives in Tanzania. Seminars and training courses dealt with themes and topics that focused more on special knowledge, mostly with a managerial orientation and with the understanding that managers can be made and leaders are born (Nyaki, nd).

In democratic societies, as South Africa and Germany, for instance, there is a public discussion about leadership that contributes to a positive change in government's policy of education. Higher education and professional training in particular get a push to meet the needs for socio-economic development, causing a positive demand for leadership training and political education for the youth as well. The societal need for young and new leadership in the fast-changing global environment is tremendous, but the supply of politically competent and democratically committed people is still small. The idea of more training for better

political understanding in Tanzania needs to be generally promoted (Migiro, in Salles and Häussler, 2003).¹⁰

It is further hoped that this research study will contribute to the body of knowledge and understanding of leadership in Africa. The focus is on the heritage of Mwalimu Nyerere. The findings of this study will therefore be made available to Tanzanian institutions dealing with leadership and 'good governance': the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, universities, government offices and non-governmental organisations with educational objectives.¹¹

1.4. Objectives: Nyerere's Perspective of Good Leadership

The research aim is to explore Nyerere's perspective of good political leadership for democratic development during the struggle for independence and the first years of Tanganyika, which later came to be Tanzania.

The study has specific objectives:

- To discuss concepts of democracy and human rights, development and education, unity and peace, and political leadership in different contexts.
- To understand Nyerere the person and key aspects of his political leadership, responsibility and influence.
- To explore Nyerere's political view, thus composing his picture of good and/or bad leadership, during the historical period of independence and consolidation of the new state of Tanzania.
- To reflect on Nyerere's relevance for leadership training, in particular for the Youth Leadership Training Programme.

The purpose of the study is to provide a historical contribution to systematising Nyerere's view on the essential subject of 'political leadership' that is as yet so little studied in Africa.

¹⁰ Ashe-Rose Migiro, Minister for Community Development, Gender and Children, at the Graduation Ceremony of the first YLTP, 6 September 2002 in Dar es Salaam (quoted in Salles and Häussler, 2003).

¹¹ Other institutions that are part of or linked to the University of Cape Town might be interested as well, e.g. the Department of Social Development, the Institute for African Studies and the Centre for Social Science Research. The researcher expects that the study will be published, and the results perhaps popularised via the Internet.

1.5. Concepts: Democracy, Development, Unity and Leadership

The basic conceptual framework of the study, with the key terms of Democracy, Development, Unity and Leadership, has been taken from some of Nyerere's first speeches – for example his 1960 speech about democracy in Africa (Nyerere in MNF, 2000:3-20), and a speech of 1962 with his proclamation of “war against poverty, ignorance and disease” (Nyerere, 1966:177). These speeches with political statements represent his basic messages and the principles of his life. This framework corresponds largely with the vision of The Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation (MNF) in Tanzania for the 21st Century, which was approved by Nyerere in 1997, when he promoted “Peace, Unity and People-centred Development” as “objectives throughout Africa” (Nyerere in MNF, 2000:65). The research is then seen as a form of dialogue between the researcher and Nyerere, and we present – wherever possible and meaningful – significant thoughts or views of Nyerere on the major concepts that the study deals with.

The specific selection of concepts in this study focuses on the philosophical and practical lifework of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. Basic information about the geographical and historical context will be given. For a better understanding of the ‘leadership environment’, the political and socio-economic situation in Tanzania is examined and sometimes compared with the German situation, in order to highlight (and not forget) the cross-cultural character and dimension of this study. The comparison with Ghana and his leader Kwame Nkrumah is used as a counterpoint in a similar historical context to further understand Nyerere's position. Nkrumah's high reputation as role model is similar to Nyerere's (New African, 2004).

1.6. Methodology: Content Analysis of Speeches and Hermeneutics

The study explores the view of an outstanding political leader, by listening to his ideas and opinions and by ‘dialoguing’ with him about the perspective and the future of leadership for democratic development. The methodology facilitates to understand Nyerere in a specific historical, political and personal context, in order to explore his leadership picture. The process of understanding involves searching for a variety of points of view, comments, and information given in biographies about Nyerere. The analysis focuses on speeches during the decisive period of the ‘birth’ and consolidation of Tanzania in the 1960s. Nyerere's political lifespan could have been differently structured, for example into three political periods: Independence (1960–1966), Development (1967–1985) and Neo-Liberalism (1986–1999).

Such a complex, comparative work would exceed the resources of the researcher, although it could have been an interesting and challenging possibility for a leadership study.

The political and socio-economic framework for the ongoing investigation is the independence struggle, post-independence Tanganyika and the beginning of Tanzania, a united Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Nyerere's perspective will be linked with the contemporary context: the 'African Renaissance', African Union, NEPAD and the increasingly globalised perspective.

The database for the study is Nyerere's speeches. From the text of hundreds of speeches made over forty years of his political life, 99 leadership speeches of the total were screened and 63 pre-selected by the researcher (see Appendix 1). However, the final random selection of 9 speeches resulted in seven speeches from the 1960s, and only two speeches from later decades. This unexpected result of the selection influenced the decision to focus on the first and crucial decade of an independent Tanzania. Finally, 8 speeches about leadership, each a unit of analysis, were chosen – the seven randomly selected and one essential speech handpicked – the first about Nyerere's democratic perspective. Some further crucial texts, such as constitutions, party manifestos, articles and thematic speeches have been added to supplement the database. The random selection of the speeches is a methodological tool that helped reduce the large amount of speeches in a scientific way.

This basically qualitative research is a methodological 'triple-jump' in the direction of the 'truth': Nyerere's view of good leadership. The triple jump consists of three different and consecutive approaches, which are coupled, interdependent and point in one direction, reaching the aim only by the end of the 'exercise'. These approaches are: manifest and latent content analysis, and the core process of hermeneutic understanding: the understanding of a text in a specific context before any interpretation happens. This hermeneutic approach is drawn mainly from the philosophical works of Hans-Georg Gadamer, described by Cambridge University Press in their series *Cambridge Companions to Philosophy* as "the leading exponent of philosophical hermeneutics" (Dostal, 2002:1).

Gadamer, despite his euro-centred philosophical background, was chosen as a major reference and a source of inspiration because he 'comprehends' the thoughts and language of Nyerere (though they never met) and his method is embedded in humanistic thinking and in an ethical values-oriented world. Gadamer's hermeneutic – which was a big challenge and motivation to me – shows ways of understanding the social actor (in his or her activities or

life-processes) from within a specific historical, political and personal context. It then assists the interpretation in order to find out the 'truth', from which conclusions can be drawn. Hermeneutical approach, with the focus on understanding 'the otherness' before interpretation, therefore serves well in cross-cultural interpretation by 'Europe' of 'Africa'. Pillay states "the significance of Gadamer's hermeneutics for cross-cultural understanding" (2002:330).

1.7. Orientation as Limitation: Understanding and Biases

Current studies on political leadership (Scandura and Dorfman, 2004), management (Gibson et al., 2000) as well as on political transformation and market-oriented democracy (Centre for Applied Policy Studies, 2004) are often empirical research, based on questionnaire surveys, and aimed at delivering a picture of different leadership styles and models in specific contexts – national, regional and international. That is not the intention of this study. On the contrary, this essentially qualitative approach, which is hardly linked to the world of positivism, is not intended as a means of measuring and scaling indicators or marks in order to develop a new index of political leadership criteria. This study uses some elements and instruments from the quantitative 'tool-box', but holds the qualitative orientation and perspective. The research method has been consciously chosen as an alternative to the dominant tendency of applying 'technical' measurements, which produces results with an alleged 'objectivity'. Gadamer, Derrida and Habermas share "a deep suspicion and criticism of the ways in which technological thinking and calculation have infiltrated our ethical and political lives" (Bernstein in Dostal, 2002:279).

The methodological procedure of the 'triple jump' is used as a guide to understanding and interpreting what happened within the specific context of Nyerere's leadership, to perceive and critically discuss his perspective of good political leadership. The major intention of this investigation is not to generate a 'knowledge' that is 'imparted', but to enter a conversation in order to learn and to understand, sharing the process in a dialogue that involves the reader.

A complementing questionnaire survey would widen the research and its findings, but this would then imply a different project – extensive, labour-intensive and expensive in implementation.

This methodological approach was chosen for its appropriateness in handling personal biases: the researcher's appreciation of Nyerere's leadership, and in particular of Nyerere's

personality. Gadamer explains how it is possible to separate 'true' prejudices from 'false' ones, and shows how to control an attitude of prejudice. In *On the Circle of Understanding* he says:

The hermeneutically trained consciousness will (therefore) include a historical consciousness. It will have to make conscious the prejudices guiding understanding so that what is handed down, as a different opinion, stands out and makes itself seen. To let a prejudice stand out as such obviously requires a suspension of its validity; for, as long as prejudice is influencing us, we do not know and consider it as a judgement. (Gadamer in Mueller-Vollmer, 1986:77)

Even the best picture obtained in the end of the study will remain limited and incomplete. The restricted database of speeches is a weakness of the study. The selected text is but a small fraction of Nyerere's entire work and covers only a short period of his political lifespan and his "world of words". The literature review seeks to complement and fill possible gaps in composing the background to understand Nyerere. Remarkable episodes, told by Nyerere's compatriots and members of his family have been added to enrich this work.

Language is a further limitation. English is my third language after German and French. This, however, is less significant than expected. Nyerere talks and writes in a simple and accessible style.

1.8. Results: Discussion, Conclusion, Recommendations

In Chapter 5, the analysis – understanding and interpretation – of the eight speeches is presented and discussed, and leadership pictures in the historical and political period of the 1960s are drawn. Six analytical steps are systematically documented for each speech (see Section 4.4.5. and Appendix 3 for the eight tally-sheets of the speeches). The aspects and comments on good (and bad) leadership are structured using the four key-concepts, which result in a contour of a leadership-profile according to Nyerere. The hermeneutical process includes Nyerere's summarised statements on good and bad leadership in each of the speeches relating to the four key concepts, to mirror contemporary profiles of leadership. The ensuing interpretation of the profiles forms the leadership picture (Gadamer's "fusion of horizons").

The closing Chapter 6 answers the central questions of this study, Nyerere's perspective of good leadership. I conclude explaining why Nyerere is an African role-model for

leadership. I examine how Nyerere's model still speaks to contemporary young leaders, as seen in the YLTP in Tanzania. Based on the findings, recommendations are made to disseminate Nyerere's ideas and lessons for leadership in a contemporary African context.

Chapter 2

Concepts – Democracy, Development, Unity and Leadership

This chapter provides an overview of the key concepts used in this study. The literature review concentrates mainly on the concepts and their theoretical foundations in African and Tanzanian perspectives; sometimes aspects of the 'global discussion' have been included. The major concepts – democracy, development, unity and leadership, with a focus on political leadership – are interrelated. The theme of this study is “leadership for democratic development”, and it interrelates democratic values with those of human development, measured for instance by the Human Development Index¹². The UNDP Report 2002 states that “political freedom and the ability to participate in the life of one’s community are capabilities that are as important for human development as being able to read and write and being in good health” (UNDP, 2002:52). Democratic leadership is relevant to facilitate achieving these goals for the whole of human development, not only for African development.

The conceptual framework of this study reflects the vision of late President Julius Nyerere and of The Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation in Tanzania. During a visit to South Africa in 1997, promoting “peace, unity and people-centred development” as “objectives throughout Africa” (Nyerere in MNF, 2000:65), Nyerere expressed his view of a development that is not only people-centred, but promotes the unity of all people. This study presents – whenever possible and meaningful – prominent thoughts or views of Nyerere on the four major concepts that the chapter deals with.

2.1. Democracy: A Perspective for Development and Peace

The concept and understanding of democracy used in this research is interwoven with the principles of human development formulated by the United Nations (UNDP, 2002:3): “democracy is the only political regime that guarantees political and civil freedoms and the right to participate – making democratic rule a good in itself”. Beside this widely accepted

¹² Human Development Index (HDI): The UN developed basic indicators to measure three dimensions of human development (life expectancy, literacy and income per capita). The HDI allows one to compare the economic and social development of people in different countries. A critical discussion is on the way to modify and extend the numbers of indicators, including, for instance, political participation. UNDP, 2002: 51-55.

perception, we will present some further significant aspects of the multifaceted forms of democracy.

Thomas Meyer¹³ developed a concept for democratic practice in developing countries. He differentiates between four theories and models for democracy: “the economic theory of democracy, the grassroots theory of democracy, populist media democracy and participative party democracy” (Meyer, 2002:6). The economic theory, called by its proponents the ‘realistic’ theory, explains that democracy and market economy should be interlinked and work simultaneously to be efficient. According to this theory, groups “act purely out of self-interest” – whatever ultimately pays off for the political elites and the general electorate. Meyer concludes that in this model “political elites strive for electoral seats and offices not in order to achieve interest and value-linked political goals but ultimately only to secure the benefits of power, prestige and income” (ibid: 6). This model seems to play an important role in explaining political ambitions in Zanzibar, where a neo-liberal policy is gaining increasingly more supporters and where there is a violent power struggle between government and opposition. This seems to happen to a lesser degree on the Tanzanian mainland, where a socially committed leadership is still linked to Nyerere’s influence and his policy of participation (see section 2.1.3.).

Meyer’s grassroots democracy relates to direct self-governance and people’s direct participation in political affairs or conflicts, and reaches its limits in more complex affairs, as in supra-regional or international issues. Grassroots democracy, as important as it is, “can only be a part of the democratic decision-making context” (ibid: 9) and cannot replace representative democracy.

Populist media democracy prevails in countries where powerful mass media, such as private commercial broadcasting and print media, dominate information and communication. The ‘media monopoly’ during the USA-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 is an example. It shows the limitations of the allegedly free media. The participative party democracy, on the other hand, might overcome the weaknesses of the three previous models. Participative party democracy seems to be the best model for larger nation-states (ibid: 11), because it allows political participation by very different interest groups; shows and publicly discusses political alternatives; and finally after free and fair general elections, can contribute to a change in government. Meyer summarizes some advantages and disadvantages of this model:

¹³ A German political scientist who used to be a member of the SPD-think-tank “Basic Values”, which is in charge of the preparation of a new party manifesto, to be released in 2005.

A functioning party democracy can thus productively combine political competition, the public welfare-oriented discussion of political action programmes among the public and the continual participation of large numbers of interested citizens in the political process.... However, to function in this manner party democracy not only needs sound institutions but also a binding democratic culture in the hearts and minds of its citizens... In a defective political culture, party democracies could always develop a self-destructive tendency to step in and supplant the whole. (ibid: 12)

Participatory democracy is vital for social development; it offers people the power to steer and control state politics and the economic system, and to participate in the distribution of wealth. The assumption that the state should 'voluntarily' offer services and goods to the people cannot be supported. The government is an institution with very specific interests (power, status, money, profession or job etc.), as are the leaders, employees and officers. The state is not "a neutral arbiter of disputes, with a great concern for the welfare of all its citizens" (Le Roux and Graff in Coetzee et al., 2001:196-197)¹⁴. The 'quality' of the services of the state depends on the involvement and active participation of the citizens, although the importance of the availability of resources cannot be underestimated.

Participatory democracy can basically guarantee respect for different interests and ideas. Tradition and cultural diversity are granted as long as basic human rights are not violated. Values like social justice and tolerance for cultural diversity (e.g. religions) are preconditions for peace and stability as we can see in Tanzania, particularly within her civil society. Practically, the success of participatory democracy depends on the social actors, the people. In Tanzania meanwhile a vast network of NGOs with powerful human rights groups acts and evolves itself within the framework of participatory democracy, although the government tries sometimes to limit its freedom and its outspoken critical political positions.

Such a democratically grounded society remains politically stable and peaceful and has an impact on its neighbours as e.g. Tanzania does in the East African region. Until the year of his death, Nyerere acted as mediator of the Burundi-conflict. He contributed fundamentally to peaceful conflict resolutions (with the exception of the war against Idi Amin) between individuals or groups in Tanzania and abroad. In the aftermath of the Rwanda genocide, 1994, Tanzania, one of the poorest countries, put about five hundred thousand refugees up. Nyerere negotiated and reconciled complicated conflicts throughout his life, be it between powerful stately interest groups e.g. in the Palestine conflict before the Yom Kippur

¹⁴ See their theoretical discourse: "The state and social transformation" in Coetzee (2001: 194 -211).

war, or between the very diverse wings of his party, CCM (Maliyamkono and Kanyongolo, 2003).

Democracy – in both form and substance – must focus on people and their rights. Democratic governance therefore has to contribute to improving the living conditions of the people. The UNDP report describes reasons and gives examples of democratic development and deficits worldwide, stating, “political freedom and participating in the decisions that shape one’s life are fundamental human rights” (UNDP, 2002:3).

Democracy helps protect people from economic and political catastrophes such as famines and descents into chaos. ... Nobel Prize-Winner Amartya Sen has shown how elections and free press give politicians in democracies much stronger incentives to avert famines. ... Democratic governance can trigger a virtuous cycle of development – as political freedom empowers people to press for politics that expand social and economic opportunities, and as open debates help communities shape their priorities. (ibid: 3)

A recently formulated 'concept-package' called the 'good governance' approach measures 'democratic governance', and includes terms such as participatory democracy and human rights. This system was initiated by Northern countries to control and 'discipline' countries with 'poor' or 'bad' governance, and therefore it was highly disputed, sometimes rejected, by countries of the South. Meanwhile, the newly-formed African institutions and programmes: African Union, PAP, NEPAD and APRM gave up its resistance and accepted 'good governance' as a conceptual framework (see section 6.3.). UNDP and some NGOs in Tanzania list the following principles for 'good governance': political participation, equality, basic human rights, accountability, transparency and rule of law, and social responsibility (UNDP, 2002).

Such a perception of democracy and human rights largely corresponds to the 'ten principles for a democratic culture' formulated by Tanzanian scholars and NGOs in Tanzania (FES, 2002). These principles are: participation, consensus, transparency, rule of law, human rights, truthfulness, culture of competition, civic competence, integrity, and equal opportunities. Because of their relevance for democratic development in Tanzania, some of these principles and the notion of civil society as the core 'play-ground' are now briefly explained:

Participation: The heart of democratic culture. People have the right and responsibility to be actively involved in political, socio-economic and cultural affairs and decision-making of their life in community, and in the country as a whole. 'Active' participation also includes

the process of monitoring and critically discussing the results of the services agreed to be provided, for example, by the community (public accountability).

Rule of law: The principle of the separation of powers – executive, legislative and judiciary – through the design and approval of a Constitution that can be enforced in a predictable way by a reliable and accountable legal body, according to set procedures.

Human rights: Based on the Universal Declaration of the General Assembly of the United Nations¹⁵, 1948, in New York. The Preamble of the Declaration ascribes a common standard for all individuals, peoples and nations and demands that everybody “shall strive for teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms”. Article 1 and Article 2 were particularly fundamental for Nyerere’s philosophical thinking and informed the political framework of the building of Tanganyika as independent state and nation:

Article 1: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2: Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. (ibid: 1988:7)

As a strong supporter of constitutionalism, human rights and the Rule of Law system with (theoretically) a separation of powers, Nyerere was challenged several times by the rising conflict between the principle of individual freedom, independent law and the requirement of the new state’s government. In 1964, after the trial against the soldiers – mutineers, he was disappointed by the low sentences, but did not intervene. He explained the supremacy of law:

The Government wishes to make clear that it shares the feeling that the penalties imposed by decision of the High Court Judge and the two Army Officers bore no relation to the seriousness of the offence and the damage which was done to our country. ...To interfere with the Court’s decision would be to do exactly that thing for which the nation condemns the soldiers – it would be to abrogate the rule of law. (Nyerere, 1966: 298)

Nyerere tried to combine both socialism and liberal law, and to uphold justice:

¹⁵ Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1988); see also: www.un.org and www.unhchr.ch; Marshall (1998), and Graf (1996).

The rule of Law is part of socialism; until it prevails socialism does not prevail. By itself the Rule of Law does not bring socialism; but you cannot have socialism without it, because it is the expression of man's equality in one facet of social living. (Nyerere, 1968:8)

However, after the introduction of socialism and the Arusha Declaration in 1967, the independence of the Judiciary was limited and the separation of powers was perverted.

Equal opportunity: The core idea of this principle is equality, which means a society of equal rights for men and women. Tolerance makes it possible for people to live together in society despite many differences in religion, ethnicity, race and political preferences. However, real conditions of socio-economic inequality, 'income' or 'class based', are difficult obstacles to achieving an equally acceptable social situation for everybody. On the global scope – between rich countries of the North and poor countries of the South – the gap is widening and equal opportunity remains a dream for the majority.. Even within the rich countries, e.g. Germany, the disparity between 'the haves and the have-nots' is on the increase.

To install and safeguard religious tolerance as a generally accepted value in Tanzania has been a special challenge to Nyerere, and is still nowadays one of the undisputable results of Nyerere's leadership – despite increasing conflicts in recent years.

Civil society: This is the area of the polity (society as an organised state) where self-organising and relatively autonomous groups, movements and individuals attempt to articulate values, create associations and solidarities, and advance interests outside the areas of both government and the family (Hyden et al, 2000). Political parties are a borderline case, because the parties in power represent more the interests of the government than that of the society's groups. The life and prosperity of civic groups coin the grade and importance of democratic culture in a society. Nyerere opposed the organization of people in 'interest groups', arguing that this would break solidarity and unity. He supported a communitarian model, linking this to African culture and tradition.

2.1.1. African Culture and Human Rights

African culture, as other cultures do, includes the ways in which peoples structure their experience conceptually so that it can be transmitted as knowledge and information, from person to person and from generation to generation. Culture is symbolic and includes learned aspects of human society.

A persistent conflict in parts of Africa is the tension between tradition and modernity. Western modern influence in culture, in education, teaching, and in entertainment via films, videos, television and information technologies seems to be attractive in urban and rural areas. Besides such a 'lifestyle', the political influence (or domination?) of the Western societies of USA and Europe includes also the extensive promotion of multiparty politics and the universal human rights approach, which sometimes is received as massive intervention of the former 'colonial masters'.

Mazrui and Elaiwu take a critical view on the westernisation of Africa and its cultural impact:

The imperial Western world had introduced Africa to a new concept of democracy (...) it was no longer enough for 'elders to sit under a tree and discuss until they agreed'. Elections under the Western model had to be competitive. The shift of a culture of consensus to a culture of competition in post-colonial Africa has proved to be devastating for human rights. Most African societies have shown that they need time to learn the secret of preventing high-stake political competition from becoming high-stake political conflict. The result has been rigged elections, harassment of opposition parties, suppression of dissidents, and persecution of dissenting opinions in the media and elsewhere. Human rights suffered in Africa when fundamental human rights were re-defined to exclude the rights of tradition (ancestors) and the rights of posterity (children of tomorrow). (...) Rights and duties – if they are to be respected – need to be rooted in tradition and continuity. (Mazrui, 1999: 463–465)

Mazrui and Elaiwu propose that the "way out" of this conflict between tradition and modernity, is "a pan-African system of monitoring and enforcing performance in human rights, continent-wide". Both also maintain, because of the human rights violations, that there is need for "an African equivalent not only of Amnesty International but of the European Commission for Human Rights" (ibid: 465). This was a very advanced proposal in the 1990s.

The reorganisation of the Organization of the African Union (OAU) to become the African Union (AU) provides a legal and political framework to secure human rights. The objectives (article 3) and the principles (article 4) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union (11 July 2000) express clearly the vision of a democratic future for "the African countries and the peoples of Africa" (South African Dept. of Foreign Affairs, 2000:4–5). The declaration, with 53 signatory States, fulfils on the one hand international and UN-standards, when it pledges to "respect democratic principles, human rights, rule of law and good

governance" (Article 4(m)) and tries, on the other, to reflect the 'African-ness', the cultural peculiarity of Africa, aiming to "promote and protect human and people's rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and other relevant human rights instruments" (Article 3(h)).

How are such promising high standards of human rights to be implemented? Although the integrated New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) anticipates that the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) might be such a tool, the African Union (with the Constitutive Act of July 2000) does not allow for a direct corrective intervention in the case of crimes or strong human rights violations. The 'spirit' of the Union tends still to a policy of non-interference and is based on consensual decisions, basically releasing mere recommendations. However, since 2003 Adebajo Adedeji, one of the leading figures of the APRM-process, has become more optimistic. He remembers:

The late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere once likened African heads of state and government to trade union leaders whose credo is "scratch my back and I scratch yours" in the relentless pursuit of solidarity. But ... the fact that the APRM is allowed to be the centre pin of NEPAD marked a sea change in attitude. The vigour with which the implementation committee has pursued the actualisation of the APRM since the Cape Town expert's workshop [2002] gives cause for optimism. (Adedeji, *New Agenda*, 12/2004:53)

Will the African Union in future, with their large majority of states, really accept APRM-controlled missions and ultimately critical (public) reports with specific measures and instructions in order to fulfil the standards of the Union? Are these democratic principles and human rights obligations African values or are they imposed by Western powers as a condition for potential economic and financial support? What is the specific characteristic of 'African' culture as distinct principally from 'Western' culture and how bridges can be built?

Olaniyan ascribes in *African History and Culture* a fundamental characteristic, common to African cultures and

to most extra-continental black culture: that is, the duality in the African perception of the universe as between the visible and the invisible world, the natural and the divine, this world and the world of the gods and the ancestors, man in eco-system and God. It is this duality that defines the African's cultural manifestations. Yet, there is unity and mutuality in this duality, harmony as opposed to antagonism, rationalisable order as opposed to disorder in the universe. (Olaniyan, 1982:9)

A specifically (Southern) African view of culture is the concept of *ubuntu*¹⁶, according to which we exist as people only in relationship to others. This emphasis on collective knowledge – as opposed to that of the individual, as in western philosophy – shapes African cultural philosophy, rooted in indigenous traditions, transmitted mainly orally¹⁷. For Bell, *ubuntu* stands for “love, forgiveness, generosity”, but he also clarifies that “of course not all Africans share this moral outlook” (Bell, 2002:89). African cultural philosophy seems to be rather ‘ethnic-specific’ (see section 4.1.), but in a conceptual sense it possesses little originality (Mazrui and Ajayi in Mazrui, 1999: 633–677). Among the outstanding political philosophers of independent Africa (i.e. Nkrumah, Senghor, Cabral, Kaunda, Fanon and Nasser) who include their African culture in the development of the country is Nyerere, who tried to reconcile African culture and parts of European culture under the umbrella of ‘socialism and democracy’. Nyerere’s political concept is built on both African virtues and on European values of the school of ‘enlightenment’, and, in particular on his personal ideas of a socialist society formulated during his time of study at Edinburgh University (Nyerere, 1968).

2.1.2. Democracy and Social Democracy – Aspects of Tanzania and Germany

It is clear that Africa’s strength is a moral strength. I suggest that the world today needs a champion for democracy and personal freedom, a champion who must be free from ties of history, or ties of alliance, which might embarrass her stand. ... It must mean freedom from every form of oppression, indignity, intimidation or exploitation, whether by fellow citizens, by foreign governments, or by any government of free Africa.¹⁸ (Nyerere 1960 in MNF, 2000:8–9)

There are many good and honest people who believe that those ideas, which in this country are associated with my name, are now dead and should be properly buried. ... Great ideas do not die so easily; they continue nagging and every human society in history ignores them at its own peril. ... I am simply a believer, like many other believers, in the world and in human history. I believe in the equality and dignity of all human beings, and [the] duty to serve their well-being as well as their freedom in a peaceful and co-operative society. (ibid: 23)

¹⁶ Ubuntu: see e.g. the comprehensive and critical essays in Coetzee and Roux (2002): *Philosophy from Africa*, especially the article by Ramose, *Globalization and Ubuntu* (p 626–650); in Bell (2002: 85–107): *African Moral Philosophy II, Truth and Reconciliation*; and in Makgoba (1999): *African Renaissance*.

¹⁷ A contemporary speech about Ubuntu was delivered by South Africa’s President Thabo Mbeki at the occasion of Heritage Day in 2005 (September 24th, www.gov.za).

¹⁸ At Symposium on Africa, Wellesley College, MA, USA, February 1960.

Since the early 1960s, the policy of building the Tanzanian nation was based on a democratic model, with principles of adult suffrage, elected parliament, personal freedom and basic human rights. Although Tanzanians were generally eager to grasp their 'new system', the practical experience of 'learning' democratic culture was far from easy. During the colonial times, there were few democratic experiences for the Tanzanian leadership and even less for the people. In 1965, Nyerere taught, at the opening of the new National Assembly, that "freedom to choose without fear or pressure is the very essence of democracy" (Nyerere, 1968: 91). Two years later the Arusha Declaration, a party document of Tanzanian socialism (see section 3.2.), with the importance of a 'Constitution', states, "true socialism cannot exist without democracy also existing in the society". (Nyerere, 1968:234)

What does the Constitution of Tanzania (1977) say about its political system, particularly about democracy?

This Constitution is enacted by the Constituent Assembly of the United Republic of Tanzania, on behalf of the people, for the purpose of building such a society and ensuring that Tanzania is governed by a Government that adheres to the principles of democracy and socialism. (Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, 1977)

Interestingly, still in 2003, two conflicting concepts of governance were enshrined in the Constitution: one-party socialist politics and multiparty-politics similar to social democratic values (Tanzania, 1998:13–18).

Nyerere, the 'Father of the Nation' and founder of the *Ujamaa* policy of self-reliant socialism (Nyerere, 1968), contributed to Tanzania's change from a one-party to a multiparty democratic system in the late 1980s (Mmuya, 1994). Until his death, he personally believed that democratic African socialism belonged to, and better served, African societies; however, because of international pressure from the World Bank and the IMF, and domestic influences towards liberalisation and economic growth by his successor President Mwinyi, Nyerere accepted a wider opening of the Tanzanian society to regional and international influences (Isata, 2000).

The Nyalali Commission (1991), as well as the ruling party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) – "the party of the revolution" – and its leadership (with Nyerere as chairman until 1990), recommended the reintroduction of multiparty democracy (1992)¹⁹. The first general

¹⁹ Despite the fact that a government survey in 1991 found that 72.2 per cent preferred the one-party system (Mmuya, 1998).

election took place in 1995. Besides the basics of free and fair elections at regular intervals, the concept of democracy in Tanzania includes and requires the active participation of citizens from different interest groups, the rule of law and respect for human rights, transparency of political decision-making, as well as the existence of a free press, freedom from oppression for everybody, and political, cultural and religious tolerance (Bunge Digest, 1998)²⁰.

Political pluralism flourished and nurtured the growth of political parties, especially on mainland Tanzania – 13 parties were registered for the 2000 elections. These ranged from the socialist-leaning ruling party, the CCM, which holds 87% of the seats in parliament, to social-democratic parties (NCCR, TLP), and more neo-liberal (CUF, Chadema) and capitalist-oriented groups, such as the UDP (Mmuya, 1998).

Deficiencies in the practice of multiparty democracy of Tanzania are still numerous. Most of the parties lack consistent party manifestos or platforms. The political culture – tolerance and respect for dissenting or opposing views – is as yet little developed. Especially on Zanzibar, rigging and disturbances during the elections in 2000 (Maundi in FES, 2002:154–157; Maliyamkono and Kanyongolo, 2003) indicate a low commitment to the rule of law and to fair play in competition (National Electoral Commission, 2001), although the 2003 by-election on Zanzibar's Pemba Island showed improvement in democratic culture.

In recent years in Tanzania, the democratic reform process and open public discussions have moved sections of the ruling CCM party in the direction of social democracy. Mmuya, a renowned political scientist in Tanzania and observer of party politics and the development of the multiparty system, even sees that “all of the political parties ... cherish ideals embodied in the principles of social democracy” (Mmuya in Engel et al., 2000:82–83)²¹. He explains this phenomenon of ‘preaching’ social democracy on the part of CCM as tactics to meet “the aspirations of both the previous world of *Ujamaa* and the present demands of market-based economics and liberal democracy” (ibid: 83). Some high-ranking politicians stress the ‘proximity’ of Mwalimu Nyerere to social democratic principles, describing him as “one of the most articulate and creative proponents of social democratic ideas” says Kingunge Ngombale-Mwiru, MP, adviser to President Mkapa and a close but critical companion of Nyerere for many years. He emphasises the almost forgotten – and controversial – concept of democratic socialism when he says:

²⁰ *Bunge* means ‘parliament’ in Kiswahili.

²¹ See also Mmuya (1998).

Mwalimu Nyerere agrees with Marxian Socialists that capitalism is a system of the exploitation of man by man. He is also at one with social democrats of the West by declaring that 'there can be no socialism without democracy'. For him democracy is a condition for socialist development. (Ngombale-Mwiru, 2002)

To illustrate the differences between the (western) European political philosophy of democratic socialism and social democracy, the researcher looks briefly at recent history and the German discussion about 'social justice' as a pillar of social democracy (Pfaller, 2000; Meyer, 2002; Merkel and Krueck, 2004).

The fall of the Berlin wall, the transformation of the Soviet-Empire (USSR) in 1989, and the end of the East-West conflict (cold war) led to a change in perception and meaning of 'socialism', which in the East has been used generally as synonymous with communism. The communist systems of the Eastern-European countries under the control of the USSR were based on the monopoly of one leading party (avant-garde), which was generally the source for all political, economic, social and cultural policies (concepts, plans, programmes, activities). Individual freedom and political pluralism, e.g. multiparty politics, were not commonly accepted and were not part of the socialist ideology and reality. Emphasis was given to a social policy, which granted basic social rights (education, health-care, employment) to everybody on a low level of social differentiation (income, life-styles), but limited personal freedom (travelling).

The Western and German term of 'democratic socialism' describes simply the 'leftist' (e.g. Marxist) positions within social-democrats' policies, i.e. government-controlled policies of welfare and social justice (economic and social solidarity), employment strategies complementary to free-market development, limited privatization of 'public goods and services', peace and security policy with the concept of 'common security' (UN-policy) and a fair partnership with Africa, based on close cooperation, debt-cancellation, poverty-reduction and assistance for sustainable development (see section 2.2.6.).

The German *Guidelines for a Social Democratic Policy towards Africa* was coined by that spirit of partnership and cooperation between Sub-Saharan Africa and the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD) Germany's social-democratic party in Germany and the European Union, with a "commitment to evening out social and economic disparities in the international system" (SPD, 1999: 43–52). Its main aim remains "to provide effective help towards self-help that will enable people to achieve sustainable development and a stable peace." The *Guidelines* says that a "policy dialogue between partners at all

levels" is needed, which would be "also in Germany's self-interest as part of the EU" (ibid: 44). It suggests that democratic transition should be assisted in Africa so that "the majority of [Africa's] population is involved in the decision-making processes ... Efforts to ensure respect for political, economic and social human rights ... must be supported." The publication continues: "Its goal cannot be achieved by simply transferring European models; rather, they should be combined in a creative manner with traditional African mechanisms of political decision-making" (ibid: 44).

The SPD, still the largest membership party in Europe (in 1999 with about 770.000 members), is currently leading an intensive debate about the "best" way for SPD (with a new SPD programme coming out in 2005) and for social-democratic parties within the European Union to tackle the challenges of economic and financial globalisation. In the centre of that debate is the question of how much of the social and employment policy (social justice) can be sustained against the tendency of unleashed capitalism and unlimited power of economic and financial liberal politics in a global frame. What are the alternatives to that political mainstream that divides the world into the rich and the poor?

For some political analysts, the European integration and the enlargement in 2004 to 25 countries limited the political space for social-democratic (democratic socialist) politics even more (see section 2.2.6.), whereas the European Employment Strategy (EES), since the middle of the 1990s, clearly showed a social-democratic 'handwriting'.

Many elements of the Essen Strategy [1994], such as strengthening vocational training and lifelong learning, improving the efficiency of labour-market institutions, and measures for specific target groups, such as young people, long-term unemployed and women, were given high priority in the EES within a few years. (Merkel and Ostheim, 2004:3)

On the other hand, the encompassing by EU of the former communist Eastern European countries will not immediately contribute to a deepening and strengthening of the Union on the 'social policy agenda'. Merkel and Ostheim predict a rather more market-driven policy in their paper "Policy making in European Union: Is there a Social Democratic Space?":

It cannot be regarded as a 'social democratic project' to the extent that it prevents or at least decelerates the deepening of the EU. Reaching the necessary consensus or even compromises for re-regulating fiscal, social and employment policies at the European level will become more complex and difficult in a more heterogeneous Union. Despite

some progress in 'socially democratizing' some fields and methods of policy making, the trend towards a more market driven and less political Union continues. (ibid: 13)

It seems therefore that the 'Social Democratic Space' is shrinking, reducing even more the space for 'leftist' political concepts, such as the politics of 'democratic socialism'.

In Southern African countries – Tanzania partly included – the consolidation of democracy is still one of the core political objectives. Recent opinion polls have revealed that a majority of the surveyed population prefers multiparty democracy to a one-party system (Afrobarometer, 2002b). "Poverty has no impact on the extent to which people see democracy as the only acceptable form of government", states one study (ibid: 3). The underlying concept for the questions in this study was based on a 'Western' research approach, which measured the support for 'economic adjustment' of poor and non-poor people. The results question the assumption, widespread among social scientists, that "the prospects of sustaining democratic government in a poor society are far lower than in a relatively wealthy one" (ibid: 3). Related recent research on 'multipartism' in Tanzania showed that it is alive, but in poor health. Despite there being twelve opposition parties, their political impact is weak – "the opposition found itself with no leadership in the National Assembly, and not many followers, either" (Maliyamkono and Kanyongolo, 2003). On the other hand, the citizens "demonstrate significant support for economic and political reform ... that differ[s] in important ways from those observed elsewhere in Africa" says another study (Afrobarometer, 2002a). The reason for that difference can be explained by Nyerere's approach to participation and democracy after independence.

2.1.3. Nyerere, the One-Party State and the Tanzanian Society

In Tanganyika, from the independence on, people's participation and a national policy of social justice played a decisive role in the democratic development of the new country, which was peaceful, with minor social conflicts. Real participation takes place when people are consciously involved in their country's development. In his speech *Man and Development* (1968), Nyerere coined the often-quoted statement: "Development brings freedom, provided it is development of people. But people cannot be developed; they can only develop themselves" (Nyerere, 1974:27). Participation means a breaking of the monopoly of knowledge. Legitimation involves a growing number of individuals in the process of change (Coetzee in Coetzee, 2001). The report of the South Commission (chaired

by Julius Nyerere, 1990) stated that a democratic system should be able to “reconcile social conflicts and direct the process of economic and social change in conformity with the needs of civil society” (Habermas quoted in Coetzee, 2001:148). The report also draws attention to the idea that “people themselves should be involved in the process of development ... leaders who refuse to listen to any but their own voices soon exhaust their leadership potential. Participatory development is thus a must” (ibid: 149). For Nyerere, what role did political parties play in democratic development?

The founding fathers and mothers of the new African states in the middle of the last century hotly debated such problems: how many parties do we need? Do we really need more political parties to become democracies? Do we have to follow the examples of the colonial powers, especially Britain, with their multiparty systems? In Ghana, independent since 1957, and Tanzania since 1961, leaders Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere – the “towering architects of African statehood” (Mazrui, 1986:184) – were grappling with these questions. The colonial powers, understandably, tried to push for a multiparty system, in order to ‘sell’ their ‘own model of democracy’ and to divide the new nationalist powers (TANU and in Ghana the Convention People’s Party, CPP). The Tanzanian Governor Twining in 1956 even initiated the founding of the United Tanganyika Party (UTP), which soon “faded into *Utupu*, ‘nothingness’ in Kiswahili” (Mazrui, 1999:234).

Ghana started out with a multiparty system, but then Nkrumah introduced the one party system (Convention People’s Party) in 1964. Tanzania began with the mighty national movement party TANU (and few other much smaller parties e.g. UTP, ANC) and evolved constitutionally into a one party democracy in 1965 (though formalised only in 1977), with the merger of TANU and Zanzibar’s Afro Shirazi Party, the ASP, to form the CCM²², the ‘Party of the Revolution’. The history of these two countries – Ghana and Tanzania – and the destiny of their leaders and their parties differed significantly (see Mwakikagile 2002, Assensoh 1998, Mazrui 1999). It is only within recent years that political stability and democracy, combined with considerable economic growth, has been consolidated in Ghana.

Tanganyika gained independence in 1961 after the tactical struggle of TANU – a political masterpiece, directed by Nyerere. (This ‘historical chess’ is described in section 3.1.) Right from the beginning of independence, or even earlier, as Kweka describes in his article *The Africanisation of democratic structures*, TANU became a powerful nationalist movement that “united the majority of Tanzanians behind its philosophy of human equality and respect,

²² Chama Cha Mapinduzi

in order to oust the colonial regime. Nyerere began to argue for a one-party system even before independence" (Kweka in Legum, 1999:64).

Mmuya explains the legal and political situation and dates the formal beginning of the one-party system to the year 1965, when the constitution was amended to abolish multipartism, which purportedly fostered competitive politics:

In 1977, the constitution further cemented the one-party rule by declaration that the single party was the supreme organ of state and under which all activities were to be organized. On the basis of this provision, not only opposition political parties were disallowed but major institutions like the armed forces, labour unions and cooperatives and even cultural bodies such as the Church and the Mosque were either institutional members of the only party or affiliated to it. The integrative element and power the only party commanded in all institutions and [at] all levels of society (territorial to the household and workplace), was enhanced by the individual state crafting of the towering position of its charismatic and respected architect, the late Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere. (Mmuya in Engel et al, 2000:75)

At the end of Nyerere's tenure as President in 1985, scientific interest in scrutinising and discussing 'the democracy-question' and the one-party system was not yet as relevant as it has been since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the antagonistic Cold War and 'popular democracies'. Since the advent of the neo-liberal paradigm, related to the 'victory' of capitalism (especially in the North), criticisms of Nyerere's one-party democracy and his socialist policies increased – though this seems to be more an ideological estimation than a critical scientific disagreement. Especially after Nyerere's death in 1999, in connection with numerous obituaries on his life's work and his political leadership, a series of critical – even polemical – comments has appeared. The examples below cover some of the basic approaches and arguments of such criticism since 1985.

* Nyerere has one glaring weakness: he does not always practice what he preaches. And what he does practice has brought Tanzania few visible benefits. His 17 million people have adhered to his socialistic doctrine for two decades and at the end of the rainbow have found only an empty pot. (Lamb, D. 1986:67)

* When Tony Leon of the Democratic Party of South Africa paid his so-called tribute to Mwalimu Nyerere, one of the things he could not refrain from saying was: 'Nyerere left a bankrupt country because of his misconceived policies of *Ujamaa*, which resulted in forcible collectivization of peasants'. (Chachage in University of Dar es Salaam, News Letter 1999/2000)

* In the days since his death, Mr. Nyerere has been acclaimed as the 'conscience of Africa'. That might seem overgenerous praise for a man who presided over a one-party dictatorship, plunged his country into socialist poverty and built a corruption-ploughed bureaucracy, but everything is relative. Mr. Nyerere jailed dissidents rather than murder them, abjured torture, did not enrich himself personally, and left office voluntarily. By African standards, that makes him a good man. But his life stands as a horrific example of the harm a good man can do in the service of bad ideas. (Ibid)²³

* Tanzania's Julius Nyerere and Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, whose idiosyncratic and idiotic economic policies wrecked their countries, were indulgently humoured as Africa's sages. (Russell, 1998:43)

Another spiky criticism comes from an insider, Jannette Hartmann, who did extensive research in Tanzania and wrote about 'President Nyerere and the State'. She criticises Nyerere, and calls him "a dictator and a ruthless implementer of the policy of villagisation (1975), which forcefully moved 11 million peasants from their homes to strange surroundings" (Hartmann in Hodd, 1989:165). Despite the fact that the *Ujamaa* project indeed missed becoming a policy of democratic decision-making with popular support, the reproach of dictatorship weighs heavily.

Although President and party supported the programme, the entire government did not do so, nor probably did all affected people. Hartmann contemplates the tripartite approach, saying that the president-party-government is a difficult system, which "reveals a complex and intricate scenario of institutional manoeuvring, [and] changes of alliances of issues and policies", which could not encompass democratic legitimacy (ibid: 166). This system put Nyerere in a powerful position because of his two 'hats': party and presidency. According to the 1962 constitution, the President could bypass the government, which Nyerere sometimes did. A headlong clash, for example, between party and government was the "policy on private capital. The Party opposed private capital because it created greater social inequalities; the Government supported it because of its contributions to economic growth", writes Hartmann (ibid: 167). This clash unveiled a critical point of the one-party democracy: there was no real opposition, which left the decision-making power in the hands of the party and particularly of Nyerere. In the long run, his policy of avoiding the existence of an opposition had serious consequences for the socio-economic development of Tanzania and its people.

²³ Quoting David Frum in the US National Post of 16 October 1999, with headline 'Nyerere's failed vision leaves lasting debt'.

Nyerere as politician (with two hats) also acted unilaterally and in an authoritarian way in the breaking of diplomatic relationships with West Germany in 1965; initiating the Arusha Declaration of 1976 over which the government was only consulted; the call for British troops to control the army mutiny in 1964; and the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, to form Tanzania in 1964 (Bakari, 2001). Hartmann ironically, but with a realistic view of the weaknesses of one-party rule writes:

The President could be very democratic and take a policy issue to the Government and sometimes to the Party for ratification. By utilising the tripartite arrangement to suppress, sponsor, pass, support or change policy, the President was placed in a strategic position within the state to direct and control policies. (Hartmann in Hodd, 1989:167)

It was only in 1984, with the new constitution, that the power conditions for policy-making changed radically.

The President is no longer the Head of both the Government and the Party ... The position of Prime Minister has also become a powerful one, within the state ... the concept of a tripartite form of policy-making has changed its form under the new conditions without having lost its validity. (ibid: 172)

In her conclusions, Hartmann formulates (perhaps arrogantly) expectations for a government after Nyerere: "Corrupt, incompetent officials and crooks needed to be weeded out and a new class of professionals encouraged staffing the administration" (ibid: 173). President Mwinyi, who followed Nyerere, did not succeed in fighting corruption (see Warrioba Report 1996 quoted in ESRF, 2002:155 ff), but he contributed to more economic openness, economic development and preparation for the multiparty election in 1995.

Haroub Othman, a very close compatriot of Mwalimu, believes that "the evolution of a one-party system in Tanzania was a historical accident, although Nyerere later gave it a philosophical justification and backed it up after 1965 with legislation" (Othman in Hodd, 1989: 160). Othman probably did not know, in 1988, what researchers now know, that the key speech about one-party democracy was given by Nyerere in 1960 at the Wellesley College in Massachusetts, USA, at a symposium on Africa; where he talked about the "essentials of democracy" while arguing keenly for the adequacy of a one-party system. Nyerere explained his viewpoint:

I do not care whether it's one party or twenty parties, provided the government of that country can be replaced without assassination, if the people go to the ballot box freely and regularly, and re-elect their government, or replace it with another, then as far as I am

concerned, the two basic essentials of democracy are there, whether you have twenty parties or one party. ... Therefore, in our circumstances an opposition becomes ridiculous. It rules out debate ... That is why I am saying that in an organisation which is basically democratic, the checks and balances are there within itself. (Nyerere, 2000:12–17)

This speech was published only in 2000, by the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation in Dar es Salaam (Prof Othman is one of the leading figures of this Foundation). Many researchers now have access to the philosophical evidence of a thoughtful and planned concept of a one-party democracy engineered by Nyerere as early as 1960. We should mention that some social scientists (e.g. Maliyamkono, Kweka, Mmuya) came to the same conclusion as we did, probably because of new sources or personal experiences in Tanzania (the “democracy-speech” from 1960 is the first text of the analysis, see Chapter 5).

Surveys run in 2001 on “public opinions about democracy” in the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) countries reveal the understanding and perception of democracy of the Tanzanian respondents (Afrobarometer, 2002a: 7). The results show what seem, at first glance, to be contradictory results:

More than four in five Tanzanians say they ‘support democracy’. This finding is astounding in terms of the experience of Tanzanian’s political transition where, as recently as the 1991 Nyalali Commission on Party Systems, four in five said they *opposed* a multiparty system. (ibid: 6)

This can however be explained by the experiences of Tanzanians within the one-party system, as we shall see. Further surveys highlight the picture of popular perceptions in Tanzania and expose the complexity of the understanding of ‘democracy’:

Even though Tanzania is a very diverse society, its citizens exhibit high levels of national identity and low levels of ethnic consciousness. Most Tanzanians define themselves in terms of occupation rather than tribe, language or religion. Tanzanians value a competitive marketplace and exhibit a remarkably high degree of support for economic reform policies such as market pricing, user fees for state services, retrenchment of civil servants, and privatization of state industries. Yet they still want the state to play a leading role in the delivery of social services. (ibid: 2)

The report continues:

In general, Tanzanians support democracy and reject non-democratic alternatives. However, there is one important exception: a relatively low proportion rejects one-party rule. In fact, many citizens still give relatively positive marks to the old political regime.

We believe that this reflects the history of a relatively competitive one-party regime that managed to deliver a measure of social welfare and to ensure a degree of economic equality (albeit at relatively low levels). It certainly does not reflect a pervasive nostalgia for presidential dictatorship or military rule, alternatives that Tanzanians reject overwhelmingly. (ibid: 3)

It is interesting that Tanzanians even after a decade of multiparty politics still express their appreciation for the “one-party democracy” in the 1960s and later. Reasons probably are that Nyerere, as mentioned above in this section, managed to unify the different ethnic, religious and cultural ‘streams’ in a spirit of human equality, and he focused on social development of the country, including the “delivery of social services” (ibid: 2) – education, healthcare, work, infrastructure and ‘human security’. People also understood that they had an extraordinary resident as leader, who dedicated his life to a society for human dignity and ‘people-centred’ policy. This included political participation in all sectors of *Ujamaa*-society, within a TANU ‘indoctrinated’, dominated or influenced state. Nyerere and TANU guaranteed a minimum of ‘pluralism’ during the parliamentary elections: in each constitution, after a selective process of interested candidates, finally two candidates were chosen to compete in the elections. On the other hand, media, trade unions, business and other organisations of the civil society had little benefit from ‘pluralism’, although the population did not suffer dictatorial leadership or military rule, as was common in other African countries.

2.1.4. Multiparty Democracy and Pluralism in Tanzania

In spite of critical periods in the transformation process, like the conflicts and clashes during the 1995 election campaign, Tanzania adapted to the pluralistic approach in an unusually smooth manner (Mmuya, 1998). The process and results of the general elections in 2000 demonstrated a certain consolidation of multiparty politics on the mainland of Tanzania, with a high voter outcome and free and fair elections. International observers assessed these elections as a success story. This success can be attributed in part to Nyerere’s policy of “one-party-democracy” (see section 2.1.3.), which one may argue laid the foundation for multiparty politics. Nowadays, for Tanzania as for other countries, a system of political pluralism in democracy requires “competition between social forces and political groups for political power”, states Nohlen (1996:3), who did intensive research in and for developing countries. He and others (Mmuya, 1998, Tetzlaff, 1991, Mattes, 2003) claim that free and fair elections are crucial for democracy, but it’s not sufficient for a stable system with a

sustainable democratic culture and for social development. "Elections in authoritarian countries do not call into question the existing power relation", writes Nohlen (ibid:5) and highlights some focal points for elections in (Western) democracies. Competitive elections are linked with the three functions:

- the electorate expresses its trust in the persons elected;
- a representative parliament is chosen;
- the Government of the day can be controlled, re-elected or defeated. (ibid: 6)

In the Tanzanian case, although the first two functions were fulfilled, one can hardly prove that the TANU government in the 1960s and after was 'controlled' and that it could have been 'defeated'.

Idealistically seen, in democratic societies, government authorities have to provide services and goods and respond to the needs of the people (also the core of the Tanzanian Constitution (1998)). The people, in turn, can articulate their demands (and their dissatisfaction or satisfaction) via different means: interest groups²⁴, mass-organisations such as trade unions and political parties, media, and religious organisations, as well as elections. Government and people must obey the law and act constitutionally. Rule of law, human rights and the democratic principles of participation and responsiveness work together and are interrelated.

The Tanganyikan society, with Nyerere's support, has been built as a one-party democracy based generally on the principles of attentiveness and responsiveness, which his promotion of "people-centred development" pointed towards. Nyerere could not however, avoid the abuse of power by the all-dominating influence of the ruling party and of the functionaries, who suppressed 'disturbing' activities and 'unauthorised' political participation, as happened with the prohibition of free trade unions in 1964. To safeguard political stability, Nyerere sometimes had to sacrifice other equally important principles, e.g. personal liberty of opponents (see the example 'bad leadership' in Section 3.3.). He had good intentions, as seen in his project '*Ujamaa* and social justice' but he had, democratically speaking, only a low legitimacy.

²⁴ Marshall (1998:322) describes the functions of interest groups: "A valuable element of democracy is the ability and willingness of citizens to organize on their own behalf and to seek to influence legislatures, government agencies, and public opinion."

We know, most recently since the breakdown of the authoritarian socialist/ communist societies (e.g. the former East Germany), that the experiment of the creation of the 'good human being' or 'good person' or the 'new socialist personality' failed.²⁵ It did not materialise, we assume, because the human being presents diversity and cannot be standardised, in order to function like a machine. Socially committed people had to learn, meanwhile, facing the expansion of liberal democracy that without permanent struggle, a better and more just society – with less poverty and more dignity for all people – cannot be achieved. The flaws and weaknesses of one-party politics are seen in the process of systemic coercion of opposition (ideas, strategies, activists, individuals, groups), which seems to be an integral part of an autocratic or non-democratic society, and goes against the noble objectives and ideals of Nyerere's politics until the end of the 1980s. Nyerere's lack of flexibility or inability to change his perceptions is a deficit of his political leadership. Even in the years after his presidency and during the 1990s with multiparty politics in Tanzania, Nyerere's dream of a 'good' democratic one-party system never really vanished. Somehow this perception has been fuelled by the numerous conflicts and struggles of the newly-created political parties.

In the *Forum to Assess Development Policies of Tanzania* (Government of Tanzania, 2003), the highly respected and renowned Tanzanian political scientist S.S. Mushi comments on good governance policy, and compares the role of political parties and the importance of rule of law in Tanzania under Nyerere and Mkapa:

During the days of the one-party system in Tanzania, the party (TANU/CCM) controlled and regulated the flow of requests, demands and complaints going to the government. The party was the only interest aggregator and articulator and would only admit those requests, demands and complaints which did not challenge the authorities.

The multiparty system created political competition, thereby bringing forth many interest aggregators and articulators (political parties and civil organizations). Competition has thus made those in authority more attentive and responsive than was the case under one-party rule. However, there are two weaknesses:

The competition is currently one-sided because the opposition parties are still electorally weak. Under these circumstances the government can afford to ignore requests, demands and complaints, which do not immediately threaten its authority, or [it can] choose to deal with them in a harsh manner. The events of January 26 and 27, 2001 in Zanzibar are an

²⁵ Weber (1986). Jugendgesetze der DDR, 1964 und 1974, in DDR, Dokumente zur Geschichte der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik 1945-1985, p.277 and p.338.

example of 'harsh' handling of people's demands. Corruption among public servants has made provision of services and responses to other needs contingent upon the giving of 'tips'.

Tanzania has made some strides in the field of the rule of law. If we compare the current position with the situation at the beginning of the nineties, we shall not fail to appreciate the following changes:

- Arbitrary arrests have been reduced (though there are still cases of it). Human rights groups have increased from none under the one-party system to tens and probably hundreds at present ...
- People can now take the government to court upon giving a three months' notice; there was no such a possibility in the past ...
- The 13th Constitutional Amendment (2000) recognized the judiciary as an independent department. This is important because there cannot be rule of law if independence of the judiciary is not assured.

(Mushi, 2003:4-5)

On the one hand, it makes no sense to condemn Nyerere because of his 'wrong' decision 40 years ago; we have to consider the historical context and social and political conditions. On the other hand, for contemporary policymaking, we have to confess – because of experiences worldwide – that there is hardly an alternative to a democratic and pluralistic political system with an open and vibrant civil society. Democratic politics are on the triumphal advance worldwide, it is only a question of time for a global success of democracy, predicts Amartya Sen, who also states, "nowhere in the contemporary world is the need for more democratic engagement stronger today than in Africa" (Sen, 2004:29). Despite a 'guided democratisation' (Erdmann, 2000) in Tanzania, with a multiparty system 'under' the 'predominant party' (Sartori in Erdmann, *ibid.*), the political system in 2004 is stable and provides the chance for the growing of civil society. This process, shows Erdmann, "is unsatisfactory for the opposition parties, it will be decisive for the long-term success of democracy in the country, and is preferable to an abrupt liberalisation or radical transformation" (Erdmann, 2000:96).

For the ongoing process of democratic transformation and pluralistic reform in Tanzania, we agree with Mmuya who suggests, "for a meaningful and well institutionalized multiparty democratic system, five, even twenty years may not be sufficient to establish what has taken place towards the envisaged goal" (Mmuya, 1998: vii). Another important aspect of

“late” democracies has been recently critically discussed by international agents of “democracy promotion”, as for example by Peter Burnell (2004). Burnell argues, “the easy victories have been won; from here on progress will be far from assured” (ibid: 100). Often not sufficiently considered in the “planning” of democratic progress, is the questionable influence of external democracy promotion in “authoritarian regimes” (e.g. Zanzibar): democratic intervention mostly failed because of failing sensitivity, which did not take into “account of the local political dynamics – that is the attitudes of both the political leadership and society – by identifying the stakeholders in democratic political change and the forces of resistance” (ibid: 102).

In Tanzania, particularly in Zanzibar, the political culture of multiparty politics is not yet well developed; the public discussion of different political opinions often leads to violence (Mmuya, 1998). The aftermath of the elections in 2000, for example, saw numerous political killings, despite agreements about fairness during the campaign and election. However, because of a new peace-accord (Mwafaka) between the two major parties CCM and CUF, new hope of improvement is given. Maundi states that, “the fear of condemnation will motivate both parties to play positive roles in implementing the accord” (Maundi in FES, 2001:143). Interestingly, the one-party-democracy, introduced by Nyerere in the early 1960s, is still appreciated by a significantly sized group in Tanzania, because of its positive impact on social development. The researchers of this comparative African study explain that rare phenomenon:

this reflects the history of a relatively competitive one-party regime that managed to deliver a measure of social welfare and to ensure a degree of economic equality (albeit at relatively low levels). It certainly does not reflect a pervasive nostalgia for presidential dictatorship or military rule, alternatives that Tanzanians reject overwhelmingly. (Afrobarometer, 2002a: 3.)

Such findings allow the assumption that social development is crucial for the consolidation of democratic systems. Does democracy in Tanzania further social and economic development for the people?

2.2. Development: Social and Economic Improvement for the People

There are two factors, which are essential in the development of people. The first is leadership through education, and the second is democracy in decision-making.

(Nyerere, 1973:61)

In this section, we will not focus on the interesting but rather theoretical discussions on the different 'schools of thought' about development (for such see Coetzee et al. 2001, Jackson and Jackson, 1997). We will also not uncritically adopt contemporary development concepts from Western states, despite their tremendous influence since the end of the 'cold war'. Development entails a process of improving poor living-conditions in the sectors of housing, health-care, education, employment, political rights etc. – in general, poverty-reduction (UNDP, 2002). We agree with Adebajo Adedeji, the former Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), who points out the particular interrelationship between democracy and development. "It is not enough to state that political democracy is a prerequisite for economic growth, and political freedom a prerequisite for economic efficiency. There are several possibilities" (Adedeji, 1993:100).

2.2.1. Liberal Concepts: Economic Growth for Development

It is widely known that the liberal concept of development expands its purely economic approach to the whole paradigm of the liberal state in the West. This means that it is shaped by the liberal democratic governance of the state and its institutions. Together with international economic exchange, these elements compose the system of 'liberal modernity'. Liberal theory seems to stress the importance of the participation of people, the protection of human rights, and the existence of a strong civil society (Rawls, 2003). Liberalism has its emphasis on free market policy and economic growth strategies, while the citizenry's participation and human rights are also seen as pre-conditions for economic development (World Bank, 2000). Despite this apparent discrepancy between economic and social policy approaches, liberalism clearly assumes a trickle-down strategy for development: economic growth comes first, then democratic development and economic redistribution.

Reliable worldwide research (World Bank 2000, *African Development Indicators*) does not show a direct relationship between a positive economic performance and the democratization of a country (see also Amartya Sen, 1999). Research rather shows that there is no reliable evidence that the interrelationship is relevant. Economic liberalization does not clearly impact on democratic development nor vice versa. A "significant political liberalization that occurred in the 1990s has not so far had a significant impact on economic performance" (Van de Walle, 2001:256) in Africa.

People-centred theory sees development as a process whereby members of society increase their personal and institutional capacities “to mobilize and manage resources, to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life, consistent with their own aspirations” (Sen in Korten, 1999). The UNDP is fundamentally concerned with human development. Though it shares some concerns with the ‘basic needs/economic development’ approach – the importance of meeting core human needs in the reduction of poverty – it goes beyond this to focus on the expansion of choices, opportunities and capabilities as the general objective of development, making room for less rigid and more culturally oriented policies (Sen, 1981). People’s participation is another key concept of human development. The term describes the active involvement by people in civic and development organisations, political parties and local government, with the purpose of influencing or having a say in decisions that affect their lives (Roodt in Coetzee et al., 2001).

The socio-economic disparity between rich and poor countries has increased in recent years – the gap is widening (Social Watch, 2003). Economic globalisation until now has favoured only the views of some transnational companies and stakeholders, rather than of individual countries or communities. It threatens many, especially those in poor sub-Saharan African countries and – as a specific example – in India, where 500 million people face starvation. “The dominant model of ‘economic development’ has in fact become anti-life,” says Vandana Shiva, Director of the Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology in New Delhi, and a very outspoken critic of globalisation, “the dramatic consequence of an unleashed capitalism combined with increasing violence and insecurity. ... Globalisation of agriculture has allowed the dumping of subsidised, artificially cheap products which are robbing small farmers of livelihoods, markets, incomes” (Shiva in *New Agenda*, 2004:74-5). Shiva talks of “negative economics that is being globalized by the rules of the WTO and the imperatives of structural adjustment.” She points further to the possible dramatic consequences of a decimated, eroded democracy: “Economic globalization is fuelling economic insecurity, eroding cultural diversity and identity, and assaulting the political freedoms of citizens. It is providing fertile ground for the cultivation of fundamentalism and terrorism” (ibid).

Criticism of neo-liberalism has risen within development organisations, such as the IMF, WTO, UNDP and World Bank, as some top-level officers publicly discuss their concerns: former World Bank Director and Nobel Prize Winner in Economics, Joseph Stiglitz, for instance, states that international organisations such as the IMF, the WTO and the

World Bank have so far failed to make a significant reduction in poverty (Stiglitz, 2002). Amartya Sen, another Nobel Prize Winner in Economics (1998), claims “individual freedom as a social commitment” (Sen, 1999: 296) because people themselves must take responsibility for the development and the change of the world in which they live. He puts his emphasis on the perspective of “human capability” (the choices people have for their lives) as a decisive factor for social change and desirable development. A quite similar idea and social concept of “human freedom”, as Sen and Stiglitz promoted recently, was developed by Nyerere forty years ago with the model of *Ujamaa*.

2.2.2. Socialist Development, Ujamaa and Self-Reliance

Ujamaa villages are intended to be socialist organizations created by the people, and governed by those who live and work in them. ...No one can be forced into an *Ujamaa* village... An *Ujamaa* village is a voluntary association of people who decide of their own free will to live together and work together for their common good. (Nyerere, 1973:67)

In Tanzania, the new national policy of socialism gained tremendous popular engagement in the 1960s, and intellectuals and technical experts from all over the world came to support the *Ujamaa* process and learn from it (see basic principles in section 3.2.). Cranford Pratt who used to be one of them, as the first Principal of the University College in Dar es Salaam, summarised the fundamental changes aimed for in Tanzanian society:

Nyerere was seeking to place Tanzania irrevocably on the road to a genuinely socialist society. The banks, the foreign-owned plantations and important parts of the limited industrial sector were nationalized; an attempt was made to regulate a wide range of private economic activities; a stringent leadership code was introduced to contain corruption and to block the emergence of private economic activities by senior party and government leaders and officials. There was an extensive expropriation of household properties that were not occupied by their owners; a reform of the educational system was launched, designed to ensure that young Tanzanians would embrace the values and acquire the skills appropriate to a national society of equals; TANU took on the task of inducing peasants to farm collectively and very large numbers of peasants were moved from their rural holdings to newly created villages. (Pratt in McDonald and Sahle, 2002:48)

This shows the impact of Nyerere's *Ujamaa project for people*. This “villagisation” programme (see also Hartman's criticism in section 2.1.4.) was the heart of *Ujamaa*. It grouped people into village communities in order to “cultivate land together and be provided with essential services. ...This project did not survive. It collapsed along with socialism

elsewhere in the world”, writes Temwende²⁶, who participated in the programme in the 1960s and early 1970s. He analyses the major failures but still awards some principal benefits of *Ujamaa*:

Central planning proved itself unable to mobilise the country's economic forces and there were too many management errors, not to mention cases of embezzlement. However, although the economic performance of the period was far from satisfactory, standards of living did improve. Access to education and health services was extended and national unity was consolidated. (Temwende in FES, 2001:39)

The socialist experiment in Tanzania from the 1960s until the 1980s encouraged development and provided an inspiring alternative to liberal-conservative and free-market-oriented politics, especially to the neo-liberal approaches of the USA ('Reaganomics') and the UK ('Thatcherism'). In the 1980s and early 1990s, Robert and Doreen Jackson observed a “perceptible rise in conservatism throughout the Western democracies”, pointing out that more and more “parties espousing conservative ideology governed in Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Japan, Italy, and West Germany during much of this time” (Jackson and Jackson, 1997:176).

Tanzania with its socialist policy, which was a sign of hope for many young African states, was a fundamental political threat to conservative countries, not only because of Tanzania's relationship with the USSR and China – the leading communist countries – but as an ideological challenge. The advancement and involvement of the communist powers in Africa endangered the victory of the capitalist countries and their ideology, where some of them still enjoyed 'colonial privileges' of economic exploitation. They feared that the communist countries would win the cold war in Africa and thus extend and consolidate their influence (see e.g. Iliffe 1979; Othman 2000). What was the centrepiece of Nyerere's political confession and his socialist vision of *Ujamaa* (section 3.2.), and what did the “Arusha Declaration: Socialism and Self-Reliance” from 1967 contribute to social development in Tanzania?

2.2.3. Arusha Declaration and the Leadership Code

The draft paper of the Arusha Declaration was prepared by Nyerere, “but this was amended in a number of particulars. The Declaration is thus a Party document, not the

²⁶ Mr Temwende is a scholar of the *Kivukoni Academy for Social Sciences* in Tanzania.

exclusive work of the President Nyerere” (Nyerere, 1968:231). It combines principles for the TANU constitution (“The TANU Creed”), “The Policy of Socialism”, “The Policy of Self-Reliance”, “TANU Membership” and as “Part Five: The Arusha Resolution”, which includes sections “The Leadership”, “The Government ...” and finally “Membership”.

The mass-movement TANU was supposed to become a party with qualified membership and responsible leaders. “Where it is thought unlikely that an applicant really accepts the beliefs, aims and objectives of the Party, he should be denied membership” (Nyerere, 1968:248). Positions of leadership in TANU and government combined top, high and middle cadres. “In this context ‘leaders’ means a man, or a man and his wife; a woman, or a woman and her husband” (ibid: 249). Some principles and aims, which determine the expectation for ‘good policies’ in Tanzania, are equally important for the leadership profile of the good leader:

The principles of our policy of self-reliance go hand in hand with our policy on Socialism. In order to prevent exploitation it is necessary for everybody to work and to live on his own labour. And in order to distribute the national wealth fairly, it is necessary for everybody to work to the maximum of his ability. Nobody should go and stay for a long time with his relative, doing no work, because in doing so he will be exploiting his relative. ... In our country work should be something to be proud of, and laziness, drunkenness and idleness should be things to be ashamed of. ... In order to maintain our independence and our people’s freedom we ought to be self-reliant in every possible way and avoid depending upon other countries for assistance.

TANU realizes the importance of good leadership. The problem is that we have not prepared proper plans for the training of leaders. The Party Headquarters is now called upon to prepare specific plans for the training of leaders from the national level down to the leaders of the ten-house cells, so that all may understand our political and economic policies. Leaders must be good example to the rest of the people through their actions and in their own lives. (ibid: 247-248)

Of the 6 ‘mandates’ of the leadership code for good leadership, the following are particularly crucial, in Nyerere’s perspective:

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 enterprises.
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.

(ibid: 249)

The process of nationalization of industries and banks soon followed the Arusha Declaration and created new economic ownership with emphasis on public enterprises and government controlled key sectors (industries, agriculture – as with the sisal plantations – mineral resources, forests, land tenure, water, electricity etc.). Nyerere addressed the leadership and pointed out the aims of investment:

We have rejected the domination of private enterprise; but we shall continue to welcome private investment in all those areas not reserved for Government in the Arusha Declaration No private investor will be allowed to participate in the industry which manufactures weapons of death. (ibid: 254-255)

Nyerere managed to start the transformation of the “capitalist” society into a “socialist” society. In order to secure a smooth transition he invited foreigners to work in Tanzania, skilled technical experts and senior leadership, for positions in “Civil Service and other Government enterprises, ... for which no Tanzanian is qualified” (ibid: 256).

Some years later, Jackson and Roseberg (1982) evaluated the first decade of the Tanzanian experiment and stated that “Nyerere’s mastery not only of a rhetoric” helped to make the fundamental changes of the system understood, also to the “ordinary man”. The ‘leadership code’ contributed to build a less privileged political elite:

Members of this elite have been given less latitude to acquire wealth through politics than the elites of less puritanical regimes. ... The diminution of class divisions, however, means not only less economic exploitation by progressive farmers and entrepreneurs, but also a decrease in the material contribution that their pursuit of wealth could make to Tanzanian’s economy. (ibid: 231)

On the other hand, Jackson and Roseberg conclude their comparison of African leaders like Nkrumah, Se’kou Toure’ and others with the remark:

Julius Nyerere alone has been able to narrow the gap between the political present and the socialist future. ... Whether the result will prove to be worth the efforts remains to be seen; experience to date has not provided much ground for optimism. But whatever the result, the point to be emphasized is that the ruler has been critically important in the effort. (ibid: 233)

The leadership code was a centrepiece of the Arusha Declaration, which formulated ‘ideal leaders’ along the socialist principles of *Ujamaa* (section 3.2. and Appendix 2). It was

also a very specific tool Nyerere created to discipline the leaders who would not voluntarily 'obey' because they followed other, often capitalist objectives and interests. Nyerere taught that "discipline must exist in every aspect of our lives. And it must be willingly accepted discipline. For it is an essential part of both freedom and development" (Nyerere, 1973:64). In his famous paper, "Freedom and Development", highly disputed within TANU, Nyerere articulated self-criticism of the quality and the pace of political and economic progress. He highlighted the democratic aspect of leadership:

We should have taken the trouble to understand the development policies our Party is trying to pursue, and we should be explaining these policies to the people. ... The people must make the decisions about their own future through democratic procedures. Leadership cannot replace democracy; it must be part of democracy. (ibid: 62)

This strong belief in the necessity of democratic attitudes of leaders and the led, the "people", was part of Nyerere's philosophy of human dignity and equality. Leadership should not be on one side, an attractive privilege or on the other side, a heavy burden. Leadership means "being one of the people, and recognizing your equality with them" (ibid: 61). Development could only happen if leaders and the led, the people, participated commonly in the decision-making and implementation of tasks, in every sector of society.

2.2.4. People-Centred Development: Nyerere's Vision

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. (Nyerere, 1974:27)

The first [Tanganyikan] to get a university degree did so in 1952, only nine years before [Tanganyikan] Independence. At Independence we had twelve African medical doctors and two engineers, for a population of 11 million people. ... When I stepped down as President of my country in 1985, about 90% of the children were receiving a seven-year primary education, secondary schools had been quadrupled in number, we had a couple of universities and adult literacy classes, and had converted 85% illiteracy into 90% literacy. The most basic health care had been brought within 10 kilometres of about 80% of people, between 70% and 80% of whom still lived in the rural areas. (Nyerere in MNF, 2000:27–28)²⁷

²⁷ Speech given at Conference on Africa in Brasilia, Brazil, 18 September 1996.

Freedom and development are interdependent. Nyerere quotes the South Commission Report, which was written under his leadership:

True development has to be people-centred. [The report] defines development as 'a process which enables human beings to realise their potential, building self-confidence, and lead lives of dignity and fulfilment. It is a process which frees people from the fear of want and exploitation. It is a movement away from political, economic or social oppression. Through development, political independence acquires its true significance. ... If development is about people, who are both individuals and members of a society, there is consequently an organic link between genuine development and democracy. In the longer run neither is sustainable without the other. (Nyerere in Museveni, 1992: 9–10)

The Tanzanian Government states still in 1999 that human development should be the goal of economic growth (UNDP Tanzania, 2000), recalling Nyerere's principle of people-centred development. However, in pledging to implement economic reforms aimed at the deregulation of the market and prices, privatisation of public enterprises, downsizing of the state apparatus and the liberalisation of trade during previous structural reform agreements (Salles, 2001), the country had also to commit itself to poverty reduction (PRSP, 2000). Whether or not those mainstream development strategies are compatible is questionable. Coming from the socialist tradition of *Ujamaa*, development in Tanzania was centred on rural development, redistribution and equality. The formation of a national identity that extended beyond the limits of tribal ties became the basis for Tanzania's domestic stability (Bohnet in Engel et al., 2000). Recently, and under the influence of liberal market policy, experts put together a document formulating a development vision for the future (GOT, 1999), for year 2025. This vision is described as the "graduation of the country as a middle income country with a high level of human development" (ibid: paragraph 1.2). The document continues:

The economy will have been transformed from a low productivity economy to a semi-industrialized one, led by modernized and highly productive agricultural activities which are effectively integrated and buttressed by supportive industrial and service activities in the rural and urban areas. (GOT, 1999)

At the centre of all strategies to achieve that vision ("free from poverty"), good governance, rule of law and democratic leadership, rather than economic development are said to be essential (Tandari in FES, 2001:63-64).

Samuel M. Wangwe, one of the leading economists in Tanzania and advisor to the national government, recommends a careful transformation towards a more market-oriented

economy and private sector-led development. Agriculture should be the backbone but needs a fundamental reform, Wangwe says, since technologies and skills are still very limited. "Agricultural revolution could help many African countries out of poverty. But this possibility is still dependent on the vagaries of weather and there is hardly any application of IT in African agriculture." (Wangwe in Othman, 2000:179-190) He claims that the political leadership needs:

to chart out medium-term and long-term development perspectives which will ensure that domestic resources are effectively mobilised, accumulation is accelerated and profits are translated into investment which leads to broad-based growth and rising living standards for the mass of the population. (ibid: 188)

For Wangwe and the Economic and Social Research Foundation (ESRF), the globalisation process for Tanzania should be "inclusionist and integrative" rather than "exclusionist and marginalising"; and integration into the world economy has to be carefully steered – a real political leadership challenge. A conducive environment for economic success is needed; especially intensive efforts in building human and institutional capacities that can enhance socio-economic development. The political environment thus demands good leadership and good governance, particularly accountable state officials and a policy to reduce corruption. Wangwe suggests:

Good governance entails transparency in government procedures, in transactions, and in the processing of investment decisions, contracts and appointments. This not only keeps the system accountable to its people but also creates an informed public, hence increasing their broad participation in the policy-making process. The rule of law must be adhered by the government and its citizens. (ibid: 179–190)

Tanzania shows today, despite an economic growth of 4 to 5% per year, a rather bleak picture regarding governance and the rule of law. In 2001, Tanzania still ranked in the 'top ten' most corrupt countries in the world, ranked 82 out of 91 states (Transparency International, 2001). The Annual Report of the State of Corruption in Tanzania 2001, masterminded by Wangwe and the ESRF, describes the situation as a serious problem (ESRF and FACEIT, 2002). The report, which deals with the perceptions of the Tanzanian population about different forms of corruption, concludes that corruption "has wide ranging effects on political and socio-economic development of a society ... and erodes democracy and good governance", adding that "fighting against corruption has a long history in Tanzania" (ibid: 155). There is consensus that corruption is an enemy to socio-economic

development. Good governance can only be reached through people's development. Education is then a fundamental pillar – from basic 'education for all' to specific capacity building and training activities.

2.2.5. Education: Basis for Development in Tanzania

We are in the process of building up a Tanganyikan nation. Valuable as is the contribution which overseas education can give us, in the long run, if we are to build up a sturdy sense of nationhood, we must have an African-oriented education. That is an education which is not only given in Africa but also directed at meeting the present needs of Africa. For, while other people can aim at reaching the moon, and while in future we might aim at reaching the moon, our present plans must be directed at reaching the villages. (Nyerere, 1966:130-31)

Those were Nyerere's words at the first formal ceremony of the new University College of Dar es Salaam, in October 25, 1961.

The political philosophy and the government policies in the first years after independence were directed to the goal of equal opportunities in education and integration of all ethnic groups (about 120), including Asians and Europeans. The building up of an adequate education system, culturally acceptable and comparable to international standards, was a big challenge for TANU and Nyerere because of the colonial past. The colonial education was oriented by the interests of the colonial master; the Germans had an 'assimilative' approach, and the British an 'adaptive' approach in educating a tiny group of children and adults, often from privileged households (chief-families, administrative officers, business people). After the Second World War, the situation improved. Iliffe writes, "apart from groundnuts, the most contentious area of post-war policy was education. Tanganyika's educational backwardness brought repeated criticism from London" (Iliffe, 1979:444).

The scattered settlements in Tanganyika made it more difficult to develop and implement more effective schooling. Some groups refused European education, as some of the Muslim areas did.

In 1948, literacy among children between six and fifteen years old varied from 21 percent in Tanga Province to 5 percent in Central Province. Whereas in 1956 some 90 per cent of Chagga children were at school, the proportion among ...the Arusha [was] only 34 per cent. (ibid: 445)

Despite a strong increase of literacy in 8 years, there are still disparities even within more developed areas, for example, Chaggas living in the wider area of Arusha.

The promotion of 'free schooling for all' increased the enrolment significantly. "Between 1961 and 1966 the increase in primary education was from 482,121 to 740,991 [pupils], an average of 54 %" (Morrison in Scheidtweiler and McDonald, 1997:27). The primary education depended on communities, its resources and the local authorities, which soon led to qualitative and quantitative differences within Tanzania. After independence, schooling with an African syllabus became a high priority for the government.

In 1949 and 1950 five African students, including myself, received Government scholarships to study in universities in the United Kingdom. We were the first and the last....Tanganyika has less students at Makerere than either Kenya or Uganda and the tiny island of Zanzibar has more students studying in the United Kingdom than Tanzania." (Nyerere in a statement to the U.N. Fourth Commission, December 20, 1956. (Nyerere, 1966:41))

The need for a rapidly designed and implemented system for higher education and leadership training in all sectors of society, be it government, TANU-party or civil society groups, was great; more than 2000 government positions previously held by foreigners, particularly Britons, became vacant. The educational priority was on primary education and despite strong efforts, the secondary school expansion was still very small. "The enrolment in public secondary schools rose from 14,175 in 1962 to 41,965 [pupils], while in private secondary schools it increased from 9,961 in 1970 to 30,162 [pupils] in 1981"(Galabawa in Scheidtweiler and McDonald, 1997: 28). In 1986, about 38% of the students in secondary schools were girls. Only about 4% of primary school leavers in 1982 entered the secondary school; in the 1970s and 1980s only 3 to 4% of the secondary school students entered University. However, the enrolment at the University increased remarkably from 1962 (17 students) to 1980 (3,357 students); at the end of the 1990s, the enrolment was about 5,000 students per year, still low compared to Kenya. Because of the urgent need of teachers for secondary schools in the 1960s and 1970s, compromises had to be made and local graduate teachers were trained in "crash programs" to improve the situation (ibid: 28-31). Investment in education became very costly.

It is now time that we look again at the justification for a poor society like ours spending almost 20 per cent of its Government revenues on providing education for its children and young people, and begin to consider what that education should be doing... The fact that pre-colonial Africa did not have 'schools' – except for short periods of initiation in some tribes – did not mean that the children were not educated. They learned by living and doing. In the homes and on the farms they were taught the skills of the society, and the behaviour expected of its members. (Nyerere, 1968: 268)

The budget for education in 1981 rose to about 12 percent, compared to about 4 percent at the end of 1990s. The economic crises, which started in the late 1970s, impacted negatively on social expenditure. In the late 1980s, the education policy changed once more, as the restrictions of the Structural Adjustment Programmes developed by the World Bank and the IMF, generated deep cuts in social budgets.

The emergency 'production' of teachers and academicians did not contribute much to a society able to face the social and economic tasks of a nation in transition. Especially given the challenges (and threats) of an open and competitive society with a free-market policy – export-orientated and aiming at attracting foreign direct investments (FDI) – in the 1990s, the conceptual approach and the result of the educational system in Tanzania was not satisfactory. Adequate capacity building to generate skills, competence and commitment became the pressing problem of Tanzania. Anyang'Nyong'o²⁸, a renowned social critic from Kenya, describes the situation for East Africa since independence:

In the 1960s, universities, schools, polytechnics and research centres were few and far between in most African countries. By the end of the eighties, the picture was very different. Not only had there been an explosion in the number of high school graduates, but also even college and University graduates were now failing to get employment. ... The economy could not absorb them because they were inappropriately prepared or trained for 'the potential jobs out there'. (ibid: 49)

However, in Tanzania the enthusiasm was high, when TANU introduced 'Education for Self-Reliance', (ESR), as the first developmental programme after the Arusha Declaration in 1967. Nyerere recalls the main objectives, which he in 1996 still defended and prized at the conference of the African Educational Trust, in England 4th June 1996:

Its definition of the universal purpose of education remains valid I think: 'to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development' ... Education for Self-reliance was issued in 1967 in the context of our aspiration to build socialism in Tanzania. (2000:43-44)

Prof. Marjorie Mbilinyi, educator and gender-expert at the University of Dar es Salaam and one of the prominent leaders of civil society in Tanzania, remembers her participation in the ESR-project. She gives a lively and colourful picture of the participatory approach of the

²⁸ Since 2003, Minister for Planning in Kenya.

programme and highlights its influence on building leadership, feminism and gender awareness.

Can you recall the excitement, the energy generating among teachers and students alike, when they debated the role of the intellectual in a socialist society at the University? ...Idealism? Of course. Without an idealistic vision of the future, and of the way things ought to be, things do not happen. And things *did* happen! Transformative educators took advantage of the space provided to make changes in the curriculum, teaching methods, examination techniques at school level, relations between school and community, and organisational structures within the school itself. Students were encouraged to think for themselves. Historians were galvanised to produce a locally relevant story of the past, which met the concerns of the present. Not only African kings and queens, to replace the old English ones, but stories about slaves, peasants, workers, anti-colonial activists. Much of ESR reform had a nationalistic bent: Tanzanian novels and poetry replaced that of Britain, for example, and Kiswahili became the preferred medium for literature. ... There were real efforts to democratise the school and classroom: to throw away the cane; reduce the terrible power of the final examinations, reward critical thinking, creative ideas, and challenging questions. (Mbilinyi in Othman, 2000:201-202)

ESR was a democratic approach for schools and universities in Tanzania, which was based on the political concept of critical education. Liberation and the idea of a new national identity, to overcome the colonial heritage and burden of oppression were particular objectives for Nyerere. But this “revolutionary” educational change – for girls and boys, women and men – became a big challenge for a traditional and authoritarian society. “Why, however”, asks Mbilinyi, “did this not become the general rule?” The reasons she gives are mostly related to the traditional and authoritarian structure of the society:

Educational reformers had failed to critique the nature of patriarchal parent-child relations in the home and community. The cane was and is the king, a major tool of authoritarian power governing relations between parents (be they male or female) and their children. Others pointed out the paradox of promoting cooperation within a world which was increasingly drawn into the orbit of global capitalist economics, and dependent, therefore, on competitive values and behaviours. (ibid: 202)

The progressive educational movement, however, survived and could even advance with their ideas of liberation and ‘democratic pedagogy’. Particularly transformative educators –

did not give up the struggle... to transform education from within. Feminist educators, teachers and students challenged the male dominant structures of school and classroom....Educators took special steps to encourage girls and women to pursue their educational goals. They confronted parents who wanted to withdraw daughters from school for marriage, and sometimes paid the school fees. (ibid: 203)

The women's movement continued to grow and became specifically effective in the field of feminist policy and gender networking. The ideas and programmes of advocacy groups and women research activities spread from Dar es Salaam to smaller centres of activities in Iringa, Tanga, Arusha, Mwanza, Dodoma etc. Mbilinyi refers to her enlightening experiences with 'participatory action research' as a locally-based democratic research activity, which she relates to the works of Rahman and Paulo Freire. Both researcher and political thinker were influential in the socialist critical educational discussion and in the conceptualisation of a people-centred system of education – Education for Self Reliance – in Tanzania. The strong involvement of Tanzanian women in the preparation and organisation of the Women's World Conferences (1980, 1985, 1995) and the appointment of Gertrude Mongela, MP, as General Secretary of the Beijing Women Conference contributed to further activities of East African women organisations and to the creation of productive networks. An expanding result of these activities is the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), which was founded in 1993. Professor Mbilinyi summarizes the common political and paradigmatic orientation of the movements which grew out of the Education for Self Reliance (ESR), from 1967: "Participatory researchers, popular educators and animator facilitators share a people-centred vision of development, which is in stark contrast to *market ideology*" (ibid: 207-208).

We can evaluate Nyerere's educational approach, particularly the ESR, as a centre-piece of his lifework and as a foundation for a new political leadership: Nyerere fought for an African educational system, which could combine people's traditional experiences with the new political philosophy of Tanzanian socialism and the knowledge of the 'modern world'. He believed that a new curriculum was needed, and that a critical education (for example Paulo Freire's *conscientização*; Freire also worked in Tanzania for some time) would lead to self-awareness for everybody and to a genuine dignity for all Tanzanians, for all Africans. Nyerere thought that the people in the villages and also the leaders, the politicians, would find within themselves a political-ethical commitment to do their job, to work for a new society, for *Ujamaa* socialism in Tanzania. All teachers, Nyerere believed, would be proud to

work for the nation; it was a privilege to be a "Mwalimu". The big task was to contribute to a society of equals – no more exploitation. Tanzania would have many teachers, to free the people from slave-work, and make them resistant to the temptations of capitalism, which he saw as 'many things and few thoughts' about the needs of people. All people would work together. To 'humanise the people' was an objective that bound Nyerere and Freire in their hope for socialist reform.

Not all educationists believed that this brand of socialism would lead to the education and training Tanzanians needed for an adequate and competitive development policy. Even some leaders from TANU, later CCM, were cautious (clandestine?) supporters of a market-oriented policy, although often on the basis of a social-market economy. Maria Kamm, a then CCM-MP and renowned educationist critically evaluates her experiences:

The period of political "revolutionary" ideas suffocated the emergence of a systematic development of a skilled labour force. The dichotomy is that even the philosophy of "education for self-reliance" (Julius K. Nyerere) was not understood and therefore could not meaningfully be implemented" (Kamm in Meyns, ed., 1996:276).

Kamm in an article about her "Educationist Odyssey" compares the educational requirements in Germany and Tanzania, and claims for Tanzania an enhanced Vocational Training system, which is still missing.

Trade School, Craft Centres or "Berufsschule" – the important thing is: The acquisition of Basic Skills, and the opportunity to transform skills into production. ... The education provided must be steered towards enabling the transformation of society from a subsistence life of misery, to a better standard of living. ... Concentration must be primarily on production for local needs besides the competitive external market, which cannot be avoided. (ibid: 277)

Nyerere's socialist welfare policy consisted of public health care and 'education for all' and granted social and political stability to the forming country. But Nyerere's policy quickly failed because of too high and idealistic expectations on the leadership, be they politicians, teachers or farmers (see section 5.4.1.). Further failures were his ignorance of the market-oriented external influences, which undermined his rigid and inflexible socialist economic policy. Nowadays, transition to democracy determines the system of society that guarantees more individual rights to its people and aims at a life of dignity and security, but it fails to provide social services to everybody.

2.2.6. Social-Democratic Reform and Partnership: A Short Excursion to Germany

Peace and stability interrelates somehow Tanzania's (social) democratic politics with the programme of the German Social Democratic Party, SPD (until the 1990s). The political philosophy of both parties have a dream or a vision in common, which is a welfare state with social justice and a political framework based on national and international peace and human security.

In the "Berliner Programme", adopted by the SPD just after the 'break of the wall' in December 1989, the party-congress states "what we want", and draws a line from principles of equality to social justice, with a perspective of employment for everybody:

We want peace. We are working for a world in which all the peoples of the Earth live together in common security, waging their conflicts not through war or an arms race, but rather through peaceful competition in order to achieve a decent life; ... in which all the peoples of Europe work together within a democratic and social peace order, emanating hope and peace for the peoples of the South; ... We want a global society that permanently preserves the existence of humankind and nature on our planet through new forms of economic activity. We want social equality for women and men, a society without classes, privileges, discrimination and exclusion. We want a society in which all women and men have a right to decent employment, in which all work is treated as equal. (SPD, 1990: 6)

The political reality seems to be less progressive; deficits in equality and an increasing unemployment rate are significant issues, which concern the whole society. Since the end of the cold war, the political mainstream is neo-liberal and free-market oriented, which favours the rich countries and disadvantages the poor economies. The industrialised countries, however, have more and more socio-economic problems of their own. Economic crisis in rich countries such as Germany is causing tremendous democratic turmoil and significant changes in political culture, including the rise of right-wing and fascist parties. In Western Europe, the widely acclaimed 'Germany Model' (Modell Deutschland) of the Social Democrats, developed and maintained under Chancellors Brandt and Schmidt, is almost dead. Deep cuts in the social security system, coupled with an unemployment rate of about 10 percent, affect big parts of the population of 84 million people, unnerving the populace, especially the vulnerable lower and lower-middle classes.

The Coalition of Social Democrats (SPD) and the Green Party (*Bündnis die Grünen*) confirmed their coalition government through electoral victory in 2002. Within months of

restructuring the labour market and reforming the social system²⁹ to make it viable, they lost – in state elections as well as in opinion polls – their clear electoral majority to the conservative-liberal and centre-right parties, which favour a neo-liberal market policy. Michael Dauderstaedt, a political analyst, explains the presently limited possibilities for social democrats in the Western world:

The long-lived dominance of liberal (and conservative) policies and the one-sided emphasis on market integration have created a deficit of democratic control in Europe, particularly over market processes. The more unsatisfactory the outcome of market-led development – i.e. rising unemployment, poverty and inequality – the more serious is this situation. ...The overall context of social-democratic policies in Europe is modified by globalisation and enhanced integration (internal market, monetary union). Not only companies but their all-round social and political environments are entering into competition. ...The central problem remains the trade-off between employment and income: this is where national divergences threaten the social consensus in Europe. ...Finally, a social and democratic Europe needs a critical public at all policy-making levels. (Dauderstaedt, 2001)

European Union's loss of the social consensus and the growing competition in an increasing number of political and economic sectors in society – including privatisation of the 'public good' – limits the socio-economic actions of the state. The European Union puts criteria of stability, which does not allow a national state, e.g. Germany (with a 'red-green' government), to increase its/their debts (deficit spending) to stimulate an economic and social policy process of growth because of more employment and more consumption. Reform policy has limited direct influence.

This has impacts on the intended North-South partnership (Nyerere and Brandt, see section 3.3.), which has as one of its goals to materialize solidarity and partnership between the North and the South via "redistribution" of wealth (from the North to the South). Some of the projected policies of the German social democrats were oriented to promote "self-reliance" and sustainable economic and social development particularly for Sub-Saharan Africa. The cancellation of heavy debts and the financial and technological support for a consolidated development in Africa were implemented plans of partnership policies. In 2002, Germany cancelled bilateral debts. The major current framework for socio-economic cooperation between Tanzania and Germany is integrated in a free-market-oriented programme of the European Union. The major cooperation programme, under the "Cotonou-

²⁹ The 'Harz-Kommission', Programm I-IV.

Agreement" (FES, 2002), is carved along the principles of free trade philosophy (WTO), although it includes a 'softener' for a smoother transition of poorer countries to the dire and strained reality of global competition. A real fundamental relief for the South, particularly for Africa, would be to fairly open the European market for their products. On the other hand, such a policy needs a radical reform of the European system of subsidy in the agrarian sector (and of the USA system as well). This reform, to cut down financial support for farmers, is heavily disputed and did not get a consensus until 2004. Only recently, mid-2005, has a constructive discussion within the member states of the European Union been started. However, the resistance of agrarian states like France is 'iron' and even Germany does not fully support the policy of "cutting subsidies" in order to socially redistribute wealth to the South. Tanzania would benefit from such a policy and many other African countries as well.

2.3. Unity and Peace

In 1960, just before this country became independent, I think I was then chief minister; I received a delegation of Masai elders from Kenya, led by an American missionary. And they came to persuade me to let the Masai invoke something called the Anglo-Masai Agreement so that that section of the Masai in Kenya should become part of Tanganyika; so that when Tanganyika becomes independent, it includes part of Masai, from Kenya. I suspected the American missionary was responsible for that idea. I don't remember that I was particularly polite to him. Kenyatta was then in detention, and here somebody comes to me, that we should break up Kenya and make part of Kenya part of Tanganyika. (Nyerere in Mwakikagile, 2002:390)

The following section will deal with Nyerere's personal philosophy and leading policies toward African unity and peace, and will show his principled attitude as political leader. The conceptual presentation of "Unity and Peace" will only give a few striking examples of Nyerere's ethical perception and his political attitudes in the making of Tanzania and Africa. At the centre of our historical and hermeneutical research is the leader Nyerere with the capacity to analyse and assess situations, influence and often convince other top political leadership of Africa and abroad to act in a specific way, although not always successfully.

Nyerere advanced the idea of African unity and – particularly – of regional African unification (e.g. EAC) his whole life. With consistent and logical arguments and never-ending enthusiasm, he promoted the idea of unity even before independence, and he urged the (heterogeneous) states to agree on a minimum consensus, for the sake of a 'movement for

African unity'. For Nyerere, the Tanganyikan process of nation building –*Ujamaa*– socialism (see section 3.2.), and the African process of regionalisation with the aim of unification, went hand in hand. This was unlike the Ghanaian leader Nkrumah, who propagated and fought ideologically for a united Africa and an immediate political Union in a time of a very diverse colonially “dominated” Africa.

Both objectives – nation building and African unification – were necessary conditions for socio-economic development, which would contribute to political stability, and which was, for Nyerere, “essential to our freedom. For without political stability African countries will remain the playthings of others”(Nyerere, 1973:111). Tanzania and Nyerere were (and are still) well known for their peace policies and reconciliatory dealing with conflicts and crises. In the history of Tanzania, we are faced with few exceptions where violence was used instead of peaceful means: for example, the war against Amin-Uganda in 1978 (see section 2.3.2) and the liberation struggle against the apartheid regimes and the oppression in Southern Africa. The later crisis, only solved in the 1990s, was a permanent concern for Nyerere and TANU; Nyerere's uncompromising involvement in the freedom struggle is well known and honoured worldwide (see e.g. section 3.3.1.).

2.3.1. Solidarity – The Campaign for International Support

For Nyerere, end of the 1960s Africa was "anxious for peace in Southern Africa. But the possibility of this depends upon the possibility of ending the present injustice without war", concludes Nyerere (1973:118) on a problematic situation with increasing violence in Southern Africa. To make the crucial case known and the deadlock internationally prominent, Nyerere used every chance to campaign for an end to the “injustice in Southern Africa”. In an instructive speech about “*Stability and Change in Africa*” (ibid: 108-125) at the University of Toronto in Canada at the occasion of a Honorary Doctorate of Law (1969), he demonstrates his brilliant analytical capacity in deconstructing the complicated international relations of the Southern African crisis, and 'detects' the motives of their actors (Southern African states, their "Western allies", free Africa, United Nations). And, on the other hand, simultaneously he wins the sympathy of the high-ranking assembled audience to support 'his African issue', a socialist policy for "Peace and Unity". Nyerere challenges the Canadian audience in taking them on their 'moral obligation' and international responsibility as a "large, wealthy and peace-loving state" (ibid: 124): “We believe that this country has both the opportunity and the willingness to try to build bridges in the world and in particular to build a bridge across the

chasm of colour" (ibid:124). With a touching confession about the weaknesses and difficulties even of a "freed and united" Africa, Nyerere appealed for partiality from Canada against the Southern African oppressors:

Let me make it quite clear that I am not promising peace, stability, democracy, humanity or an absence of oppression in Africa, provided Canada (either alone or with its allies) recognizes the freedom struggle in Southern Africa for what it is, and adopts attitudes in conformity with its own principles. Africa has too many problems for that kind of optimism.... But we are determined to gain the chance to try to deal with these problems. And we can only give top priority to these questions of developing individual freedom and individual dignity when the whole of Africa is free. (ibid: 124-125)

We learnt that Canada became one of the decisive Western powers who tried to use their influence in order to solve the Southern African crisis peacefully, and to urge for a change of the racial politics; a further result was the growing friendship between the two countries, which endures until present times.

2.3.2. African Unity despite Ideological Differences

Nyerere often warned his fellow colleagues, presidents, heads of state and parliamentarians not to risk the common project of African unity because of short-term benefits or advantages one expects to get from participating in bloc-building or from political isolation of countries with "another" ideological orientation. On a political West Africa tour in 1968, Nyerere made his point clear; at the Liberian Parliament he explained the danger of alignment and ideological separation, and advocated for unity:

There are in Africa 38 sovereign states, and 38 different internal policies. Some of us call ourselves socialists, some don't, ...But if we fall into the trap of establishing 'socialist blocs' and 'non-socialist blocs', we shall be doing very great harm to our cause of unity. (Nyerere,1973: 22)

What he sought as the solution to overcome the growing political differences and ideological preferences between states, was political tolerance, based on people-centred participation and the philosophy of "African brotherhood". After Liberia, Nyerere visited the (capitalist) Ivory Coast, where he addressed a speech "*Unity must incorporate differences*" at a banquet, which President Houphouet-Boigny opened. Nyerere set out the problems and differences between African countries and focused on the compromises that Africa had to accept in order to strengthen the OAU, to approach unity, to gain power via the Northern

(former colonial) states and to influence the process of peace in the world. Nyerere suggested three things "to move through co-operation to unity or through unity to co-operation" (Nyerere, 1973: 13). They fit with his democratic and humanistic thinking as well as his realistic approach to politics:

The first thing is that each people, and each nation, must have the right to choose their own economic and political institutions and systems....The second thing is that, we have to recognize that ... all of us will have to compromise with the needs and desires of others. And thirdly, all of us have to accept the paramountcy of Africa, over all outside relationships. (ibid: 13)

Nyerere also postulated the rights of the sovereign states. He claimed that "no African state has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the other" (ibid: 12), this was also a basic principle of the OAU-Charter. However, the obligation of 'non-interference' later caused serious problems for Nyerere and a crisis of credibility for the OAU, as we will show with the 'Amin-Uganda crisis'.

2.3.3. OAU and the Principle of 'Non-Interference' Versus 'Intervention'

In Tanzania, the period from the end of the 1970s to the beginning of the 1980s was a critical one, with political and economic hardship, and the crucial challenge of maintaining peace and stability in East Africa. Nyerere, who had intended at that time to step down as President and hand over power, was urged to remain in office to settle the set of crises, in particular the war with Uganda, and to oust the dictator Idi Amin³⁰, who had provoked Tanzania and Nyerere for many years, and had invaded small parts of Tanzania in October 1978 (Kyemba, 1977). Amin was defeated in April 1979 by a coalition of Ugandan anti-Amin forces and the Tanzanian Army, and had to flee the country. Since 1971 Nyerere had protested publicly against the ethnic cleansing and killings directed by Amin against Asian business people and against educated people in general, saying that the OAU had failed to stop the aggression. Very saddening for him was the fact that other countries gave military support to Uganda. For instance, Libya was supplying arms to Amin's troops and fought "as the Ugandan Army disintegrated as the main Ugandan fighting force ... Amin was an abominable murderer of the people of Uganda; a turbulent menace to the peace of East Africa; a blatant and bragging aggressor against Tanzania" (Nyerere in Smyth and Seftel, 1998:254–255). Nyerere ends, "We are not sorry to be rid of him" (ibid: 255).

³⁰ General Idi Amin Dada plotted in 1971 against President Milton Obote, who – a supporter of Nyerere's socialism – had to flee the country.

Nyerere, appearing as the winner in the end, was deeply disappointed by the attitude of other African leaders; he missed their solidarity and ethical support, to intervene in the name of human rights. And he claimed from members of the OAU, his fellow heads of state, a condemnation of the Ugandan aggression. Even the newly inaugurated president of Tanzania's neighbour Kenya, Daniel arap Moi, played a weak role in this tragedy; Kenyatta should have supported Nyerere. In March 1979, *Drum* reported the war on the Ugandan border, and described Nyerere's consequent actions shortly before the end of the war:

Castigating those African leaders who had not condemned Amin's invasion, and at the same time calling the Ugandan president a buffoon, Nyerere said it was a great shame for Africa to have chosen Kampala as the venue in 1975 for the OAU summit meeting, thus making Amin chairman for one year. (ibid: 251)

Presidents Nyerere, Kaunda and Kenyatta did not participate in the summit because of Amin's murderous regime. Another aspect of this war of 'brothers' in Africa was the question of sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of independent states.

Nyerere's position, as mentioned earlier, was related to human values, equality and dignity of people; his policy was based on the belief that Africa would unite and develop peacefully. Nyerere infringed the OAU Charter and the principles of 'no interference' and 'sovereignty', because he made human rights and equality his priority, which was also a signal for the liberation battle elsewhere in Africa. 'Unity in freedom' was the objective for the battle ahead against the racist regime in South Africa, and for the freedoms of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

The Monrovia Summit (September 1979), just after the Ugandan-Tanzanian war, was the "most acrimonious meeting in the history of the OAU. But it was the first time that African leaders faced issues instead of burying their heads in the sand or postponing decisions. They threw aside diplomatic pretensions and levelled personal attacks at each other that saw three walkouts," reports *Drum* about the meeting (ibid: 261). Nimeiri from Sudan and Obasanjo, who became President in Nigeria by military coup in 1976, wanted the Uganda war and 'Tanzania's counter-invasion' discussed. "Nyerere stuck to his argument that he had no choice, following the OAU's failure to condemn the invasion of his country" (ibid: 261), and confronted the OAU leadership because of their failures. A large majority of leaders supported Nyerere in the end. A crack had gone through the African Union and had changed both the perception and the reality of the 'harmonious union' of African states.

2.3.4. Leadership: Nyerere's Last Struggle for the Tanzanian Union

When in 1994 the political pressure within the CCM increased to adopt the proposal of having three governments³¹ instead of the two – as recommended in 1992 by the Nyalali-Commission – Nyerere, without any ‘power of office’, acted and campaigned with his outstanding leadership skills (and with some tricky tactics!) to save the Union. He apparently fought against political intrigues and the undermining of the Union constitution by high-ranking CCM leaders and members of parliament, calling the Union a “bulwark or fortress of ... existence as a democracy”. Nyerere argued for his opinion and political beliefs (‘Arusha Declaration’), and spoke probably in the interest of the majority of the people from the mainland and from Zanzibar; he didn’t hesitate to use direct wording to address the issue, no matter how polemic it was in its rhetoric and its reproach:

The National Executive Committee sat in Zanzibar and changed the Arusha Declaration, without first seeking the views of the people. And they had the right to do so, for it is their party’s policy. The bad thing is that it was done through deceit and double-talk, and they do, until now, continue to deceive the people by saying that CCM policy is still that of Socialism and Self Reliance.

That is what our esteemed leaders are trying to do, even on the question of the Union. They want to split Tanzania, because ‘they are fed up with the Zanzibaris’; but they do not want to say that openly. What they say is that a Government of Tanganyika is ‘within the Union’, although because they are not fools, they know that if you revive Tanganyika you will kill Tanzania. (Nyerere, 1995:48)

In a most impressive report on the background and course of this leadership crisis, entitled *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania* (Nyerere, 1995), enriched with much analytical data and political poems – for example *Tanzania, Tanzania* (ibid: 51–54) – Nyerere demonstrated once again his capacity as a great political thinker and competent leader. In his public campaign and in a published booklet, he showed a powerful critique of weak leadership (for example top party-leaders and even President Mwinyi) with the masterly emotion of a politician who is ready to make a supreme effort – and who likes to win. And he won! In 2004, despite many rumours and hidden agendas and intrigues of politicians from the mainland and from Zanzibar, the Union still stands and seems to be stable for the time being.

The survival of the structure of the Union was a sacrosanct example of Nyerere’s personal ‘stubbornness’ to guarantee the political stability of the country and the region. He

³¹ Union, Mainland and Zanzibar.

further explained and demonstrated to everyone in Tanzania (and abroad) the possibility of combining and cohering culturally and religiously different lifestyles. His idea of peaceful nation building took root; the policy of unity, in spite of many conflicts in history, is a great achievement, although the union is not granted for ever. The present leadership in Tanzania honours this approach. President Mkapa pledged to the Tanzanian consensus at Mwalimu's funeral when he promised to 'stay the course' with Nyerere:

He built a united nation with a vision of equality and respect across racial, religious, tribal and gender divides. Until this day, the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar remains an enduring example of African unity. We shall defend and strengthen this union with all our might. (Mkapa in Mwakikagile, 2002:399)

Mazrui, an ever-critical colleague, political philosopher and intellectual friend to Nyerere, summarised his dedication in the essay "*Nyerere and I*" for *Voices*, a journal of the African Resource Centre:

Nyerere's policies of nation building amount to a case of unsung heroism. With wise and strong leadership, and with brilliant policies of cultural integration, he took one of the poorest countries in the world and made it a proud leader in African affairs and an active member of the global community. (Mazrui in Mwakikagile, 2002:362)

2.4. Leadership and the 'Good Political Leader'

And does not the tyrannical man correspond to the state governed by a tyranny, the democratic man to a democratic state, and so on?", asked Plato to his teacher Socrates, and continued, "and so in excellence and happiness the relations between the different types of individual will correspond to the relations between the different types of state?" "Of course", replied Socrates. (Lee, 2003:314)

Leadership is a vital part of the multifaceted history of humankind; human beings are object and equally subject of leadership.

In this section we raise some important general questions about political leadership before we focus on Nyerere as leader and his leadership perspective. What is political leadership? What kind of political leadership is needed? What is 'good leadership'? Who are the role models? Which traits or characteristics of leaders contribute to models and give good examples? What about women, do they play a role in leadership? Later in section 6.2., we will refer to youth leadership (the example of YLTP) in discussing which perception, which picture of a 'good leader' young people – future leaders – have.

We should distinguish between political leaders and political leadership, recommend Jackson and Jackson. They suggest, “political leadership today is usually the responsibility of an executive that can be defined as the institutions and individuals who ‘steer’ the country by formulating the most important political decisions” (Jackson and Jackson, 1997: 235). These top political leaders in a country form a small group and the ruling, “may be based on one person and his or her relatives or cronies, or it may be based on the principles of democracy” (ibid: 234). In this research, where we deal mostly with Julius Nyerere as political leader and with his political leadership, we will generally use the terms synonymously, as well as for different kinds of leaders – as does Nyerere himself in his speeches (see Chapter 5). We therefore take the term ‘political leaders’ as encompassing the following: recognised leaders operating within a wide range of political affairs, not restricted to political parties and the government, but including institutions with direct influence over groups of people, such as religious leaders, high-ranking people from academia, influential journalists and editors or owners of the communication media, heads of trade unions and of other relevant civil society organisations, and the business community.

A fundamental problem of political leadership – the change of leader – is characterised by Jackson and Jackson:

Changing leaders in an orderly manner is one of the greatest challenges in politics. Whether it is a President, Prime Minister, King, Emperor, Emir or Führer, every system is headed by an incumbent who does not want to be replaced ... Authoritarian leaders often hang on to power too long ... Democratically elected leaders, too ... they prefer not to transfer authority to other leaders. However, in the established democracies, institutional rules make changes of leaders both possible and probable. (1997:234)

In our study, the relations between the individual personality of Nyerere and the political situation of the state in the first decade of Tanzania’s independence and development shall become visible, in order to provide text and context for the hermeneutical analysis. The diversity and the multitude of such a wide-ranging enterprise need to be limited, but not curtailed. We describe here the stereotype of a charismatic and visionary political leader. We also distinguish leadership from management because of the organisational orientation and administrative responsibility of the tasks of managers. Their goal is to implement plans, as effectively and efficiently as possible; their focus is often ‘to achieve the figures’ and to improve the economic situation of an enterprise or organization. Managers ‘administer’ more,

leaders 'motivate' more, focusing on the people: their followers or colleagues in a team. Leaders decide about the destiny of people in small organisations ... or in mighty states (Gibson et al., 2000).

2.4.1. Political Leadership – A Historical Perspective

In any political system – democratic, authoritarian or dictatorial – leadership plays a decisive role and, as we mentioned earlier (section 1.2.), it is particularly crucial for the social and economic development of poor countries.

Theories of leadership are as old as people living in society, led or dominated by leaders or rulers. Historically we can do well by referring to some examples of the 'Western paradigm', the Greeks or Romans, and we know that other, even earlier, cultures are likely to have had similar theories, based on outstanding experiences in leadership. Among these would be the Egyptian dynasties of some 4000 to 3000 years ago, or the Chinese Shang and Zhou dynasties, 3500 to 3000 years ago, or Confucius about 2500 years ago. In ancient Greek history (about 2500 to 2000 years ago) leadership concepts were developed and influenced by political philosophers living in newly constructed authoritarian or small 'democratic' societies, for example Pericles, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. In *The Republic*, Plato explains and describes, in several dialogues with Socrates, important principles and conditions for leadership (see paragraphs on civilised society, guardians and auxiliaries, the rules of war, and the philosopher king; Plato in Lee: 56).

Another book that could be seen as an outstanding document of leadership is the *Old Testament*, containing, for example, the story of Moses, who – about 3200 years ago – led his people out of Egyptian bondage. Moses is sometimes taken as a precursor of Christ and this historic book shows him as a leader who developed theories and implemented them; despite numerous flaws and defeats, he led the 'children of Israel', 'God's chosen people', to the 'promised' land. In an interesting essay entitled *On the Similarities and Differences among Seven Great Leaders: Moses, Hillel, Jesus, Gamaliel, Thoreau, Gandhi and Martin Luther King*, Barry Kort compares these great (religious) men and their leadership concepts; he wanted to "discover the laws of human interaction, and the rules of conduct which those laws implied" (Kort, 2004). He characterises these leaders as social actors who "variously codified those social rules as Law, taught them to others, demonstrated their validity, and applied them to bring about positive social change." (ibid)

One of the first modern Western theories of leadership may have emerged in the early nineteenth century, perhaps in Germany (Von Clausewitz's theories on war, *Vom Kriege*) and in the USA, with the notion that history is the story of great men and their impact on society (Heifetz, 1993). The Chinese history apparently gives numerous examples of much earlier stories of leadership. For example, Menzies in his recent bestseller "*1421 – The Year China discovered the World*" is full of exciting examples of leadership, beginning with the outstanding Emperor Zhu Di, the Son of Heaven (Menzies, 2003).

Many scientists have studied the personalities of 'great men', proposing that their rise to power is the result of bravery and courage, and a set of special personal talents, skills or physical characteristics (Othman, 2000; Madi, 2000; Isata, 2000; Westlake, 2000; Venson, 1995). The American approach, based on these ideas of individual bravery and leadership traits, seems even today to influence American theories of good management, as well as the liberal concept of individual freedom. Theorists call such a point of view the *trait approach* (Heifetz, 1993; Sheffer, 1993; April et al., 2000).

By about the end of the 19th century, the theory of situationalism was developed, with Robert Spencer (1884) as the major influence. They argued that the times produce the person and not the other way around: "the times called forth an assortment of men (*sic*) with various talents and leadership styles" (Heifetz, 1993). A synthesis between the two approaches was initiated in the mid-1950s. This 'contingency theory' argues that the appropriate style of leadership is contingent on the requirements of the particular situation (Heifetz, 1993).

Looking at the history of the 20th century, especially the first half with the two world wars, we can find rich evidence to substantiate the theory of the situationalists and their contingency model. Some of the extraordinary political leaders of that time seemed to grow out of a situation of social decay and pressure for political change. In Europe, some of the old political systems were marked by absolutism, reaction and megalomania, and provided the ground for revolutionary leadership in pre-democratic times. Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini and Salazar are only few in the assortment of talented dictators who developed and used their skills as leaders in a specific time for asserting 'superiority' through oppression (and for tremendous destruction).

2.4.2. Leadership in Africa – History and Problems

In Africa, the concept of leadership dates back to pre-colonial times. Traditional systems of leadership were either hereditary or achieved through recognition of benevolence

and loyalty to the clan (Venson, 1995; Madi, 2000). A chief was someone who ruled by consensus, along with a group of elders, over a community of clans or tribesmen, without a determined time span, providing protection for the community and serving as custodian of the communal properties, mainly land.

As in most countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the colonial period brought about a change in the role of the chief in Tanzania through various alliances between indigenous leaders and the representatives of the expanding European countries. Local systems of administration limited the autonomy of local kings and chiefs, while frequently co-opting the same chiefs to new (colonial) indirect rule. Some chiefs only enjoyed their enthronement by the colonial powers (Iliffe, 1979) and some ethnical groups were not built on a chieftaincy, as it was with Nyerere's tribe, which used to be "a society of equals and it conducted its business through discussion" (Nyerere, 1966:103).

From the time of independence to the present day, traditional leadership in most African countries has overlapped and sometimes conflicted with 'modern' leadership, often legitimated through democratic elections (e.g. councillors) or appointments by governmental or party structures (e.g. ward leaders). Modern leadership outside of government often occurs within institutions and groups of civil society (trade unions, women's groups, human rights activists, HIV/Aids-initiatives). To date, in some parts of Tanzania, the search for consensus in relevant matters under the leadership of the group of elders still persists as a principal element in decision-making in rural areas (Nyerere: "council of elders under the tree").

Some authors (e.g. Isata, 2000; Aké, 1996; Adedeji, 1993) have a rather negative view of the leadership of African countries. They mention abuse of power, the absence of the rule of law, violations of human rights, and unjust legal systems. Isata says that "today most of the African leaders rule the African states and people as if they were their own private properties" (Isata, 2000:82). The Kenyan historian G.S. Were describes leaders as the owners of the law and the violators themselves of the democratic principles they publicly defend (Anyang' Nyong'o, 2002).

Recent discussions on African political leadership point, understandably, to the second half of the 20th century, the time of independence for 53 African states, including the five Arabic countries of North Africa. Despite the fact that within the last decade, the idea of 'African Renaissance' has gained momentum, the theoretical aspects of political leadership, especially the role of the good political leader, have not yet been much explored or published.

The history of colonial domination has been reported more extensively, although written only from the standpoint of the 'colonial master' or giving the view of the conquered. We can find several interesting stories of historical events, with heroically-acting tribal leaders, mostly fighting against European intruders, or against Arabic and other foreigners – including African neighbours who invaded and occupied to extend their realm and political influence in a certain region. An excellent overview of African initiatives and resistance is given in Ali Mazrui's *General History of Africa* (1999). However, insights into the African commune, tribal group or empire, to discover the systems and interactions of leadership, seem to be more superficial and not yet systematically researched. The fact that the terms 'leader' and 'leadership' do not appear in the index of Mazrui's book (it only lists political leaders) could be seen as an indication that the concept of political leadership is (still) not perceived as important in Africa today.

A relatively new approach to African leadership developed largely for private companies and tested since the early 1980s, is the 'interactive leadership' style of the Group Africa of the Amavulandlela in South Africa (Boon, 1996). This concept is about multi-cultural leadership in the new democratic environment of South Africa. It presents a comprehensive approach, with "philosophies, belief systems, attitudes and behaviours of 'New African' people". Boon, the author, describes in the introduction the success story of "a book about revolution in leadership" (ibid).

It is certainly difficult to properly analyse the leadership styles or qualities of the top African leaders from the time of Tanzanian independence, and their underlying political philosophies and visions (this could be an interesting new project!), but there is some evidence that the theory of the situationalists could play a role in systematically grouping and classifying these political leaders.

Jackson and Roseberg (1982) categorised seventeen African rulers (political leaders) from the time of Independence. Their 'typology of personal rule' distinguishes four leaders and leadership stereotypes: princes and oligarchic rule (Senghor, Kenyatta, Tubmann, Tolbert, Selassie, Sobhuza II, Numeiri), autocrats and lordship (Houphouet-Boigny, Ahidjo, Bongo, Banda, Sese Seko), prophets and leadership (Nkrumah, Touré, Nyerere), tyrants and abusive rule (Nguema Biyogo, Idi Amin Dada). Seeing through paradigmatic lenses, the authors consider only three of these 'rulers' as in some way exemplary leaders who contributed to a lasting political stability and sustainable development in their countries. In the end, Nyerere was named the most successful; his ideals and his political vision made a

difference “not only to personal relations of power in the state, but also to social relations in the wider society” (ibid: 229). They conclude (ibid) that “Tanzania in 1980 is considerably different, socially and economically, from it what was in 1961”. They found Nyerere to be a committed and responsible leader, “dedicated to ameliorating the poverty and misery of his people according to his socialist lights” (ibid). The agrarian socialist experiment – in particular the Arusha Declaration and *Ujamaa* – led in the 1970s to significant international support, amounting to financial assistance of between 55 and 60% of the Tanzanian budget.

Questions of values and purpose transform the simple concept of ‘leadership’ into the concept of ‘good leadership’. That is to say the concept of leadership is not value-free, but signifies leadership engaged in promoting democracy, good governance and development – therefore ‘good leadership’. We have also to consider and evaluate the linkage between the leaders claim or promise of good leadership and the reality of implementation, the ‘delivery’. The disparity with a general poor record is widely documented in the literature about African leadership (see above); however, we have to state, that leadership deficits and weak performances of political leaders are not only an African problem.

The observed developments show a common trend in political leadership: many promises and little benefit for the people, particularly the poor. “But promise is not performance”, confirms Damachi, “and philosophies are easier to enunciate than to put into practice”. In a comparative study *Leadership Ideology in Africa* (Damachi, 1976), one of the first to research attitudes towards socio-economic development in six African countries, including Tanzania, Damachi evaluated the interconnection between development ideas and development actions. Thirty years later – his central questions still have a striking ring of truth: “Is there any connection between the ideas expressed by African political leaders and their political actions? Do African political leaders believe what they say?” (Damachi, 1976:3).

In Damachi's studies and other serious research projects about political leadership it is generally assumed that leaders are men; women-leaders were the rare exceptions, not only in the African context but also in Europe until the 1970s. Our history is full of remarkable and interesting leadership personalities (see the above sections in this chapter); only a few famous and well-known leaders are women. As we can prove equally easily, until recently only few authors or researchers of our social reality (historians, philosophers, politicians, etc.) were women; “equality” was for a long time a fiction. On the other hand, to understand political

leadership in Tanzania, it is worthwhile to scrutinize the struggle and the early days of independence (see section 3.1.). Nyerere's political approach of 'human equality' apparently helped to emancipate from an overwhelming 'universal' male-domination.

2.4.3. Women's Role in Leadership

Women as outstanding political leaders hardly appear in African research and literature until the end of the 20th century, as we found out in browsing through table of contents and indexes of leadership-books during the study³². Women did not really weigh as top political leaders. They are more indirectly mentioned, as in the South African study about 'Social Mobilisation' (Taylor, 1997), which studies the political struggle against apartheid in order to find out "how to engage in a collective process of social transformation" (ibid: 3). We shall not conclude that there were no female leaders or that women leaders were not involved in the struggle for freedom and in the fight against apartheid; this would, obviously, be very wrong. It is rather that, particularly for the top-level of leadership, the male-dominated perception and the dissemination of knowledge (and historically formulated 'truth') about political leadership as 'an issue from and for men' excluded women-leaders. More objectively, it can be said that the traditional role for women was determined: to work very hard and to obey the law. Nyerere laments in "The Conditions of Development" (Arusha Declaration) that women work "for 12 or 14 hours a day. ... Women who live in the villages work harder than anybody else... But the men who live in villages (and some of the women in towns) are on leave for half of their life" (Nyerere, 1968:245).

There are exceptions in the African history (and European history as well); in some Nigerian societies, for example, women were powerful traditional leaders (e.g. Yoruba). Women in leadership-roles had difficult tasks, even if not so much involved in the direct (military) struggle. They often had to carry the burden of the family-life (during active 'resistance' of men) and they had to manage the household. Sometimes they were also directly involved in the fight as e.g. Somali's "Joan of Arc", Hawa Ismen, who fought against "the return of Italian colonialism after the Second World War" (Mazrui, 1999:18). Other examples can be drawn from the history of the civil war in Algeria, where "heavily-shrouded Muslim women were among the most crucial carriers of grenades" (Mazrui, ibid: 17, referring to Franz Fanon's account), or from the battle for freedom in Southern Africa and

³² See Damachi 1976, Bass 1990, Boon 1996, Chabal and Daloz 1999, Legum and Mmari 1999, Othman 2000, Anyang' Nyong'o 2002, Grill 2003.

from the struggle against racism. Winnie Mandela, for example, “became part of the vanguard against apartheid ...for over a quarter of a century“, writes Mazrui (ibid: 19), who honours women, who “were often the unsung heroines of the struggle for freedom. They made a bigger difference to the success of the whole enterprise than has often been realized” (ibid: 19).

Women had to provide material and/or psychological support and to organize and implement clandestine activities in undercover and disguised circumstances. Women leaders acted more in the background of the battlefield, they were perceived more as ‘service-providers’ and group-‘mobilisers’ than as individual actors in the forefront. Their traditional role was to serve the others (families, husband, children) and moreover to work as cheap labour in small-scale family farms (“shambas”) or even on commercial farms and in labour-intensive industries.

Men mostly were the ‘masters and bosses’ of women and could maintain their specific roles in society. The ‘absence’ of more outstanding women leaders in the public eyes, however, is symptomatic for that historical period of liberation and the type of revolutionary (and violent) events in Africa of the second half of the 20th century. We are aware that in political areas and sectors of public life, the public perception is that women do not yet play such an important role, they rather support men. Stronger women’s participation in political issues – for example in government positions, as we can observe in the last years – will change not only the public awareness about the existence of capable women leaders, but also sharpen the general sensitivity for gender equality in all sectors of society (see Migiro in FES, 2001).

2.4.3.1. Women and Leadership: Equal Participation as General Approach

The Executive Director of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), Noeleen Heyzer (New Agenda, 14/2004:84-85) points out the urgent need for women’s political participation in decision-making and continuous support for women’s empowerment and gender equality. Globalization and privatization of social services often disadvantage women first and reduce their chances for productivity and equal participation. “Reductions in public expenditures also fall most heavily on women, who must fill the gaps in needed services”, states Heyzer, who warns that limitations through gender discrimination

and thinking in cultural stereotypes obstruct the “potential of countries to achieve sustained economic growth and prosperity.... Gender inequalities in education, health and access to resources weaken productivity and growth rates” (ibid: 84-85). The impact of gender inequality “is also a dangerous barrier to development and democratic governance!” (ibid: 85). The Millennium Declaration, the Beijing Platform of Action, the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights, the African Union and NEPAD target equal rights for women, and have to be seriously followed and realized.

Despite some political and constitutional achievements for the goal of ‘equality’ between 1999 and 2003, such as participation in general elections, the enactment of the land law and the heritage law, and equal rights at the work place, Tanzania still lacks an understanding of the ‘normality’ of equal rights for women and men. The common law and the traditional practice, in rural areas mostly dispensed by local authorities (e.g. village leaders rule land questions, heritage etc.), contradict the laws of the state and the constitutions of Tanzania and Zanzibar, which are based on equal human rights and equality. That deprivation of equal rights hardly causes public protests, but it is getting more of a focus from the numerous women lobby and advocacy groups in Tanzania, such as TGNP and TAWLA.

A feasible way out of that “gender trap” is that more women have to be seriously considered and publicly promoted as political actors. Constitutionally granted equal rights and opportunity have to be realized towards social and economic participation as well as towards political participation, be it on local, national or international levels of political decision-making. Affirmative actions or a policy of ‘quota’ for women’s representation have to be constructively discussed and fostered; “special women seats”, as practiced in Tanzania (since the 1980s), can be a step worth imitating to achieve an immediate result of political participation and – perhaps more importantly – public representation of women leadership. The Tanzanian Minister for Community Development, Women and Children Ashe-Rose Migiro states however that “even though we have had affirmative action in various forms either as a specific number or as percentage, that alone has not worked as a catalyst to bring women into leadership and decision-making positions” (Migiro in FES, 2001:123).

Political participation and representation of women is one of the heavy tasks for democratic development in Tanzania and Africa. More political participation has to be promoted as a permanent task. We also know that – for example – the bare figure of an increased number of (elected) women parliamentarians will not necessarily change much to improve women’s life and perspectives as leaders, but it is a starting point for the societal

claim of equal rights, and it gives a political stage to promoting women as equally qualified leaders in all sectors of society. There are still cultural (traditional) and often structural (male-dominated hierarchy) obstacles blocking success. Despite these mostly man-made impediments, we agree with Heyzer's conclusion, that "women's presence is essential. Their absence from national legislatures signals that women are not accepted as equal partners in political decision-making" (New Agenda, 14/2004:87).

2.4.3.2. Women and TANU: The Legend of Bibi Titi Mohamed

The early rise of an organized women's movement in Tanzania, part of TANU, furthered some extraordinary women leaders, who appeared as 'charismatic' leaders. For example, the first woman parliamentarian, Bibi Titi Mohamed, leader of the women's wing of TANU and Nyerere's friend for many years, led country-wide demonstrations of women in support of nationalism. The 'women's wing' also helped to put down the mutiny of parts of the army against Nyerere in 1964 (Smyth and Seftel, 1998). Bibi Titi allegedly opposed 'rigid socialist policy' (the Arusha Declaration), in 1969, and together with other high-ranking political leaders was arrested and accused, and in 1970, charged and sentenced to life imprisonment. The accusation: to plot against the government of Nyerere. She was released two years later because of an "unprecedented presidential pardon" (ibid: 191). The former general secretary of TANU and senior cabinet minister, also long-time friend of Nyerere's, Oskar Kambona, was accused to be the plot-leader, but fled the country for Britain before his arrest materialized. Kambona opposed Nyerere's strict socialist policy against allowing leaders to 'become rich'. Kambona refused particularly the TANU leadership code (see Section 2.4.4.), which obliged leaders to be an example of a hardworking and humble person who serves the people and is not allowed to 'accumulate wealth, e.g. houses' or to live on the 'basis of property and money from rents'.

Bibi Titi, a former lead singer of an "ngoma group" (music and dance group) and not formally educated (she also could not speak English) became an activist during the political struggle for independence in the 1950s and campaigned successfully for the implementation of the *Ujamaa*-socialism as well as for a powerful women's movement. "Nyerere and Bibi Titi were probably the only leaders known throughout the country at the time of independence" (Iliffe in Geiger, 1998:163). Geiger's work, *TANU Women*, provides a series of life history interviews and a deep insight into 'Gender and Culture' in Tanganyika nationalism, from 1955–1965.

A significant aspect of women leadership in the early years of independence arose in East Africa. An East African Women's seminar in 1964, with women representatives of parties and NGOs from Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania was an important starting point for an organized women's movement and for women leadership activities in the following years. Joyce Masembe, an official participant from Uganda, reports about the objectives and inspirations of this gathering and gives a picture about the euphoric mood of the 'women of action':

East Africa needs women of action, not only women who will discuss problems theoretically or those who move from one conference to another, but women who realize what their country demands of them and do it. ...It is traditionally for men to fight, and for women to stay behind and look after the young. So we did not take our share in the fighting for freedom in East Africa. Our education was poor and we were less aware of what was needed to assume our new responsibilities. We have women who are educated, but their education does not equip them to understand even their local government. Political education for women is of extreme importance because we have almost nothing to build on. ...East African women have been offered their political rights on a plate. We can participate in elections and we can be elected to all levels of our governments...Let us set our ideals high and then we shall be able to give the best we can offer in the social, economic and political revolutions in our countries. (Smyth and Seftel, 1998:119)

The Arusha Declaration of 1967 pushed further on the way to equal rights. "Like others in the modern world, Tanzania's women have waged a war against arbitrary discrimination against them", writes *DRUM-Magazine* (ibid) in 1968, and publishes an impressive picture of first achievements of active and powerful women leaders, but also points to the main obstacles:

Since independence, the number of employed women soared. And now they argue that their scope of activities should not be limited to nursing, teaching and social work. They want opportunities in traditionally male fields such as agriculture, engineering and architecture. No wonder that in adult-education classes women outnumber men. It is encouraging that among the 470 new entrants into the Dar es Salaam University College this year, over 70 are girls. Scores of women already hold senior-and middle-grade positions in the civil service. There are seven women MP's, four of whom vied with men for votes in the 1965 general elections... (ibid: 176)

DRUM highlights major points of concern despite some progress: "Yet women have an uphill task to convince men that they should have voice in the day-to-day affairs of the

nation. Many men have misgivings about women's ability to stand the physical and emotional strain of certain jobs" (ibid: 177). Tanzania's policy of "education for self-reliance" contributed in great scale to an increase of equal rights for women and women in leadership positions. On the other hand, Tanzania was still far away from equal political participation and gender equality. Nyerere, with his perspective of equal human rights in the framework of a socialist society, personally promoted the general advancement of awareness about equality between women and men, but he failed to produce a significant change in the practical life of women in Tanzania. Almost twenty years after his departure as President, male-dominated thinking still prevails and only slowly is a gender-balanced political approach gaining momentum (Migiro in FES, 2001).

2.4.3.3. Women Leadership in Modern Tanzania: Equality?

Due to the egalitarian education policies implemented during the period of *Ujamaa*, the economic and educational gaps between men and women in Tanzania are significantly narrower than in most other African countries. The affirmative policy (e.g. a minimum number or percentage of seats reserved for women in parliament and in local government councils) has ensured that the proportion of women leaders has increased over the past few years. For example, 11% of MPs were women in 1990; by 2001 this figure had risen to 21.4% (FES, 2002). However in daily life women spend six times longer than men collecting water, they are less likely to have money that they can save, they have less access to credit and they are extremely disadvantaged as regards guarantees of their legal rights (UNDP, 2000a).

The Tanzanian 'Gender-Minister' Ashe-Rose Migiro summarized the general situation of the gender-perception and the still limited influence of women parliamentarians and women leaders in Tanzania, in 2001:

It is a well-known fact that a good number of women MP's have been doing well, but that does not seem to have convinced the rest of society that given equal opportunity women have been and can be very good leaders. Thus even though we have had affirmative action for twenty years now, only affirmative action has been able to guarantee women's participation in Parliament and local government authorities. (FES, 2001:123)

At first glance, Migiro's analysis sounds like a contradiction to the previously mentioned need for affirmative action (Section 2.4.3.1.) on the road to equality. More important, however, seems to be the aspect of a new strategy of education as well as of professional

training: promotion of a consequent gender-mainstreaming in all parts of civil society and governmental institutions.

“There is a dire need to ‘educate’ and ‘train’ society in general as well as other authorities that are key in deciding what affirmative action should be taken, how and for how long” claims Migiro (ibid: 123) in order to improve women’s conditions and change the present relation of power to a more balanced one. Women should be ‘present’ in all sectors and professional fields of society, not only in the ‘classical’ sectors of education and health.

Zak Nel, a professor for leadership training³³, confirms the ‘dire need’ for a holistic and gender-oriented approach in training activities. He believes that a lack of female mentors or trainers is a further reason for a lack of women in executive position. “African women are dynamic, energetic and capable of assuming strong leadership positions”, states Nel, who regrets that only few are “embarking on MBA courses. This is regrettable as they have the capacity and drive to perform efficiently and effectively in any business position. If more women qualify, we’ll have more mentors and the snowball effect will kick in” (Nel, in *New Agenda*, 14/2004:72).

For Migiro “empowerment is an element of development....It especially means collective action by the oppressed and deprived to overcome the obstacles of structural inequality which have previously put them in a disadvantaged position” (Migiro in FES, 2001:122). A leadership training programme for young political leaders (for example, the YLTP), with around 50% of women’s participation, could make a contribution to the idea of more active participation and powerful political involvement of women in the development of their society. Such an approach will also contribute to improved understanding between men and women, both in cooperation and in conflict situations.

2.4.4. Charismatic and Visionary Leadership – Role Model for Africa?

Much has been written about the charismatic leadership of the period of independence in Africa (Assensoh, 1998; Damachi, 1976, Mazrui, 1999; Geiger, 1998; Jackson and Roseberg, 1982; Othman, 2000). In conclusion, Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana and Julius Nyerere from Tanzania are the undisputed charismatic leaders of post-colonial times and the period of nation building in Africa. Another towering leader, liberation fighter and visionary, former South African President Nelson Mandela, is probably one of the most appreciated and

³³ Head of the Damelin International College of Postgraduate Business Sciences in South Africa, a special MBA programme.

charismatic leaders worldwide. Mandela scored 1 in the list of the “100 greatest Africans of all times”, as we have mentioned in Section 1.2. Nyerere ranks number 4; readers comment about Nyerere’s leadership qualities: “A great leader who refused to allow the trappings of power to corrupt him. He was respected by his country, Africa and the rest of the world” (New African, 432/2004:16).

What are the characteristics of charismatic leadership? Gibson et al. defines it as the “ability to influence followers based on supernatural gift and attractive powers. Followers enjoy being with the charismatic leader because they feel inspired, correct, and important” (Gibson et al., 2000:309). Gibson also quotes Max Weber, who “suggested that some leaders have a gift of exceptional qualities – a charisma – that enables them to motivate followers to achieve outstanding performance. Such a charismatic leader is depicted as being able to play a vital role in creating change” (ibid: 309). Gerth and Wright Milles who translated and interpreted Max Weber’s “Essays in Sociology” in a context-related, sensitive and animating manner, state that “Weber is aware of the fact that social dynamics result from many social forces, he nevertheless places great emphasis upon the rise of charismatic leaders” (Gerth and Milles, 1970:52). They explain further that Weber defines charisma literally as a ‘gift of grace’, and says that charismatic leaders “have in common the fact that people obey them because of faith in their personally extraordinary qualities” (ibid: 52).

Nyerere, as political leader, can possibly be best described as a “transformational and charismatic” leader. His expectation about good political leaders was rather high, perhaps sometimes unrealistic and overpowering. We have also to assume that his leadership performance and perceptions changed because of his (personal and political) experiences through the different periods of Tanzanian history, from independence and nation consolidation until the multiparty politics in a liberal market-oriented context.

2.4.4.1. Charismatic Leadership – Aspects from South Africa and Tanzania

A brief, historically interesting and animating overview of leadership in the South African context of Nyerere’s time, is given by Vivienne Taylor, who discusses the role and impact of political leadership in “Social Mobilization” and the liberation struggle in South Africa (Taylor, 1997:184-198). She presents four leadership styles: charismatic,

organizational, organic and 'shadow' leadership. For our comparison, charismatic and organizational leadership play a role.

The emerging leadership styles were, explains Taylor, "not only shaped by struggle but also provided role models for activists. Many saw political leaders in movements as equal to leaders or surpassing leadership in other countries" (ibid:189), for example Chief Albert Luthuli and Oliver Tambo. In the struggle for independence and liberation, charismatic leadership played a crucial role, particularly in the fight against apartheid in South Africa but also in the making of Tanzania (see Section 3.1.). Taylor quotes Walter Sisulu who sees the President of ANC, Oliver Tambo, as a charismatic leader with special qualities:

He was a diplomat, statesman and militant. He kept to the strategic objective of the struggle but he was prepared to negotiate with South Africa and outside. The strategy and tactics that would best achieve national liberation changed over time but at no stage did he as a leader deviate from his objective. (Taylor, 1997:191)

Such a perception and evaluation of the political leader who follows consequently the strategic objective can equally be applied to Nyerere during most of his political life, not only as the 'fighter' for independence but also as the 'builder' of a state. Nyerere's politics, constructive and visionary, often idealistic but ever clear in their straightness, have, however, been criticized as stubborn, weak and inflexible (see e.g. Lamb, 1986:69). The parallel between Nyerere and Tambo (Tambo spent some time visiting the 'ANC in exile' in Tanzania) as charismatic leaders is remarkable. There is also a certain similarity between their close followers and later successors as presidents of their parties: Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania and Thabo Mbeki of South Africa. Both Mkapa and Mbeki can be rather classified as organizational leaders, who are "usually enhanced through training and education. Leaders who used this type of professional organizational ability are effective at getting the work done and implementing the goals and programmes of organizations. They generally act as role models for professional leadership" (Taylor, 1997:192).

Charismatic leaders are more attractive to people (New African, 432/2004) than organizational leaders, particularly when young people define their role models (Bagenda and Häussler, 2003). Looking into a popular perception³⁴, President Mbeki apparently combines organizational with charismatic leadership traits (see New African, 432/2004:16), not like

³⁴An opinion poll released in *New African* magazine, September/October 2004, about 'Your 100 Greatest Africans of all Times' ranks Thabo Mbeki as Nr 8. Benjamin Mkapa does not appear at all.

President Mkapa of Tanzania, who has publicly been qualified as 'pragmatic' and 'technocratic', rather than visionary or charismatic.

2.4.4.2. Nyerere - A Leadership Exception: Humble, Powerful and Charismatic

We should remember that charismatic leaders, often labelled as 'genius', as in the conception of Max Weber, are extraordinary exceptions and therefore seldom 'available' for the 'people', for the 'common men and women'. To what extent are such 'geniuses' qualified for realistic role models? Gerth and Wright Mills talk about this "genuinely charismatic situation ...with the personalized and spontaneous nature ...that has always confronted similar dichotomies: mass versus personality, ..., the drudgery and boredom of ordinary existence versus the imaginative flight of the genius" (Gerth and Milles, 1970:52-53).

One has to be concerned with the political risks involved in having charismatic leaders as role models for young people in society. In Nyerere's case, we do not have to be concerned about that risk, because of Nyerere's personality: humble and modest as leader, people-centred and capable as public speaker, using the language of the audience during his 'lectures', which were often spiced with humour. Lwaitama, a Tanzanian linguist who wrote intensively about Nyerere's speaking style and the structure of his speeches (Lwaitama in Othman, 2000), explains the system of speeches with different techniques and 'tools', and calls Nyerere's speeches "harangues". He prizes Nyerere as:

the foremost 'ideology-builder' of Tanzanian society, at least in the 1960s through to the 1980s. This is an apparent paradox, which may be resolved by adopting the view that nationalist and social welfarist ideology building required the use of 'bookish' scripted oratory more than 'free-enterprise' ideology-blurring oratory. (ibid: 304)

Lwaitama decodes Nyerere's speeches and discovers "the creation of political consensus and homogeneity which are best encouraged by the promotion of a given set of written and thus standardised political texts as sacred (e.g. the Arusha Declaration)" (ibid: 304).

Nyerere's capacity and personal interest to address complicated political issues and topics in speeches and to explain them comprehensibly to his country-men and women consolidated his reputation as Mwalimu, the teacher, and justified the admiration attached to the name "father of the nation". Comparing Nyerere with his two successors as Presidents, Lwaitama highlights the special significance of Nyerere's leadership and his affection for 'the people' and calls it "paradoxes of modern political leadership styles... that strong leaders

stress the importance of ordinary people in political processes more than apparently weak politicians do" (ibid: 305).

Nyerere has been described above as powerful, skilled, people-centred as well as charismatic. However, leadership only based on charisma is not a good role model, and not a good example to be copied. A good leadership example should have a democratic legitimacy and not only be an exception, a "genius".

Nelson Mandela (Madiba), the outstanding South African leader, has a perfect democratic legitimacy, a formal one as a result of the general elections in 1994, and an informal one as a result of complete popular support from society. He could best be compared with Nyerere. Although, Mandela's political life³⁵ (with about 25 years in prison) can hardly be matched with Nyerere's almost forty years of political responsibility in Tanzania. But Nyerere and Mandela have a lot in common, they are charismatic and humble, they are witty and ethically steadfast, they are knowledgeable and curious, socially committed and reliable, men of the people, accountable, democratic... They also joined the common honour of several Honorary Doctorates; in 1985 they were even honoured together at the University of Harare and President Mugabe awarded the two leaders³⁶. Mandela on the occasion of their first meeting in Dar es Salaam in 1962, remembered Nyerere:

We talked at his house, which was not at all grand, and I recall that he drove himself in a simple car, a little Austin. This impressed me, for it suggested that he was a man of the people. Class, Nyerere always insisted, was alien to Africa; socialism indigenous. (Mandela, 1995:345)

The following chapter will shed more light onto the personality of Nyerere, explore some cornerstones of his life and critically deal with examples of good and bad leadership. The presentation will go beyond the time frame of the analysis (the 1960s) in order to find answers to both key questions of this study: Nyerere's perspective of leadership, and the contention that he may yet be an influential role model for good leadership for young political leaders (e.g. the trainees of YLTP).

³⁵ See biography: Mandela, Nelson (1995). Long Walk to Freedom.

³⁶ Mandela's daughter received the award on his behalf as he was still in prison.

Chapter 3

Nyerere: Father of the Nation

Many pictures have been drawn of Nyerere³⁷ and of his life as leader of TANU and CCM, Tanganyika and Tanzania, the OAU, the non-aligned movement, Liberation Committee, South-Commission and the South Centre (headed by Nyerere from 1990 until his death in 1999). His dominant role, still remembered by so many people in East Africa, is that of the 'Father of the Nation' (Baba wa Taifa).

Three categories have been selected in this chapter to highlight different aspects and perceptions of Nyerere's political leadership. The three categories of context interpretation used in this research are: historical (struggle for independence), political (*Ujamaa*-socialism) and personal (teacher and leader).

3.1. Historical Context: The Struggle for Independence

Nyerere's political life started in 1943, at Makerere University in Uganda where he studied Education. At that time, he created the Tanganyika African Welfare Association to improve living conditions for Africans, while making it clear, however, that its "main purpose was not ... anti-colonial" (Nyerere, quoted by Mwakikagile, 2002:80).

Nyerere's struggle for Tanzanian independence was kick-started in 1949 at Edinburgh University, where he had just begun to study History and Economics. He was reacting to political developments after independence in India (1947) and the campaign for independence in Ghana, which put Nkrumah in prison. Nkrumah's release in 1949 triggered a political transformation. "You could see it in the Ghanaians! They became different human beings, different from all the rest of us! This thing of freedom began growing inside all of us", writes Nyerere about this essential moment in his political life (Nyerere, quoted by Mwakikagile, 2002:82). He soon became a full-time political activist in the struggle for independence. In an unpublished pamphlet written during his studies in 1952, Nyerere discussed the race problem in East Africa under the colonial rule of the British. He discovered that the European settlers in Kenya ("our white neighbours") influenced the British government so forcefully that they withdrew a Colonial White Paper for East Africa

³⁷ Julius K. Nyerere, born in 1922 in Bukoba, Tanzania.

granting equal racial representation. Nyerere was especially disappointed that a halting of de-restriction happened under a Labour government. He writes:

The Europeans had triumphed and they rejoiced everywhere. British Socialists can hardly realize how much that event lowered the prestige of the Labour Government in the eyes of the Africans and Indians of East Africa. The great faith which they had in the Socialist Government was shattered to pieces by that single event and will never be the same again.³⁸

Nyerere went back to Tanganyika in 1952, after obtaining a Master of Arts degree; and in the same year became president of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA), founded in 1929. TAA was an organisation for native, mostly economic interests, which also received support from the wealthy native coffee farmers, and became more politically relevant when it took sides during the "Meru Lands Case" in 1951, helping to oppose the eviction of farmers from their fertile land by the colonial government³⁹. TAA was the forerunner of TANU. TANU, which was founded by Nyerere in 1954 and headed by him from its inception until 1977, became a powerful national movement in the struggle for independence.

"In the case of decolonization in Tanganyika, the power of African nationalism appears to be a much bigger force than assumed by the colonialists themselves", writes the historian Kimambo, "they had assumed that the Africans in Tanganyika were not yet ready for political leadership" (Kimambo in Ilife, 1997:v "Introduction"). This summarises the general perception of the British Colonial Office and, even more, the view of the Governor, Sir Edward Twining (1949-1958), who was a "well-intentioned but reactionary, authoritarian and blustering" diplomat (Ibid: 6). Twining played a key-role as antagonist to Nyerere in the battle for independence. John Iliffe describes, in an excellent historical and well-documented article (Iliffe, 1997), the thinking of British policy-makers in the crucial years circa 1957. Shortly after Nyerere founded TANU in 1954 and became its first President, a mission of the United Nations Trusteeship Council visited Tanganyika, met with Nyerere and found him sound and trusting, and a brilliant communicator – it even criticised the "multi-racial strategy" of the British. Twining wrote about the meeting with the UN Council group:

They thought our constitutional development was far too slow ... regretted our attitude about elections and thought that TANU was the finest thing in Tanganyika and that Julius Nyerere and Kirilo Japhet⁴⁰ were the prophets. They considered that they should be given every assistance to lead the country to its proper destiny. (Ibid: 6)

³⁸ Nyerere (1966:25)

³⁹ see Iliffe, 1979:499-503

⁴⁰ Another opponent of the government.

Twining was obviously aware of Nyerere's political vision and his leadership power, but he could not yet accept him. Perhaps because of his colonial arrogance or ignorance and his misunderstanding of the 'otherness' of Africa, he did not believe in the equality of men. Twining wrote on 29th May 1957 to Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary:

Tanganyika does not exist because of any natural unity, but only by the accident of events over which its peoples have exercised no control, and there is no special reason why the hard-won loyalties of European nation-states should repeat themselves here. There is no language nor tradition nor interest in common, except what has been lightly overlaid by little more than half a century of alien authority. All that there really is in common is the blackness of the African skin and that is why TANU's appeal is now becoming fundamentally racist and not nationalist... The leadership is mean and corrupt, actuated by malice and self-interest. They are efficiently advised by people of ill-will and by others of small understanding both within and without Tanganyika... (ibid: 16-17)

The picture Twining drew in his report shows his disgust for the people of 'the dark continent'; this was still very common for the colonial master who did not need to understand the life-world of his 'servants'. Twining was strongly prejudiced against the capacity and leadership qualities of Nyerere; no doubt he did not consider Nyerere as a serious negotiating partner. Twining displayed himself as a kind of racist. We do not know whether he overcame some of his resentments and gained a more realistic perspective of the situation and of the man he dealt with, like his successor, Governor Turnbull.

There were other British officials who eventually became aware of Nyerere's political influence and his leadership skills, and saw the possibility of compromising to achieve a mutually acceptable result for the independence of Tanganyika and East Africa, which would differ significantly from the one in West Africa where African nationalism (e.g. Ghana with Kwame Nkrumah) took over with sometimes violent consequences. Sir John Macpherson, Permanent Secretary and a previous Governor-General of Nigeria, was impressed by Nyerere and informed the Colonial Secretary in 1957 of his opinion on the issue of fair negotiations: "the demands of people like Julius Nyerere strike me as very reasonable in content and moderate in tone" (ibid: 12). Sir Andrew Cohen, then Permanent Representative to the United Nations Trusteeship Council, tried to influence Twining about Nyerere, whom he had met in New York in June 1957. Cohen showed a rather farsighted political evaluation of Nyerere:

He struck me as able and very intelligent and I imagine that he is likely to have a leading position for a long time ahead. He also struck me as essentially a moderate in politics...

The impression I formed of Nyerere has made me wonder whether even now it is too late to get him into the fold. (ibid)

Cohen suggested that Nyerere be appointed to the Legislative Council, and this Twining eventually did, despite his well-known dislike of Cohen. Iliffe surmises that the reason for Twining's reaction "may also have reflected that a new United Nations Mission was to visit Tanganyika shortly and the government was dangerously exposed" (Iliffe, 1997:18).

By 1957, the national movement (TANU) was growing more and more demanding and challenging for the colonial government. The crucial political questions for Nyerere and TANU were how to speed up the process of becoming independent and how to achieve fair elections. Both questions were equally significant to the British, especially to the Colonial Secretary Lennox-Boyd, who favoured a future government under which all races would feel secure. He saw only a long-term solution when he wrote, "it is, indeed, clear to me that constitutional development here is in danger of being too rapid rather than too slow and that H.M.G. will need to remain in charge for many, many more years to come" (ibid: 25).

The elections in 1958 were the turning point. Nyerere played the pivotal role, because of his tactical flexibility and cleverness and his political antennae for pragmatism. During a meeting with Nyerere towards the end of 1957, Lennox-Boyd made the conditions for the elections clear: compulsory multi-racialism and qualified franchise. It was now very difficult for Nyerere to convince TANU during their annual conference to accept elections under tripartite voting rules (i.e. every registered voter had one vote for each of the three groups: Europeans, Asians and Africans). Iliffe reports on the stormy conference at Tabora, a dramatic historical event in Tanzania:

The party was deeply divided by a resolution from the Mwanza delegation denouncing tripartite voting as *haramu* (forbidden). The debate swayed back and forth before Nyerere summed up in favour of participation ... and launched a campaign to encourage electoral registration, strengthen party organization, and expand. (Iliffe, 1997:26)

The campaign was a success for Nyerere and his TANU policy, because more than 250 000 people became fee-paying members. The elections then held in September 1958 in five of ten constituencies were a sweeping victory for TANU, which won all 15 seats. Iliffe enthusiastically remarks:

It won not only the five African seats, but by throwing its 68% of the vote behind the most sympathetic European and Asian candidates, it won eight of their ten seats as well, the other two successful candidates being unopposed Europeans. Against all its intentions the parity

formula had put real constitutional power into African hands for the first time in East and Central Africa since the colonial invasion. (Ibid: 26)

The demands of the Africans for self-government (*madaraka*) grew rapidly and there were even violent conflicts in the Lake Province. After several powerfully led negotiations with the new Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, the second round of elections took place in February 1959 (Turnbull was appointed Governor after he had suppressed the Mau Mau upheaval in Kenya; Lennox-Boyd described him as “the toughest guy I knew in East Africa”.⁴¹)

TANU won 14 out of 15 seats in the second election, and, despite having serious concerns and reservations vis-à-vis their claim for freedom (*uhuru*), Turnbull relented. The Governor knew that there was likely to be a crisis in the coming years if there was not a positive response to the quest for *madaraka*. He wrote to the Colonial Office about his worries:

The major struggle ... may take place at the end of 1959 or early 1960. It will depend on whether Nyerere gets enough from the Post Elections Committee to satisfy him and his followers; and if it comes it will be between the Government and the whole of TANU under the leadership of Nyerere. He has announced that what he expects from the Committee is an elected majority in the Legislative Council and a majority of elected unofficial ministers (including Europeans and Asians as well as Africans) in the Council of Ministers. (Turnbull, in Iliffe, 1997:28-29)

Lennox-Boyd remained reluctant to concede the demand of self-government, but the pressure increased because of the “monolithic, strictly, disciplined structure” (ibid: 38) of TANU. The Permanent Secretary Macpherson intervened: “The situation in Tanganyika is unique in my experience, in that the Governor has no-one, except his officials, opposing the head-long rush to ‘Uhuru’... In no other colonial territory that I know of (even all-African territories) has such a situation occurred” (ibid: 38).

The Governor of Uganda, Sir Frederick Crawford, complained because of the speed being recommended for the constitutional changes to make possible Kenyan independence, which would also affect Uganda – in what he saw as an unacceptable way. But Turnbull, in a “devastating reply”, explained that the dangerous, highly tense situation “could become a combination of Mau Mau and the Maji Maji rebellion, with all the support of modern

⁴¹ Lennox-Boyd Papers, quoted in Iliffe, 1997:27.

techniques in guerrilla warfare, sabotage and fifth column activities.” Turnbull continued in a dressing-down of his counterpart:

You, I know are in the happy position of having a number of dissident groups; but here every African is a nationalist and we should be faced with a situation very much like that in Cyprus but without the Turks. I cannot imagine that H.M.G. would be willing to see all the East African Forces and the Middle East Strategic Reserve deployed in Tanganyika to look after sisal estates and Greek tobacco plantations... It is essential for us to use Nyerere whilst he is still powerful; if we wait too long, he will be ousted by the extremists; and with him will go all hopes of an enduring European influence in Tanganyika. Indeed, 1960 may present the last chance we shall have to prevent Tanganyika from becoming a purely African state. If we got into a shooting match here, Nyerere would quickly be displaced as a leader, and instead of him we should have a group of hairy men demanding 'Africa for the Africans'. (ibid: 38–40)

In October 1959 a new government was elected in Britain: Harold Macmillan became Prime Minister, and his Colonial Secretary was Ian Macleod, “an able, progressive, courageous, and utterly ruthless politician who saw the colonies purely as a problem to be solved rather than a responsibility to be shouldered” (ibid: 41). In May 1960, TANU's leadership officially demanded independence some time during 1961. Iliffe writes:

And Macleod, who thought Nyerere 'probably the wisest and best of the African leaders that we have, at least in East and Central Africa' ducked Britain's last opportunity for confrontation, abandoned his attempt at stabilization, adopted Turnbull's belief that it was safer to move quickly rather than slowly, and told the United Nations that a conference in 1961 might arrange independence in 1962 or 1963. (ibid: 43)

Nyerere became Chief Minister of the Internal Government Administration of Tanganyika in September 1960, after elections in which TANU had won all seats but one. From 1958, Nyerere's goal had been to gain independence, together with Kenya and Uganda, and to form an East African federation. Because of tribal and other political problems, the first East African Community (EAC) could only materialise in 1967. On 9 December 1961, Tanganyika became independent, with Nyerere its Prime Minister. In January 1962, however, he resigned as Prime Minister, to concentrate on party issues and to prepare a policy for Tanganyika. He spent that year holding tremendous rallies through the country and visiting the TANU offices. After the unification of Tanganyika and Zanzibar (26 April 1964), Nyerere became President of the Republic of Tanzania, and after the fusion of TANU with the Afro Shirazi Party (ASP) from Zanzibar into CCM in 1977, he became its Chairperson.

The struggle for independence could be won because of a coherent national movement led by a “magic leader”, Julius Nyerere. The next leadership challenge, Nyerere and TANU were faced with, was the development of a concept to help build a “new society” that could embrace and unify the multitude of about 120 ethnic groups under one roof.

3.2. Political Context: Nyerere, Architect of *Ujamaa*–Socialism in Tanzania

Nyerere and TANU decided immediately after Tanzanian independence in December 1961 to build up a socialist society in Tanganyika. After the revolution in Zanzibar in 1964, they formed the Union of Tanzania, where socialism became the official political philosophy and ideology. A further cornerstone was put in place in 1967 with the Arusha Declaration: Socialism and Self-Reliance (Nyerere, 1968:231–250). This document was accepted by the National Executive Committee of TANU on 29 January 1967, and was then disseminated to the public. It contained, among other things, the principles on which to build a socialist state, the policy of self-reliance, leadership qualifications, and a kind of leadership code. In the preface to the booklet, *Nyerere on Socialism* (13 August 1969) Nyerere explains its purpose:

It is quite true that to our people in the villages a discussion about socialism and Marxism, or even socialism and religion, is an irrelevance. ... But the residents of our towns, the students at the University and other higher education institutions, and even our secondary school pupils, do hear discussions about whether Tanzania is going communist, about whether socialism is incompatible with Christianity or with our deeply-felt national aspirations. It is primarily for these groups, and for others who are interested in Tanzania's experiments and concerned about these matters, that this reprint has been designed. (Nyerere, 1977: iv)

The political concept of socialism, *Ujamaa*, shaped the development of Tanzania in the first three decades after independence and created hope for the people of Tanzania and many other Africans.

In Appendix 3, we present an excerpt from the 30-page booklet *Nyerere on Socialism* (Nyerere, 1968:2–32), which explains what Nyerere meant by “*Ujamaa* is Tanzanian Socialism”.

In reading through Mazrui, Mwakikagile, Saul, Legum and Assensoh,⁴² and analysing their views, we get some reasons and explanations for why African leaders preferred socialist

⁴² Mwakikagile (2002: 20ff), Legum in Hodd (1989), Mazrui (1999), Saul in McDonald and Sahle (2002).

models to capitalist ones. The following aspects seem to have played a role in Nyerere's decision:

Ujamaa is Tanzanian socialism! Its meaning is 'family-hood' and it emphasises the African-ness we intend to examine. On the other hand, socialism is international, its ideas and beliefs relate in general to 'man and society' and to our dignity. (Nyerere ,1966:7ff)

Socialism is a political and economic alternative to the capitalism of the former colonial masters. It is a counter-concept to exploitation (which has been continued by some colonial powers, as we can still experience nowadays).

Socialism allows rapid economic and social development to be achieved, as the example of Soviet Union showed. National resources could be controlled and invested in the most effective way.

Socialism has a natural proximity to African cultural experiences. *Ubuntu* and *Ujamaa* are linked to communalism.

Socialism is based on human equality and social justice; not on speculation and profit, nor on predatory competition.

Socialist ideas are universal and even in the economic sector "we can be guided by the traditional presence of socialist ideas and attitudes in the African mental make-up. (Tom Mboya⁴³, in Mwakikagile 2002:40)

What then has become of the policy of Tanzanian socialism and self-reliance at the beginning of the 21st century? As we analysed earlier (Chapter 2), socialism is, legally seen, still the constitutionally determined political system of Tanzania. On the other hand, demands for constitutional change from opposition parties and civil groups are pressing. The Legal Human Rights Centre (LHRC), which started a dialogue with the government and parliament in 1998, is spearheading and coordinating the Citizens' Coalition for a New Constitution (LHRC, 2003:17). In fact we see that several years ago even the ruling party gave up socialist philosophy and the political principles of *Ujamaa*. "Probably upon realization of its practical non-viability and/or arising from the demands of the dominant world of liberal ideological institutions which they have to interact with", states Mmuya (Mmuya in Engel et al., 2000:83), saying that he has observed a change of heart of the ruling party: "The incumbent party has therefore joined the new parties to preach a form of social democracy that meets the

⁴³ Mboya was a minister in Kenya's capitalist government!

aspirations of both the previous world of *Ujamaa* and the present demands of market based economics and liberal democracy” (Ibid:83).

Still nowadays Nyerere’s *Ujamaa* is a fascinating understanding of socialism that attracts many people worldwide, not only from the left. *Ujamaa*, ‘familyhood’ stands for Nyerere’s vision of Tanzanian Socialism, which he was able to make understandable to his compatriots.

3.3. Personal Context: Mwalimu and Leader with a Vision

Was Nyerere born a teacher or a leader? Reading through different biographies⁴⁴ and scientific literature about leadership in Africa (see also Chapter 2.4.), one could assume that this person, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, was a ‘born leader’ with a sense of mission to communicate and disseminate his message as effectively as possible.

Was he a ‘born teacher’, a Mwalimu, as well? Yes, we do believe he was. Nyerere symbolised and embodied both teacher and political leader, and that is probably the secret of his success. We must distinguish him from many other leaders, especially from “breeds of parasitic political demagogues who have emerged in the post-Nyerere era, both in Tanzania and elsewhere in Africa” (Lwaitama in Othman, 2000:306).

We do not know much about the roots of Nyerere’s extraordinary skills and versatile gifts as leader and teacher. Many speculations have been made – and still are made – about his ‘real’ motive. Was it his social conscience? He grew up as a son of a chief (of the Zanaki tribe), in a traditional authoritarian society. His father, a peasant who owned livestock, had 22 wives (Nyerere in Mwakikagile, 2002:80). Or was it ‘divine inspiration’? Nyerere became a Catholic Christian as missionary student, against the wish of his father. Or was it a coincidence of several events and factors, combined with his “extraordinary brilliance ... as an original thinker”⁴⁵?

What we do know is that Nyerere, who was twelve years old when he started his schooling at the Mwisenge Primary School, was exceptionally intelligent and interested in learning and understanding. He quickly learned Kiswahili and English:

He excelled in the final examinations ... throughout Tanganyika ... to qualify for further education at Tabora St. Mary’s Secondary School ... an elite school run by Catholics. The

⁴⁴ For example Damachi (1976), Hood (1989), Assensoh (1998), Legum and Mmari (1999), McDonald and Sahle (2002), Mwakikagile (2002).

⁴⁵ Mwakikagile, 2002: 78.

school was patterned after private schools in Britain and had an excellent reputation for rigorous intellectual discipline, maintaining high academic standards. (Mwakikagile, 2002:80)

Nyerere as a student and young leader soon developed a strong and outspoken sense of equality and social justice, which remained his 'label' throughout his life. After he was appointed a prefect at Tabora Secondary School, he discovered that prefects enjoyed the privilege of two rations of food. "He agitated against such inequalities" writes Lamb, "and they were dropped" (Lamb, 1986:66).

He was a teacher of passion, of great enthusiasm, of intellect and energy, and with the power of language; an orator, fluent in English and in Kiswahili – the language he made into the national tongue of Tanganyika. He taught what he believed, and in general he lived up to it – something quite unique in the world of political leaders, both in Africa and abroad.

Nyerere and a few of his confidantes designed a new paradigm for Tanzania after independence. He developed new ideas on how to disseminate the essential concept of a new independent society to party members and to his fellow countrymen and women. With his belief that socialism could compete with capitalism and that it was appropriate for African people, Nyerere created confidence and a growing faith in the capability of the people. He put human dignity and equality first and promised education for men and women, as well as for all children. These were the goals for everybody, to achieve real independence through production in the fields, in the markets, the offices, and the schools. The motto could have been: Come and join in, Tanzanians, together with hard work we can achieve everything!

Nyerere strived for a new educational system that would overcome his people's experiences of subjugation by colonial masters (see Chapter 2.2.3.). All teachers, Nyerere believed, would be proud to work for the nation; it was a privilege to be Mwalimu. The big task was to contribute to a society of equals – no more exploitation! Tanzania would have many teachers to free the people from slave-work and make them resistant to the temptations of capitalism, which he saw as 'many things and few thoughts' about the needs of people. All people would work together. To humanise the people was an objective that bound Nyerere and Freire in their hope for socialist reform.

To achieve critical consciousness of the facts that it is necessary to be the 'owner of one's own labour,' that labour 'constitutes part of the human person,' and that 'a human being can neither be sold nor can he sell himself' is to go a step beyond the deception of palliative solutions. It is to engage in authentic transformation of reality, in order, by humanizing that reality, to humanize women and men. (Freire, 1996: 164)

“Nyerere has been sub-Saharan Africa’s most acclaimed political prophet and perhaps the best example of the moral agent in political history” state Jackson and Rosberg (1982:224). They quote Cranford Pratt (1976: 256), the first Principal of the University College in Dar es Salaam, who describes Nyerere as a very special Mwalimu, the teacher and servant of the people: “He is a teacher of morality. However, Nyerere is not just a Mwalimu. He is a Mwalimu-in-power – a moral teacher who is also a political leader with a great deal of authority and power” (Pratt in Jackson and Rosberg, 1982:220).

And twenty-four years later, Pratt has lost nothing of his enthusiasm and thoughtful appreciation for Mwalimu; he wrote on the occasion of Nyerere’s death:

A profound belief in the intrinsic equality of all humans was central to Nyerere’s political values and two of his most important legacies to his fellow Tanzanians flow from this belief in human equality – his emphasis on the democratic engagement of all citizens in the political life of Tanzania, and his preoccupation with finding a development strategy for Tanzania which would neither generate severe income differences nor entrench class differences. (Pratt in McDonald and Sahle, 2002:41)

We agree with Pratt and many other (social) scientists, especially political scientists⁴⁶, economists⁴⁷ and ‘moral economists’⁴⁸, that for Nyerere the belief in human equality and the search for social justice were continuously connected, and were the essence of his thoughts and deeds. His political philosophy had at its core the concept of people-centred development, a democratic-participative principle involving everybody. This was closely related to his belief that the people of Tanzania, the *wananchi*, would understand his political messages and follow them actively – in their own interests.

Mwakikagile, who worked for a few years close to Mwalimu as a journalist, describes him as “a teacher by choice and a politician by accident”, who was well known for “his extraordinary ability, humility and patience to explain things to diverse audiences with different levels of education and experience, sophistication and wisdom, in a language everybody including children could understand” (Mwakikagile, 2002:83).

Some outstanding examples of good political leadership, selected by the researcher, will briefly demonstrate the vast variety of leadership skills and political-ethical

⁴⁶ For example Peter Meyns in Engel (2000), Mwakikagile (2002), Mmuya (1998) and Mmuya and Chaligha (1994).

⁴⁷ Gerry Helleiner in McDonald and Sahle (2002)

⁴⁸ Reginald H.Green in Legum and Mmari (1999)

responsibility Nyerere embodied. A few cases of bad political leadership will follow. (An overview of the general discussion about leadership in Africa was given in Chapter 2.)

3.3.1. Nyerere: Some Aspects of Good Political Leadership

Julius K. Nyerere fought intelligently and peacefully for the independence of Tanganyika and succeeded against the powerful elite of colonial officials. He convinced the British government to anticipate the independence and gained the trust of the Tanganyikan people. He demonstrated outstanding political leadership.

Nyerere was a charismatic, even modest and convincing leader, a role model for his people and an influential statesman to represent Tanzanians in Africa and abroad. Friends and foes alike appreciated his intellectual, brilliant personality and valued his reliability, his truthfulness and his modesty. He remained humble and dedicated to humanity and humility. As Head of State, he declined state symbols of power. Not wanting to impress people because of his status as President, his car had no outriders, and no accompanying convoys, and his driver stopped at red traffic lights. His salary was humble (about 6000 USD a year) as was his lifestyle; he often flew economy class and avoided spending money on pomp or on lavish meetings and receptions. His children went to school by public bus. "He led by example, 'he preached water and drank water'. He remains the most honest leader East Africa has ever produced. God bless Africa with another Nyerere. His type is all we ever needed" (Odeny, in Mwakikagile 2002:422)⁴⁹.

"He gave Swahili a home and a regional base" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, in McDonald and Sahle, 2002:8). Kiswahili was not his mother tongue (that was Kizanaki) but, under Nyerere's influence, it became the national language, the lingua franca. Among other things, Nyerere translated theological texts and Shakespeare (in the 1960s Julius Caesar and Merchant of Venice) into Kiswahili, demonstrating that Kiswahili was not a 'primitive' language, as perceived by many Europeans, and showing his countrymen and the world "that it was truly an international – let alone national – language in terms of its capacity to handle knowledge, ideas and concepts from other cultures and civilizations" (Mwakikagile, 2002:86). Nyerere used the chance to unify tribes with their very particular languages with a non-European language, Kiswahili. Today a total of around 80 to 90 million people in central and eastern Africa speak and understand Kiswahili. Kiswahili has also become one of the official languages of the African Union!

⁴⁹ Message posted to the BBC from Kenya, paying tribute to Mwalimu after his death.

Nyerere unified around 120 ethnic groups under one national roof in Tanzania and contributed to religious tolerance and understanding. "Tanzania is justly famed as the African country with possibly the fewest ethnic conflicts and the greatest spirit of nationalism, as a land largely at peace with itself and its neighbours" (Maliyamkono and Kanyongolo, 2003:96). "He was a leader in the liberation of Southern Africa" says Wolfensohn, the President of the World Bank, and "he looked after hundreds of thousands of refugees forced to live in western Tanzania by political turmoil in central Africa" (Wolfensohn, in Mwakikagile 2002:398⁵⁰).

Nyerere managed the crisis after the violent Zanzibar revolution of 1964 (under revolutionary President Abeid Amani Karume) with sensitivity and success, which soon led to the unification of Tanganyika with the island, and to the Union of Tanzania. Nyerere was deeply concerned about the gruesome situation in Zanzibar, and the amount of horrifying brutality that occurred during the revolution, as well as by the involvement of John Okello⁵¹. However, even Nyerere could not prevent Zanzibar from remaining an area of unrest and violence, with several ongoing potential areas of conflict.

Nyerere stepped aside as President in 1985 without being forced to do so and initiated and steered the transition from a one-party policy to a multiparty democracy. In 1990, he handed over the chairmanship of the CCM to his successor Ali Hassan Mwinyi. He did however continue to serve his party and the country and helped to negotiate and mediate for peace in other African countries, such as Burundi. His leadership role in Southern Africa and the contribution of Tanzania to the liberation struggle were specially honoured in the South African National Assembly on 16 October 1997, when President Mandela, Vice-President Mbeki, Speaker Ginwala and Members of Parliament expressed their deep appreciation of the life and work of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. MP Blade Nzimande, summarised the gratitude of the Assembly and the South African people when he recalled the history:

In the 1960s and 1970s through your leadership, effort and dedication to the liberation of human kind, Tanzania was effectively the home and the headquarters of all liberation movements in Southern Africa. ... Not only this, but your ideas of *Ujamaa* had a wide influence internationally, not least on the younger generation – and I am sure, Comrade President, that I can include myself there. We were also very heavily influenced by these ideas as we ourselves inside the country, with our liberation movements banned, were

⁵⁰ Quoted there by Mkapa.

⁵¹ See Okello (1967).

trying to seek solutions, particularly in terms of confronting the apartheid regime. (Nzimande, in Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, 2000:55)

3.3.2. Nyerere: Some Aspects of Bad Political Leadership

Despite his capacity to listen and his participatory communication and winning charm, Nyerere could be very authoritarian – because of his strict moral principles. The following examples give evidence of this less democratic behaviour.

In October 1966, after student protests at the University of Dar es Salaam, Nyerere sent all 393 students home and dismissed them for an indefinite period. According to Professor Honeybone, the vice-principal, Nyerere felt that this group had shown “attitudes of superiority”; they had betrayed the nation and “had failed to understand their privileged position and shown disregard for the national good.” (Legum and Mmari, 1999:4) Nyerere justified his hard decision: “I must make it clear to the nation as well as to the students that the basic needs of Tanzania can only be met through the endeavour of every citizen” (Nyerere, in *ibid*: 1999:4). “It was unfair [of him] to punish all the students,” wrote Bishop Huddleston (*ibid*: 4), who was a close friend of Nyerere’s for many years.

Another criticism of Nyerere’s undemocratic practices comes from the scholar John S. Saul, who recalls:

(An) invasion of the campus at the University of Dar es Salaam by the field-force unit in 1970, and my student, the Kenyan leader of the University Student Council, Akivaga, being dragged at gunpoint down the steps ... tossed like a sack of old clothes in an army vehicle and sped away to expulsion both from the university and from the country ... Or take the case of my colleague Arnold Temu, the Tanzanian historian, first humiliated, even though an MP, for being one of a mere handful of Tanzanians who spoke out at the time of Akivaga’s expulsion, and who, having rehabilitated himself sufficiently to become Dean of Arts at the time of the 1978 protest, was then summarily dismissed, sent into effective exile. (Saul in McDonald and Sahle, 2002:21)

Nyerere curtailed the power of the Tanzanian trade unions because some of them supported the mutiny in parts of the army. In 1964 “the right to strike was severely restricted”, reported the *Drum*: “More than 500 people, mainly trade unionists and army officers, were detained”. The mass organization National Union of Tanzania (NUTA) was created as a result (Smyth and Seftel, 1998:104).

Nyerere, despite his larger-than-life, infallible, missionary leadership, was at times emotional and unconsidered in his reactions to criticism. Even his profound commitment to equality of all people and the humanist image of man which he presented, did not inhibit Nyerere from allowing himself to be seen, until the end of his life, as the perfect missionary, an icon, the 'father of the nation', and Mwalimu, the teacher with many messages for his people. We have to ask if this trait of unquestioning dominance, coupled with a patronising attitude, although exercised responsibly, did not sometimes prevent Nyerere from being self-critical and self-reflective, and from avoiding mistakes that sometimes arose from an authoritarian decision-making process. Jonathan Baker (who did research with students of the University of Dar es Salaam in 1972 in the field of rural development) emphasises Nyerere's missing self-criticism:

Nyerere's schoolmasterly side of knowing what was best for his charges came to the fore, rather than his commitment to the 'two-way-road' of communication that the party was supposed to become. ... It also suggested that there was at work a combination of ideological rigidity on the part of Nyerere himself and a political failure of the party and the administration in rural areas to communicate seriously and accurately the honest and reasoned resistance of farming people to collectivizing control of land and agricultural work. (Baker, in McDonald and Sahle 2002: 67)

Some contemporary political observers of Nyerere, like Andrew Coulson, John Saul and others, point out some further leadership mistakes, which were linked to the missing democratic culture. In the agricultural sector, a prosperous project – the Royuma Development Association – which successfully produced and developed its own cooperative structure and a lively democratic culture, was shut down in 1969 for developing a different system of *Ujamaa*, which was seen by Nyerere as possibly endangering TANU's monopoly of power.

Some outspoken and notable Africa scientists (Bratt, Saul, Coulson, Erdmann) agree nowadays that the proclaimed participatory idea – people-centred development – and the political concept of democracy did not penetrate the process of decision-making sufficiently. On the other hand, we can easily find reasons and strong advocates to qualify this criticism (McDonald, Mmari, Nyang'oro). We have therefore to consider and evaluate the difficult circumstances of a country with about 120 ethnic groups and a long history of oppression and subjection, which was slowly starting to emancipate itself from colonial dominance.

In many parts of the country one could find “a suppressive political culture which instilled a fear among the masses”, explains Kweka, who quotes Nyerere trying to convince and win the people for his policy, stressing: “You must not fear your leaders. Our aim is to hand over responsibility to the people to make their own decisions” (Kweka, in Legum and Mmari 1999:70).

There are further stains on the colourful and bold picture of Nyerere as great leader during the periods of Tanzanian development. Several of these stains have been almost forgotten over time; some of them will probably never be remembered because of new perspectives, the new challenges of globalisation, and the search for alternative politics. New evaluations of the leader Nyerere will emerge, in the spirit of the African heritage: the African renaissance of great leaders. What will remain as stains, despite the impressive legacy we honour in our work here, are some flaws and weaknesses, mostly caused by Nyerere's high political expectations of the policies of *Ujamaa* and self-reliance, which were somehow impracticable misperceptions. They were reasoned as a “weakness in the democratic component of this leadership” (Leys in McDonald and Sahle, 2002:64).

On the other hand, forty years of Nyerere's leadership in the party, in the state and – still highly esteemed – on the international political scene, is an outstanding achievement, not only in the African political history of the 20th century. We can find several extraordinary political leaders in Germany (the country of birth of the researcher), in the forty years from 1960 to 1999, but none with more than 16 years of top-level responsibility and with a reputation such as that of Nyerere. We can list all the post-war German chancellors: Adenauer (49–63), Erhard (63–66), Kiesinger (66–69), Brandt (69–74), Schmidt (74–82), Kohl (82–98) and Schröder (since 98). Nyerere *as President* was a contemporary of all of them, but Schröder. His international reputation and the admiration he still enjoys can be compared best with that of Willy Brandt, who remained politically influential – like Nyerere – even after his resignation as chancellor in 1974. Brandt remained chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) until 1987, and because of his vision of a North-South cooperation, he headed different international commissions (e.g. the North-South Commission, of which Nyerere was also a part) and served as President of the Socialist International (SI) until shortly before his death in 1992.

3.3.3. *Leadership Encounter: Julius Nyerere and Willy Brandt*

In May 1985 in Bonn, Germany (FES, 1985)⁵², when the two icons met again, Willy Brandt honoured Nyerere, whom he had known for two decades, as “an outstanding friend and comrade in the struggle for social justice, peace and human rights” (ibid: 5). Brandt reported later:

[I stressed the] clear evidence of European socialist solidarity with the struggle for the independence of Namibia and expressed our resolution to bring about an end to apartheid in South Africa. The mutual understanding of European democratic socialists and progressive political forces of Southern Africa is very welcome to us...”(ibid: 5).

Brandt closed his statement by addressing their “great friend, the teacher of the people of Tanzania”, who “all his life [had] been in the forefront of those who have struggled to overcome the obstacles in the way of peace, progress and development” (ibid: 6).

Nyerere, after a sparkling, critical speech against the “present economic order” and against the injustice in the assessment and distribution of the world’s resources said that the “nations and peoples of the Third World cannot afford to give up the struggle for survival, and will not give up their struggle for freedom – including the freedom to get a fair return for their work”. He continued:

Our peoples ... are becoming increasingly aware of, and increasingly resentful of, the frustration of their hopes through economic domination by external forces and the local allies of those forces. If their leaders do not respond to their frustration, or do not achieve results, those leaders will be replaced by one means or another. The world will be more and more polarised, and more and more dangerous for everyone. (ibid:16)

Nyerere concluded his reply by honouring Willy Brandt as his friend and comrade:

It has been an honour for me to say the hard things I had to say under the chairmanship of a great statesman and internationalist, who accepts the implications and the obligations of one humanity living together and working together on one planet. (ibid:16)

Nowadays in Germany, a time of highly disputed political leadership, Brandt’s personality and ethically committed leadership has become almost idealised, and not only by ‘the left’. Political observers (and increasingly the general public also) criticize contemporary leaders for not including a political vision in their political programmes, saying that the way they manage the day-to-day challenges is simply on a very pragmatic level. On the other

⁵² Speech by Nyerere at the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Bonn, 21st May, 1985.

hand, we have to admit that few of the recommendations of the Brandt Report (1979/80) regarding a “common future between North and South” (Brandt Report) have actually been implemented, so that the impact of the visionary politics of leaders like Nyerere and Brandt has remained very limited. National interests and shareholders of capitalism have until now prevented fair cooperation and redistribution of wealth to the South. The leaders of economic globalisation have favoured the rich and “at the bottom ... many are even worse off” (Stiglitz, 2002:86).

3.3.4. Nyerere: Stickler for Principles and Visionary

Nyerere's struggle for fair conditions in North-South relations remains ‘vitaly important’ and convincing; his voice as political leader is still heard, and his messages – powerfully hammered and widely disseminated – are part of his leadership legacy. The messages are not outdated; they are timeless and principally valid. They are understandable by ordinary people, because they talk about the reality of power-relations between North and South, and between rich and poor (“haves and have-nots”). He also talks about the failures of Africans, and the differences between dictators and democrats, in a simple, comprehensible way. Clear but not simplistic, Nyerere's messages are what he believes is the truth.

In his continued warnings and sharp accusations, Nyerere often is self-critical, and unsparing of African leaders who fail to deliver, who are corrupt, and who shamelessly plunder their impoverished countries, destroying hope of development for their people. These leaders, he says, are behind the persisting poverty, and he names the worst of them: Amin, Bokassa, Mobutu ... He hails democracy and detests dictatorship, because “dictators generally prefer an ignorant and passive or malleable population. It is easier”, he says, “to manipulate such a population and parade the result as people's participation”. For the real progress of democracy he claims a need for both “the existence of a politically conscious civil society, which is active, organized and alert” and “a scrupulous respect for the constitution ... the basis of the principle of the rule of law.” (Nyerere, 1998)⁵³

Nyerere constantly criticised the ongoing dependence of African countries on the powerful North, especially on the international financial institutions (IFI), the “Bretton Woods organizations”: the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization. The dominance of these institutions leads, above all, to the restrictive and socially disputable policy of ‘structural adjustment’, mainstreaming poor countries for

⁵³ Governance in Africa. Keynote address by the Chairman of the South Centre, United Nations, New York. 2 March 1998.

“liberalisation” and globalisation. In plain words this means subjugating African countries to the pitiless rules of competitive capitalism, not regarding or respecting the diversity and cultural specifics of the population. Nyerere tirelessly warned his fellow leaders, and those politically responsible, that the agreements signed with the Bretton Woods group had all created conditions conducive to foreign direct investment, with little benefit for the people of the country themselves. In many cases this foreign-induced free-market development created rapid wealth for a few – often through corruption – but the majority of the people were condemned to poverty. This did not change much from the 1980s to the end of the 1990s. (The researched cases of Tanzania and Uganda show sad evidence of the failure, for example, of the ‘pro-poor’ policy in development⁵⁴.)

Nyerere also rejected the “arrogant and patronizing” imposition of good governance policies as conditions to international financial agreements (Nyerere, 1998:3), which reminded him of the times of colonialism. It sounded, he said, more like “a tool for neo-colonialism” (ibid: 3) and less like cooperation between independent states of the South and the North. The given aid, states Nyerere, did not derive from “principles of human rights or international solidarity”, but looked like “charity extended as a matter of altruism by richer governments to the less developed and very poor nations” (ibid: 3). Such behaviour from some of the northern powers abused, sometimes violated, Nyerere’s deep belief in human rights and in the equality of “all men”.

For Nyerere, the total liberation of Africa would not be accomplished until the end of the apartheid regime in South Africa, which took place in 1994. He believed strongly in African political self-reliance, and that “Africa’s political independence will never be complete unless African people take in their hands the control of their economies instead of leaving them in the hands of foreign forces” (Nyerere (2000:83–88). “This is the challenge of a new generation of leaders in Africa”, admonishes Mwalimu Julius Nyerere in one of his last speeches, given at The President’s Forum in Claremont, California in 1999, where he had been invited to speak about his vision of ‘Money and Politics’ (ibid: 84).

⁵⁴ Compare basic indicators (GNP, life expectancy etc.) in World Bank Report 1984 with World Development Report: Attacking Poverty, 2001/2002, and see, for Uganda, Kappel (2004)

Chapter 4

Methodology – Conversation with Nyerere in his Context

For this research we understand methodology as a set of different methodological steps and 'research techniques' (Marshall, 1998:412) to show evidence of Nyerere's perspective of the "good political leader". The text, Nyerere's speeches, will be analysed in respect of the historical, political, cultural and philosophical contexts of the decade of the 1960s. The technique of a "triple-jump", a combination of content analysis with hermeneutical understanding and interpretation, will lead to different aspects of Nyerere's view about leadership. Chapter 5 will then give structured insights on his understanding of leadership and its relevance for Africa.

A particular methodological, hermeneutical approach is appropriate in order to avoid an assessment or judgement of Nyerere as African leader in hindsight of our knowledge at the beginning of the 21st century and of the mainstream paradigm of capitalism in a neo-liberal world. The intended conversation therefore takes into consideration that the researcher approaches the historical, political, cultural and philosophical contexts of Nyerere's activities in order to have a basic understanding for leading a fruitful dialogue. The conversation is the centrepiece of the cross-cultural exercise of the researcher "understanding and interpreting" the text, together with the "other" author. Gadamer describes this conversation with the other as building a bridge for understanding the object in a new light.

If we seek to examine the hermeneutical phenomenon according to the model of the conversation between two persons, the chief aspect that these apparently so different situations have in common – the understanding of a text and the understanding that occurs in conversation – is that both are concerned with an object that is placed before them. Just as one person seeks to reach agreement with his partner concerning an object, so the interpreter understands the object of which the text speaks (Gadamer, 1979:341).

4.1. Philosophical Discourse: How to Understand Nyerere in African History

A study of the view and vision of such a colourful, multifaceted historical personality as Julius Nyerere, seems very ambitious. It requires not only a comprehensive literature review (see Chapter 2), but also a sensitive psychological proximity to Mwalimu, the teacher, and a willingness to understand his views. It demands of the researcher an understanding of

the historicity of his life. The researcher must also be open to those moments of encounter when the 'Father of the Nation' speaks to us – leaders and researchers – through his writings. Such an undertaking promises to be an exciting interdisciplinary journey through Tanzania's history, political philosophy and social development. Here, however, we also have to be aware of the possibilities of understanding between the Euro-educated researcher, who spent 14 years in Africa, and the African thinker and orator who is conversant with European culture, since he spent some years in Europe and read history, philosophy and politics extensively. The researcher therefore chose hermeneutics as a cross-cultural methodological approach, with which to focus on understanding and interpreting the perspective of the former Tanzanian president, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere.

Max Weber ranks the attempt to understand (*das Verstehen*) as a "method par excellence of Sociology"; for him "understanding and interpretation are closely related, and most sociologists would now recognize that some interpretation is involved in all acts of understanding" (Weber, quoted in Marshall 1998: 326). Almost one century later, Babbie and Mouton (2001:53) confirm this position of 'interpretive sociology': the goal for the qualitative researcher is describing and understanding human behaviour rather than explaining and predicting it. This understanding requires an 'emic' procedure: looking at the indigenous values of a particular group and describing them from an inside perspective (Marshall, 1998:190).

This study refers to the meta-theory of hermeneutics, which is closely related to phenomenology (Marshall, 1998: 326-327, Blackburn, 1996), and can be described for our purposes as an attempt to understand the situation of the social actor, the leader, from within a specific historical and political context, in order to interpret this understanding and draw conclusions for a new social reality (for example, new political leaders). The hermeneutical approach is appropriate for cross-cultural studies for two reasons: because of the different cultural experiences of the 'acting' people Gadamer–Nyerere and Nyerere–researcher, and because of the different and contradictory contexts of Africa and Europe: tradition and modernity. Loelke (2001:209) states in his study "Africa. Philosophy as place of decolonisation", that "hermeneutics plays an increasingly growing role in the analysis of the abstract confrontation of tradition and modernity" (*my translation*).

4.1.1. Hermeneutics – About Understanding

The word hermeneutics is derived from Greek mythology and figuratively means 'interpretation': Hermes, a semi-god of ancient Greece, was "the messenger-interpreter ... who rendered and translated the messages of the gods" (Serequeberhan, 1994:1). Hermeneutical philosophy served for many years as a practical approach in the legal sector and in theology, for understanding texts more properly and for interpreting what has been understood in a specific context. Hermeneutics is not only a theoretical philosophy but also a methodology. Gadamer, as hermeneutical philosopher, clearly agrees with the possibility of its practical application and of the practice of understanding (*die Kunst des Verstehens und des Verständlichmachens*) (Gadamer in Grondin, 1997:16). Gadamer describes the complexity of this 'phenomenon of understanding':

From its historical origin, the problem of hermeneutics goes beyond the limits that the concept of method sets to modern science. The understanding and the interpretation of texts is not merely a concern of science, but is obviously part of the total human experience of the world (1979:xi).

4.1.2. Trends of Hermeneutics in African Philosophy

We will discuss the current African philosophical perspectives as part of the theoretical framework for the methodology of this study, and will endeavour to locate Nyerere's intellectual connection to hermeneutical philosophy, as perceived by two major and different philosophical thinkers, Henry O. Oruka and Paulin J. Houtondji. We will not explore a wide range of philosophical streams and schools of thought, which is not the focus of the study (and we should not presume to try it because of its complexity). For the understanding of the 'other', however – in this case the African leader Nyerere and his life-world – it is essential to grasp the streams of the discussions about hermeneutics. We will listen and learn in order to get a better understanding of this cross-cultural experience with the political philosopher, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere.

In the African history of philosophy, hermeneutics can be seen as a relatively recent approach with an uncertain future. The Kenyan philosopher Oruka, who was the first to attempt a classification of African philosophy (Coetzee and Roux, 2002:viii), proposed four

trends in the development of African philosophy, and hermeneutics was not included.⁵⁵ However, by the end of the 1990s, Oruka states, in *The African Philosophy Reader*:

We probably need to add two more [trends]: the hermeneutic trend and the artistic or literary trend. The former consists of the philosophical analysis of concepts in a given African language to help clarify meaning and logical implications arising from the use of such concepts. (Oruka in Coetzee and Roux, 1998:101)

In a revised and conceptually extended second edition, three years later, Oruka's "Four trends in current African philosophy" is again presented, but the hermeneutic trend is missing (Oruka in Coetzee and Roux, 2002). The latter article dates back to 1978, and the difference might be an editorial error rather than a conceptual intention. In the more recent book, *Philosophy from Africa*, only a few sentences (e.g. by Outlaw and Houtondji) in more than 660 pages deal explicitly with hermeneutics, and in the index hermeneutics is related to ethno-philosophy. Oruka's position equating hermeneutics to ethno-philosophy finds support from other philosophers such as Deacon and partly, Outlaw, Appiah, Wiredu and Irele (see Coetzee and Roux, 1998 and 2002).

Neglecting hermeneutics is even less understandable, since in 1994 Serequeberhan published a study entitled *The Hermeneutics of African Philosophy – Horizon and Discourse*, where he makes a point of "showing how, in progressively more concrete terms, African philosophy – even when its protagonists are not aware of it – is inherently, and cannot but be, a hermeneutic undertaking" (Serequeberhan, 1994:2). Another icon of contemporary African philosophy, the Beninois Hountondji, who strongly opposes Oruka's approach and classification, presents African philosophy as a set of texts, "as a body of literature whose existence is undeniable" (Hountondji in Coetzee and Roux, 2002: 125). "Philosophy", says Hountondji, is "in the strict sense of the word ... like chemistry, physics or mathematics ... a specific theoretical discipline with its exigency and methodological rules" (Hountondji quoted by van Niekerk in Coetzee and Roux, 1998:75). Gadamer and similar philosophical schools would not agree with such a technical and 'instrumental' explanation.

Houtondji leads an essential and controversial discussion about African philosophy and 'against' its European heritage from colonialism. For him, what can be called African philosophy is "a set of texts, specifically the set of texts written by Africans and described as philosophical by their authors themselves" (Hountondji in Coetzee and Roux, 2002: 125).

⁵⁵ Oruka's four trends: ethno-philosophy, philosophic sagacity, nationalist-ideological philosophy, professional philosophy. See also Coetzee and Roux, 2002:120 ff.

Only to a much lesser extent does he accept oral heritage as philosophy. In the same article, he mentions hermeneutics only in the endnotes, adding a powerful and one-sided statement to explain its African existence:

Without any doubt, the problem of African 'philosophy' refers us back to the problem of hermeneutics. The discourse of ethno-philosophers, be they Europeans or African, offers us the baffling spectacle of an imaginary interpretation with no textual support, of a genuinely 'free' interpretation, inebriated and entirely at the mercy of the interpreter, a dizzy and unconscious freedom which takes itself to be *translating* a text, which does not actually exist and which is therefore unaware of its own *creativity*. (Hountondji in Coetzee and Roux, 2002:135)

Hountondji uses hermeneutics as synonymous with 'arbitrary interpretation' as a bare tool for manipulation. He puts himself in sharp opposition to the hermeneutical approach of understanding in (oral) African philosophy.

4.2. Hountondji versus Oruka: What is African Philosophy?

In his article "An alienated literature" (ibid:125), Hountondji refers to the Belgian Father Tempels' *Bantu Philosophy* and the Rwandi priest Kagame's *La Philosophie Bantou-Rwandaise de l'être*, and compares them in a brilliant discourse. He finds fault with the fact that the literature presented by Kagame "is not philosophical", despite his "extraordinary knowledge of the traditions, language, and oral literature of Rwanda" (ibid: 131). Hountondji claims in his treatise on Bantu philosophy (and its ethno-philosophical treatment) that for it to be accepted as philosophy, there has to be original sources, philosophical texts or discourses. "Only to return to sources can enlighten us. It alone can enable us to discriminate between interpretations and assess their reliability or simply their pertinence" (ibid: 130). Hountondji claims that Tempels' and Kagame's Bantu philosophy is nothing but a myth; saying that Kagame "remained on the whole the prisoner of an ideological myth" (ibid: 131). He concludes that if Kagame had succeeded "in providing philosophical texts by African sages or in transcribing their words", his "interpretation would then have been founded on actual philosophical discourses, universally accessible and verifiable" (ibid: 135). With this approach, Hountondji denies the relevance for philosophy of traditional oral (unwritten) knowledge, which accounts for a big share of historical and cultural heritage in many societies.

On the other hand he is highly appreciated for his position as a critical political thinker and activist, striving for rigorous scientific practice in philosophy and for liberation and autonomy from the (western) 'conquerors' (Hountondji in Coetzee and Roux, 2002).

Oruka's position finds support from other philosophers such as Moya, Deacon, Outlaw and Irele (see Coetzee and Roux, 2002). Oruka's philosophical understanding is simple and straight; it seeks harmony rather than conflict. This uncomplicated understanding of culture and history is often the target of Hountondji's critiques, because Oruka accepts ethno-philosophers and their works as important contributions to African philosophy. That is the case with Senghor's *Négritude*, Tempels' *Bantu Philosophy* and, to a minor extent, Kagame's *La Philosophie Bantou-Rwandaise de l'être*. But Oruka does not at all glorify the ethno-philosophy, which is "almost identical with ethnology, religion and even mythology". He takes it as a historical period that has since come to an end. "We now begin to see African thinkers producing works which will later form important parts of African philosophical literature, and they are doing so without echoing Tempels or his influence" (Oruka in Mafeje, 1992:7).

In his book *Sage Philosophy*, Oruka gives a contrast to Hountondji, says Bell, who states:

The claim that 'illiterate' philosophy is 'non-scientific' or 'mythical' is false. ... Socrates' philosophy, for example, did not exist just because Plato and others gave birth to it through their pens. Plato and others wrote it down (even if they distorted much of it) because it existed in the first place. And such is the case with Sage philosophy in Africa... (Bell, 2002:32-3)

Following Hountondji's advice to turn to African sages and their texts, we will listen to Oruka once more, explaining the concept of sages as philosophers:

A person is a sage in the philosophical sense only to the extent that he/she is consistently concerned with the fundamental ethical and empirical issues and questions relevant to the society, and has the ability to offer insightful solutions to some of those issues. ... All societies use their sages or, at least, the ideas of their sages, to defend and maintain their existence in the rough world of inter-societal conflict and exploitation. And it does not matter that such sages may not bear the name 'sages' but rather the names 'philosophers', 'statesmen' or 'warriors'. So a sage may be a Gandhi, a Lenin, a Nyerere, or a John Rawls. (Oruka in Coetzee and Roux, 1998: 100-101)

Oruka, in a simplified evaluation, searches for reconciliation and co-operation between Western, particularly European tradition, and the traditional African culture (see

Oruka in Coetzee and Roux, 2002:58–63). He tries to understand and to develop a political vision. In this context, Bell categorises hermeneutics as a variation or extension of sage philosophy. “The ‘philosophy’ here, is not so much in what is said but by how it is interpreted. Although it looks at first-order speech, what is philosophical is the second-order critique of that speech and that, of course, is written” (Bell, 2002:33).

Oruka finds a political symbiosis between Europe and Africa embodied in the concept of socialism:

If Socialism, as a form of life, is granted as a cultural moral achievement (as I believe it should), the credit, I conceptualize, must go both to the post-capitalist Western culture and the pre-colonial traditional Africa which is known to have been basically communitarian. Communitarianism is after all the ‘social ancestor’ of Socialism. (ibid:59)

This concept, based on culture, morality and communitarianism, had already been developed, about twenty years before, by Nyerere, as we have earlier shown (see sections 2.2 and 3.2).

Oruka’s analysis, we might conclude, was also influenced by his cultural and political experiences and his research on traditional Kenyan sages in the context of East Africa, the home of this Kenyan philosopher and other great sages and thinkers (e.g. Kenyatta, Mboya, Mazrui, Ngugi wa Thiong’o, Anyang’Nyong’o). Nyerere and Oruka have a common philosophical understanding in practical politics: they seek a perspective of humanism and equality, together with the ‘conqueror’ and former oppressor. Therefore they chose socialism as an alternative objective, a result of the common history of Africans and Europeans. This political philosophy incorporates tradition, while being able to tackle their common future, with its challenges of modernism and globalisation.

In the last decades, the voices of African philosophers have become more powerful more audible and more reflected in the international context, particularly within the school of multicultural thought and philosophical hermeneutics (see Loelke, 2001 and Ike and Edozien, 2001). Archie Mafeje, for example, who taught in the 1960s and 1970s at the University of Dar es Salaam, provides an excellent discourse about “African Philosophical Projections and Prospects...” which demonstrates the broad intellectual variety available (Mafeje, 1992). However, when reading the present discussion of the major trends in African Philosophy⁵⁶, particularly in phenomenology and philosophical hermeneutics, one gets the impression that

⁵⁶ Coetzee and Roux (2002), Bell (2002), Karp and Masolo (2000), Hountondji (2000), Shutte (1998).

Western philosophers still play a more important role than Africans. The roles of Western philosophers and African philosophers are often very different, leading one to ask whether they have different “self-images” as philosophers.

Can the African perspective of practical philosophy stand up to the Western ‘theory-loaded’ and academic approach? The North American philosopher Gail Presbey, who worked for many years with Oruka on the *Sage Philosophy*, answers the question in the affirmative, when she talks about her experiences with the Luo tribe in Kenya, where the sage and prophet is symbolised as a heart (“heart of development and love”). Presbey describes Oruka somehow as a combination of an academician and a “sage-prophet”. “I think, however, that it is clear that Odera Oruka had taken it upon himself to take the role of “heart” in the tradition of the Luo, into academia and the world of politics today” (Presbey in Loelke, 2001: 232).

4.3. Gadamer and Hermeneutic Philosophy

Hermeneutics, as an approach, has a firm German tradition (Schleiermacher, Dilthey, Weber, Heidegger, Pöggeler, Gadamer, and, to a lesser extent, Habermas with his critical social science approach or Apel his colleague from Frankfurt)⁵⁷. For the wider European tradition of hermeneutics we have to mention Paul Ricoeur, the famous and often creative French Christian intellectual who was somewhat antagonistic to Gadamer. In North America, the hermeneutic school of the 21st century is often supported by prominent postmodern philosophers or political scientists (for example Rorty, Beck, Taylor).

Hermeneutics opposes the widespread modern ‘objective’ approach of positivist thinking, which stands for “clinical, neutral and controlled research” (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 27) The methodological approach of hermeneutical research is part of the qualitative paradigm, the world of social actors and social change. Despite differences between the hermeneutical schools because of scientific or theological orientations and preferences, there is a consensus over a deep concern about the modern mainstream: the growing instrumental and technological thinking, and the managerial and technocratic behaviour of leadership in our societies. Bernstein describes this common concern in his essay about “hermeneutics, critical theory and deconstruction”, when he states: “Derrida shares with Gadamer (and Habermas) a deep suspicion and criticism of the ways in which technological thinking and calculation have infiltrated our ethical and political lives” (Bernstein in Dostal, 2002:279).

⁵⁷ See overviews in Babbie and Mouton (2001:48-68). For hermeneutic philosophy see Gadamer (1979), Dostal (2002), Serequeberhan (1994), Connolly and Keutner (1988), Mueller-Vollmer (1986).

Hermeneutics, as a value-based social science, is also used for (critical) literary analysis (see Hauff et al., 1991) and as a theological methodology. In particular, the 'hermeneutical circle' (see section 1.8. and Appendix 4) entered the world of theological research as the 'theological circle'⁵⁸.

To clarify the philosophical concept of hermeneutics, it is useful to explore some fundamental views and methodological approaches of prominent theologians, Paul Tillich and Paul Ricoeur. Tillich states that "methodological awareness always follows the application of a method; it never precedes it" (Tillich quoted in Cameron, 2003:10). To enter the circle, Tillich claims, one "must be in the situation of faith". That means one has to be ultimately concerned about the Christian message (Cameron, 2003:10-12). The circle should be used as a means rather than a method to evaluate and interpret the message. Paul Ricoeur also puts faith as a precondition for the appropriate use of the circle. Cameron writes, "behind believing there is the primacy of the object of faith over faith", and he interprets Ricoeur who argues that "Christian hermeneutics is moved by the announcement which is at issue in the text" (ibid: 13-14). Slightly overstating, Cameron concludes: "to understand it is necessary to believe; to believe it is necessary to understand" (ibid: 13). In Ricoeur's, *Biblical Interpretations* (1980), says Cameron, Ricoeur admits the dependence of (Protestant) Christians on textual exegesis. "It is necessary to understand the text in order to believe" (ibid: 15). This relationship between faith and understanding can be interpreted as a limitation to the openness of the dialogical process between author and interpreter, as we know it from Gadamer. The theologian's position determines the search for truth, with a presumed 'correct' (objective) interpretation. Christian theologians thus generally emphasise that the theological circle needs to be interpreted first (along theological principles) before understanding can evolve.

Vattimo (1997), an Italian Christian hermeneutician, in a very critical review of the popularisation of hermeneutics, asks how hermeneutical philosophy could still have consequences, if very different writers can be grouped as having a 'family resemblance'. "In this very generic sense, which bears no more precise definition, not only are Heidegger, Gadamer, Ricoeur and Pareyson hermeneutic thinkers, but so are Habermas and Apel, Rorty and Charles Taylor, Jacques Derrida and Emmanuel Levinas" (Vattimo, 1997:32). Gadamer's ethical position receives appreciation by Vattimo and many other hermeneutical thinkers, because of his contribution to the "rehabilitation of practical philosophy", and to the

⁵⁸Paul Cameron elaborated models of the 'theological circle' in his Masters Thesis at University of Cape Town in 2003.

fact that Gadamer's ethics is "wholly an affirmation of the value of dialogue, even if it does not believe that dialogue has to be modelled on an ideal of transparency that, in the end, would render it inessential" (ibid: 37).

Basic concepts such as "conversation/dialogue", "fusion of horizon", "circle of understanding" and its importance for the understanding of the hermeneutics were the topic of a famous encounter between Gadamer and Ricoeur. In the debate about the 'conflict of interpretations' (Ricoeur, 1991), they find a rather common view on crucial elements of hermeneutical philosophy. Gadamer states:

For me the pre-eminent model has been the *dialogue*. Plato was right in saying that thinking is at best dialogue with oneself. But in a *real* dialogue, like the dialogues he wrote, the key point to be grasped is that there is no subject who states and fixes the objective content of an utterance, and then argues this fixed idea as the whole point. Instead there is interplay between two persons; so that each exposes himself to the other with the expectation that each tries in his own way to find a common point between himself and the interlocutor. Whereas if we find no common point, *wir reden aneinander vorbei* [talk at cross-purposes]. The dialogue is a good model for the process of overcoming the structure of two opposing postures. Finding a common language is not contributing to a new handbook of science or thought; it is sharing in a social act. (Gadamer in Ricoeur, 1991:222)

Ricoeur shows a slightly modified position and refers to dialogue as a position of mediation.

In dialogue I have to encounter the other as he is, I have to presume that he means something, that he intends something, and I have to bring myself into that which is meant and intended. And so the exchange of positions, what Professor Gadamer called the fusion of horizons, is a fundamental presupposition of the philosophical overcoming of unmediated conflicts. (Ricoeur, 1991:235)

The key-concepts of 'fusion of horizon' and 'the hermeneutical circle' are closely related. Ricoeur tries to make his somewhat different point clear, and argues on the basis of Gadamer's view, which he quotes: "Beyond my situation as reader, beyond the author's situation, I offer myself to the possible ways of being-in-the-world which the text opens up and discovers for me." This is what Gadamer calls the 'fusion of horizons' (Horizontverschmelzung) in historical knowledge.

Ricoeur continues saying:

The hermeneutical remains an unavoidable interpretation. ... But my claim is that the hermeneutical circle is not correctly understood when it is presented 1/ as a circle between two subjectivities, that of the reader and that of the author, and 2/ as the projection of the subjectivity of the reader in the reading itself. ... The coming to language of the sense and the reference of a text is the coming to language of a world and not the recognition of another person. ... I should rather say that the reader understands himself before the text, before the world of the work. (Ricoeur, 1991:314–316)

For Gadamer the 'recognition of another person' happens within the conversation: the relationship of the interpreter and the text and the logic of question and answer. Sometimes the conversation results in an agreement, perhaps as an understanding of an historical event, for example, we start a conversation with a person, our partner (our text), "to discover his standpoint and his horizon", says Gadamer, and because of that interesting, productive conversation, we:

Acquire the right historical horizon of the other person, his ideas become intelligible, without our necessarily having to agree with him, the person who thinks historically comes to understand the meaning of what has been handed down, without necessarily agreeing with it, or seeing himself in it. (Gadamer, 1979:270)

Gadamer explains this process of "approaching" the historical truth in order to understand the other person (our text): "If we are trying to understand a historical phenomenon from the historical distance that is characteristic of our hermeneutical situation, we are always subject to the effects of effective-history" (ibid: 267). On the other hand, to understand and interpret the language of the speeches (our text) adequately, it is essential to "dive" into the historical situation with a great historical horizon, which consists of the knowledge of the political, cultural and personal context.. Gadamer warns us interpreters, not to expect too much: not to be too demanding and too certain because of a horizon that will show us the "truth". There are no measurements and tools to produce the right results (as is common in a paradigm of positivism). On the contrary, only the interpreter with openness and a great historical, political and social horizon will understand the text, in order to grasp the "truth".

Apel, another German philosopher, reproaches Gadamer with historical relativism and a "strange primacy of the past over the future" (Apel in Grondin in Dostal, 2002:49); Gadamer rejects the reproach and asks: "Is it not the past which has stamped us permanently through its effective history?" (Gadamer in ibid: 49). And it is

the language, “the primary vehicle” to comprehend our world. A further central aspect of the “history of effects” (wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewusstsein) is the impact of tradition on our understanding, which is particularly relevant for the interpretation of the 1960s and Nyerere’s attempt to build a “new” society.

Understanding of the past, then, undoubtedly requires an historical horizon. But it is not the case that we acquire this horizon by placing ourselves within a historical situation. Rather, we must always already have a horizon in order to be able to place ourselves within a situation. (ibid: 271)

The horizon of “the other” often is given by a certain common pre-understanding of the text; but we cannot force that result, it’s part of the process. Pillay, a philosopher from New Zealand, stresses that uncertainty of the fusion of horizon. “Gadamer might be too optimistic in believing that a fusion of horizon is always possible ” (Pillay, 2002:341). In our model of the “hermeneutical spiral” (Appendix4), the dialogue between Nyerere and the researcher starts – in order to understand more and better – on the basis of a common ground: the fusion of horizon. The conversation between both partners leads to a real understanding of the other (“a moral relationship”), and to a new understanding of the past and of oneself. The text speaks to us, the spiral points to the “truth”: Nyerere’s perspective!

4.4. The Process of Research – Methodological Approach with Political Texts

The speeches and other texts we are dealing with in this study are part of political literature, which – particularly in Kiswahili as postcolonial language – gained momentum as “co-founder” of the *Ujamaa* policy and as activator and stabilizer of the new state of Tanganyika after independence. Blommaert, in an analysis entitled *The Impact of State Ideology on Language: Ujamaa and Swahili Literature in Tanzania*, elaborates on the African sociology of communication and states the extraordinary social and political significance of literature for the political development of Tanzania:

Literature may be a highly sensitive index of socio-political development, and assume a far more important place in the political debate than what we are used to in the West. It may become a vehicle for the reproduction of dominant political values, or for dissenting opinions and ideas. ... The politicization of writers can be the product of their own preferences or their own responses to political developments, or of an old tradition

of concern for society rather than for the individual (as suggested by Mazrui) (Blommaert in Smieja and Tasch, 1997:253-255).

However, Nyerere's writings and speeches were a form of propaganda and political activity from above, while many young writers and scholars contributed to *Ujamaa* literature (e.g. creative writing in Kiswahili) with a new literature tradition, within which was a "literature of dissent" (ibid: 255).

Ngugi wa Thiong'o confirms that political tendency and points to the socio-political conflict:

The product of a writer's imaginative involvement – what Shakespeare called mirror unto nature – becomes a reflection of society: its economic structure, its class formations, conflicts, contradictions, political and cultural struggles, and its structure of values – particularly the conflict and tensions arising from the antagonism between those which are dying and those which are pointing to the future. (1997:68)

Behind the literature, behind the text of the speeches in our case, is a writer, a politician, a human being with political and "imaginative involvement": Nyerere. He fits both roles, the writing politician and the writer in politics, although priority lay on his obligations and tasks as political leader. Nyerere disseminated his politics, system of values and his political vision, via texts – mainly articles and speeches – published in daily papers, magazines and journals, and often broadcast on Radio and TV. His speeches were generally held in Kiswahili, few were originally presented in English, which happened only when he addressed foreigners in Tanzania or abroad.

MacArthur, who edited *Historic Speeches*, a compendium of remarkable speeches, states, "studying oratory ... offers powerful insights into the motives and ideals of men and women who made history" (MacArthur, 1996: xv). "The speeches of Moses, Jesus of Nazareth and Muhammad to their followers are still inspiring men and women to lead lives based on a moral code and still, today, changing the course of history." We, researchers and readers of this study, all probably agree with this sentiment, and many of us will recall as example "one of the most memorable speeches of the [20th] century", Martin Luther King's *I have a dream*, of 28 August 1963, when 210 000 people gathered at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, on the centenary of the day of Lincoln's 'emancipation proclamation' (ibid: 487ff). Another example is Nelson Mandela's inaugural address, *Let freedom reign*, given on 10 May 1994 after the first democratic elections in South Africa. This touching speech was a cornerstone of (his) peace and reconciliation policy – it was outstanding, historically unique

and a masterpiece of simplicity (ibid). We will not compare Nyerere's speeches with such historic ones! However, Nyerere's speeches, in the understanding of the researcher, are as politically and historically relevant, even if their reach was 'merely' national. Only few speeches have international impact – but we believe with MacArthur and we have evidence, that they had the “power to move hearts or inspire great deeds” (ibid: xv).

4.4.1. The Power of Nyerere's Speeches for our Understanding

Nyerere's speeches are powerful because they carry messages to the people, and they are easily understandable. From many readings and discussions with contemporaries⁵⁹ of Nyerere, the researcher remembers the forceful and profound effect of Mwalimu's speeches on people of all walks of life. His speeches, written addresses and reports were valuable documents for intellectuals, politicians and other national and international leaders. The North-American journalist Lamb, a critical and sceptical observer of Tanzania from the 1970s until the mid 1980s writes about Nyerere's influence: “Scholars and statesmen from both East and West seek his advice; Moscow and Washington analyse his every word. ... His blueprint for socialism is a textbook model of Third World development” (Lamb, 1986:65). Personalities from different academic fields and with political views have admired Nyerere's brilliant wording, among them John F. Kennedy, Willy Brandt, Eleanor Roosevelt, Gertrude Mongela, Ali Mazrui, John Iliffe, Yoweri Museveni and Wole Soyinka.

Datta (2001) compares Nyerere with Gandhi, both charismatic and powerful speakers, showing similarities in their missions to achieve more social justice, their political vision of self-reliance, love for peace, rural development, and efforts for basic and critical education. Both, writes Datta, were neither systematic theorists nor dogmatic leaders. Nyerere, however, used every possibility to promote his vision and his objectives for Tanzania and Africa – theoretically well-grounded and comprehensibly presented. His speeches and political texts are contemporary documents, which are not outdated. Some speeches are even more topical than ever, writes Datta, and refers to Nyerere's vision of socialism and social justice in times of globalisation. Nyerere, the last great “Third Worldist” (Datta), dedicated his life to his people and fought for human dignity. He criticised the ever-widening gap between the rich in the North and the poor in the South. Nyerere was concerned about the

⁵⁹ For example Mahmoud Jabir, Gertrude Mongela, Max Mmuya, Mwajabu Possi, Haroub Othman, Fides Chale, Francis Nyalali, Marie Shaba, Ibrahim Shao, Tabitha Siwale, Paul Kimiti, Ashe-Rose Migiro.

“antagonism between those which are dying and those which are pointing to the future”, as Ngugi wa Thiong’o warned us in the above citation.

Rather unusual for the president of a state is the fact that Nyerere wrote many of his speeches himself. “No published, and no significant, speech or paper has been other than to his outline and revised by him,” recalls Green, who served as economic adviser to the Tanzanian government for many years (Green in Legum and Mmari, 1999:82). Green also pointed out that Nyerere’s speeches are not simple or easy to analyse: “while there are tensions and secondary contradictions in his thinking, it is a misreading to suppose they are basic” (ibid: 81). The main topics of Nyerere’s speeches were usually people and society – clear issues, often with an ethical or moral concern. “In most individual speeches”, confirms Green:

Mwalimu has been concerned, albeit to varying degrees, with both distributional / relational and production economics. For example, in its early conceptualisation, *Ujamaa* was basically an African social-contract modelling exercise. In that respect it resembles Locke rather than Rousseau, let alone Hobbes.

Green praised Nyerere’s extraordinary ability to express topics in an understandable way (ibid: 82).

It is difficult, however, to measure precisely the impact of Nyerere’s political speeches, even if the ‘prelocutionary act’ of his speeches – “sayings may produce effects on hearers” (Blackburn, writing about ‘speech acts’, 1996:358) – may have been convincing, animating and guiding for leaders and the followers. We assume that Nyerere’s speeches had weight and authority and persuaded many people. Although it would be interesting to know about their political influence and personal impact on actions on the people, we cannot make definite judgements in that regard, and it is not, in any case, the objective of this study.

Lwaitama, a Tanzanian linguist, who wrote several studies on the language of political leadership (in Othman, 2000), summarises some points about Nyerere as a thoughtful orator, who construed his words and sentences systematically and carefully.

Mwalimu Nyerere speaks more like a University lecturer where the audience usually is made to believe that the question of who holds what opinion is less important than the fact that the lecturer is saying that the opinion is held... Mwalimu used sentence constructions, which seemed to assist him greatly in projecting his image of a teacher to all and an enemy of very few of his fellow political leaders. Even with those leaders with whom he had serious political disputes leading to resignations ... Nyerere sought to

use the features of the lecture genre to reduce face threats to those in political disgrace, thus ensuring political consensus. (Lwaitama in Othman, 2000:294)

Another technical device that Nyerere used to achieve a bright verbal discourse (and the researcher uses it as well!) is the “hearer-exclusive first person plural pronominal reference”. Lwaitama explains this phenomenon as appearing:

To serve the pragmatic function of ‘distancing’ the speaker as an ‘animator’... from his or her other role as one of the main ‘authors’ and ‘principals’ of what he/she has to say ... helping to indirectly signal the necessity for interpreting whatever he or she says in the light of the fact that he or she represents certain social institutions and political power structures and not just himself or herself. (ibid: 294)

Nyerere’s verbal focus on the common man and woman – ‘the people’ – attracted citizens in both urban and rural areas, and kept them listening to the radio or watching television sometimes for hours. Lwaitama, referring to leadership research, clarifies that “the apparent paradoxes of modern political leadership styles is that strong leaders stress the importance of ordinary people in political processes more than apparently weak politicians do” (ibid: 305).

4.4.2. Nyerere Speaks to Us about Leadership

For this research, we have invited Mwalimu Nyerere to speak afresh, in the African tradition, and exploit his special skills and experiences for our better understanding of the past and the present, disclosing the leadership characteristics and traits he expected from all political leaders. We will be looking at selected speeches and some articles, which were either written by Nyerere in English or translated from Kiswahili into English and authorised by him. They had, and still have, an influence for political leaders and researchers, both national and international, as well as for ordinary citizens in Tanzania.

In almost forty years of Tanzania’s independence (since 1961), Nyerere wrote several hundreds of speeches, essays, poems and articles, almost all in the national language, Kiswahili. He also wrote several books and even translated literature from English into Kiswahili, the most famous probably being Shakespeare’s *Juliasi Kaizari* (Julius Caesar), and *The Merchant of Venice*, and translations of parts of the Bible. His thoughts and words still play an important role in schools and indeed in the everyday life of Tanzanians.⁶⁰ The publication *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania* (1995) is an incisive analysis of

⁶⁰ The researcher, living in Tanzania from 1998 until 2003, took part in several public events where the speeches and ‘appearances’ of Mwalimu on radio and TV programmes were very well received by the people.

Tanzania's political leadership in a decisive period, written in Kiswahili and translated into English after Nyerere had retired from public office. Part of this publication is a poem about the then present leadership, *Tanzania, Tanzania* (Nyerere, 1995: 51-54). It can be seen as a legacy and a personal and political masterpiece, an example for present and future leaders, despite the emotional, sometimes polemic, tone of the poem.

Among African intellectuals, Nyerere is highly esteemed: honoured and valued as political and philosophical leader as well as writer and orator. Mazrui writes in the *General History of Africa*:

In cross-cultural terms, Julius Nyerere is the most enterprising of African political philosophers ... In intellectual terms Nyerere is a more original thinker than Kwame Nkrumah ... Yet both these African thinkers will remain among the towering figures of the twentieth century in politics and thoughts. (Mazrui, 1999: 674)

To interpret Nyerere's message properly (to understand and interpret it, in selected literary texts) one needs a methodology that will assist in working systematically and entering the context (historical time, personal and political circumstances, etc.) for cognition of the textual 'truth' (underlying meaning, assumptions). Then, the dialogue between the researcher and the author (Nyerere) can evolve, allowing the researcher to understand and conclude, because of the author's life and words, his opinions, his views, his vision, his perspectives ... In the textual analysis, these found elements of a jigsaw puzzle must then be put together systematically, in an attempt to obtain the full picture that Nyerere had of good leadership.

4.4.3. The Understanding of Two Philosophers: Nyerere and Gadamer

Understanding first, then interpreting, a text – in and with its context – is the goal. One has to be open to the context, to the otherness of the text and – in the words of Gadamer – to the “identifiable appropriation of one's own pre-opinions and prejudices” (Gadamer, 1959 in Connolly and Keutner, 1988:73). Hermeneutics enables one to “understand oneself in the subject matter (sich in der Sache verstehen), and only secondarily to detach and understand the opinion of the other as such” (ibid: 75).

The hermeneutical awareness of this situation, the self-confrontation (and hence confrontation with the past) engendered by the attempt to understand the meaning of a text, is that to which Gadamer gives the intimidating label ‘consciousness of the history of influence’ (wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewusstsein), the meta-consciousness that our historical consciousness is unavoidably conditioned by our own historicity. ...

Positivism is characterized by the lack of such meta-consciousness ... (Connolly and Keutner, 1988: 33)

Understanding can be logical, discovered within very different contexts and historical experiences and systematically processed.

Gadamer and Nyerere as philosophical thinkers and social scientists have a political context in common. They are open to the 'otherness' and to the intercultural dialogue as a challenge – "and as an alternative hope vis-à-vis the dictate of a neo-liberal economic policy" (Fornet-Betancourt, 1998:10⁶¹).

They can understand each other. They have a significant affinity to Christianity (both experienced a Christian education), with the values and ideals of humanism⁶². They foster ecumenical principles and actions, and promote tolerance and mutual respect. Both are teachers and masters of the language: language is the key for understanding, as in Gadamer's now famous statement: "being that can be understood is language" (Gadamer, 1979:xxii).

Gadamer wrote *Truth and Method* (Wahrheit und Methode, first published 1960). Among other texts, he studied Augustine, Thomas and Cusanus (Pauw and Smit, 2003:20) and discussed the Bible and Luther's ideas on the Reformation, including his thesis that interpretations are decidable. Gadamer then opposed as the centrepiece of his philosophical hermeneutics: "One understands differently if one understands at all" (Gadamer in Connolly and Keutner, 1998:8). Gadamer and Nyerere both explore the ancient world, and take its wisdom into consideration in their vast works. According to Grondin, Gadamer's major biographer, Gadamer searched during the fascist Nazi-Germany regime "for refuge in the Greeks" (in Dostal, 2002:17); he worked on Plato and Aristotle and published significantly on the topics of ethics, culture, value, religion, dialogue and practical philosophy. Gadamer's major oeuvre, *Truth and Method*, has been translated into more than ten languages, including Chinese (Connolly and Keutner, 1988:4). Nyerere translated the Bible and Shakespeare into Kiswahili, and in the year of his death completed his translation of Plato's Republic, which his family has not yet published⁶³. Nyerere mediated between Christians and Muslims, promoted peace between warlords and political parties in the Burundi-Rwanda conflict right up until 1999, and made continuous propaganda for peace, stability and unity in his writings and in famous speeches. He tried to convince and win over people in a search for truth:

⁶¹ "Dialog der Kulturen... als Herausforderung im Sinne einer alternativen Hoffnung ... im aktuellen Kontext der Globalisierung... durch das Diktat einer neoliberalen Wirtschaftspolitik..." (translated by researcher, PH)

⁶² For their 'leitbilder', see Gadamer, 1979:10-32, Nyerere, 1970:1-22, and Chapter 3.

⁶³ Prof. Chachage S.Chachage quoted in *The Guardian*: 'Don calls for memoirs on Nyerere'. Tanzania, 15 October 2004.

liberation, human rights and social development he often said, are reasons for being. For the researcher, Gadamer and Nyerere's similarity in political views and humanist thinking helps one to understand the content of their texts.

4.4.4. Methods: Content Analysis of Speeches and Hermeneutics

This research is a combination of two related methodological approaches of textual analysis: manifest and latent coding in content analysis and 'understanding and interpretation' (hermeneutics). Although both approaches – content analysis and hermeneutical interpretation – are applied, the emphasis of the analytical work lies on the hermeneutic.

The single leadership text (speech or article) will be the unit of analysis; selected parts – paragraphs, phrases or verses are to be the units of observation. The universe is the total of probably several hundreds of texts on leadership issues. Many of them have not yet been systematically archived.⁶⁴

4.4.4.1. Sampling: Text Selection and Random Sampling

Nyerere's production of several hundred speeches, articles, essays etc. cannot be properly reckoned and figured out – many of the texts are still to be collected worldwide, and have then to be registered and filed for archiving e.g. by the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation. For this research, sample speeches and some other articles were collected from the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation in Dar es Salaam, from Tanzanian archives and public libraries, as well as from the Internet.

The amount of Nyerere's output accessible to the researcher was around 130 pieces, with a volume of about 1200 pages. Most of the text is published in three volumes edited by Nyerere himself, who also wrote a foreword to each. These are *Freedom and Unity* (1966), *Freedom and Socialism* (1968) and *Freedom and Development* (1973). The researcher manually pre-selected 99 'political' speeches and from them 63 'leadership' speeches, mostly qualified as such by Nyerere in these books, as well as pages from various other publications, found in the contents-by-subject lists, which deal with leadership issues or related political topics.

⁶⁴ Information from Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Foundation, Tanzania (2003).

To reduce the texts to a manageable quantity, nine speeches were then randomly selected from the 63. We used a random number table (Neumann, 1997:484–487) to avoid bias. The first speech was selected randomly, as suggested by Babbie and Mouton (2001:187–190). Originally three crucial speeches were handpicked and added to form the 12 speeches for forty years of Nyerere's political presence. Because of a very one-sided random selection, which has been explained in section 1.6, the researcher decided to use the randomly selected 7 speeches held in the 1960s, the decisive decade for the development and consolidation of Tanzania. The process of selection and all speeches and articles are chronologically listed (see **Appendix 1**).

One handpicked speech was then added because of its special importance: *Africa's Place in the World*. It is one of Nyerere's first speeches about politics and democracy, made just before independence at a conference held in Massachusetts, USA, in 1960, and first published in 2000 by the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation (2000). Two fundamental publications, *The Arusha Declaration: Socialism and Self-Reliance* (Nyerere, 1968) and *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania* (Nyerere, 1995) have been used as further literature of reference, the latter for the contemporary part of the study: the comparison of Nyerere's leadership and the leadership-picture of YLTP (Chapter 6).

4.4.4.2. Content Analysis: How to find the "message"

The content analysis method, says Marshall, is "as much an art as a science", and makes inferences generally possible "by objectively and systematically specified characteristics of messages" (Marshall, 1989:98). This technique is economical in terms of both time and money (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:302), and allowed the researcher to run the study without an assistant.

Content analysis as a 'tool', focused on selection and coding, seems to be ideal for measuring a great quantity of text. To identify roughly the characteristics or traits of leadership messages, "coding the visible, surface content" (Neumann, 1997:275) with a few keywords or sentences was suggested. The scientific and 'objective' tool of manifest coding can provide high reliability in quantitatively assessing the principles and qualities of leadership. But what does it mean and what is its value in the end for understanding the message? Keywords (and related terms) like leader, politician, parliament, president, minister, government, party, corruption, ethic, honesty, moral, integrity, participation, accountability, transparency, rule of law, human rights, and so on, can be spotted in the text,

but after that comes the hard work – the task of understanding and interpretation. Content analysis – as an art – offers the possibility of latent coding, to ‘dive’ into the message of a leadership speech and to explore its meaning, using set questions and discovering a first understanding of the text.

As Neumann (1997: 276) puts it, “people communicate meaning in many ways that depend on context, not just in specific words”. This interpretative approach was further helpful in handling Nyerere’s often-used rhetoric technique of wordplay, with a lot of wit and critical irony (see Lwaitama in Othman, 2000: 287–306). His way of inserting important implications and disguised allusions in his speeches is fully in the African tradition. Unless the researcher has a similar creative skill to use in interpretation, the sense or meaning of the text may well remain undiscovered or distorted.

The researcher applied both of these content analysis approaches to counterbalance the weaknesses of manifest coding (generally low validity) and latent coding (rather low reliability). The emphasis in this work, however, will lie on ‘understanding and interpretation’: latent coding, on a preliminary interpretative aspect; and on the task of understanding – which will be intensified in the next step of interpretation, the hermeneutical analysis. For this study, the researcher differentiated between ‘surface interpretation’ (latent coding with a first interpretation) and ‘hermeneutical interpretation’ (different steps, along with Gadamer’s hermeneutics).

4.4.5. Coding and Interpretation of Keywords and Sections of Text

The whole exercise can be seen as a ‘methodological triple jump’⁶⁵. We generally followed Palmquist’s eight steps (Palmquist 1993, cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2001:492), but modified and fine-tuned the approach in order to fit our objectives (see next section). We worked partly within the approach of conceptual analysis (paradigm of phenomenology and humanism) to determine the meaning of concepts and to classify the use of the four concepts and the thematically defined keywords. We favour a mixed approach of analysis with three consecutive methodological steps.

Coding was a starting point, adequate for our examination of a variety of forms of communication (written words, phrases of text), and it contributed to the aim of the study – to

⁶⁵ This “triple jump” (a creation of the researcher) means three different steps, but in one direction.

find a perspective of 'the good political leader', drawn by a political philosopher. Palmquist (1993) broadly explains its usefulness:

By examining the presence or repetition of certain words and phrases in these texts, a researcher is able to make inferences about the philosophical assumptions of a writer, a written piece, the audience for which a piece is written, and even the culture and time in which the text is embedded. (ibid: 491–2)

The coding, as the core of content analysis, has generally to be numerical, therefore rules and procedures for the coding operation have been formulated and tested. For latent coding, the exercise was rather difficult and needed frequent repetition. The hermeneutical step required a continuous reading of the specific text to become familiar with it and to understand it. For the counting and keeping of records ('tally sheet triple-jump'), the researcher worked out a basic guideline with variables and attributes and initially tested a few speeches – rather successfully. Each speech in the end has been analysed three or more times. Only the researcher did the coding, so that the well-known weakness that comes from using more than one "coder" – low reliability – can be discounted.

The process of analysis presented here uses a mixed approach, with three consecutive steps or jumps in the direction of the "truth":

a) Manifest coding (using keywords to scan the surface of the text) for searching, localising and identifying paragraphs or pieces of text with a leadership component. (Basic software was available and sufficient.)

b) Latent coding ('surface interpretation') of the identified parts of a text (using statements, phrases or questions for clarification) to get a first understanding of, and to select and rank, the appropriate parts. These parts were selected and marked by hand, i.e. with the standard PC-software. (For more complex text analysis, special software such as WinMAX or ATLAS.ti can be recommended.)

c) Understanding and interpretation: Gadamer's 'circle of understanding' – (a phenomenological circle) reading a text repeatedly and understanding the whole because of the parts and vice versa – was the basic tool, which has been slightly modified by the researcher. The historical context as an issue for understanding is a further clue for the circle. We "may hold that the past can only be understood in the light of the present, and the present only understood in the light of the past," writes Blackburn in the Dictionary of Philosophy about the "hermeneutic circle" (1996:172), defining hermeneutics as the "method of

interpretation first of text, and secondly of the whole social, historical, and psychological world. Its inevitable subjectivity is the topic of the major writings of Gadamer" (ibid: 172).

4.4.5.1. Interpretation: Hermeneutic as a practical method?

But is hermeneutics a practical 'method'? Gadamer denies this vehemently. In the foreword to the second edition to *Truth and Method* (1979) he outlines his intention and clarifies it:

My revival of the expression 'hermeneutics', with its long tradition, has apparently led to some misunderstandings. I did not intend to produce an art or technique of understanding. ... I did not wish to elaborate a system of rules to describe, let alone direct, the methodological procedure of the human sciences ... My real concern was and is philosophic. (Gadamer, 1979:xvi-ii)

Within his epistemology of hermeneutics and phenomenology, Gadamer paved the way for a more practical approach. It is precisely a structured hermeneutic model and a "practical world of hermeneutics" (Grondin, 1997:15–23) which is described – among other things – in the chapter 'Foundations of a theory of hermeneutical experience' (Gadamer, 1979:235–341). Nowadays hermeneutics and phenomenology are propagated as indispensable methodological alternatives for research work in social science; and Bortz and Döring (1995:278) confirm that the hermeneutical circle is "a basic principle of all methods of understanding and interpretation" (*ein Grundprinzip jeder Deutungsmethode*).

However, there is no guarantee that the methodological approach of Gadamer's hermeneutics will succeed, because the process of interpreting (see also above: latent coding) is rather unstructured; it sometimes deals with "the unintelligible".

All interpretation is one-sided. It aims at a target, an aspect which can lay no claim to uniqueness. This is especially the case with poetry ... the interpreter can proceed from the history of the genre by locating the work in question in a tradition of exemplars of the same literary genre ... But he can also take on the original hermeneutical task of explaining what is unintelligible. (Gadamer in Connolly and Keutner, 1988:79).

4.4.5.2. The "hermeneutical spiral" – a modified and structured model

Therefore a modified, structured hermeneutical approach, including steps of quantitative and qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2000) has been chosen. This

hermeneutical exercise with Nyerere's speeches demanded experience, but we dealt only with intelligible texts. The researcher developed a specific methodological system on the basis of the approach of Gadamer (see Appendix 4). The "hermeneutical circle" in particular has been changed: the researcher slightly modified the concept of circularity and the figurative perception of the circular movement to find the truth, and used the model of a spiral rather than the conventional circle, inspired by Grondin's comparison of Heidegger's and Gadamer's circle (see Grondin in Dostal, 2002:49-50). All circular movements⁶⁶ or actions are defined by the structure of the circle: two dimensional and closed; the spiral⁶⁷ allows a movement in a third dimension. Every spiral movement reaches a 'new situation', a 'new point of understanding and interpretation'. The repeated reading of a text changes the perception of the reader. The spiral movement advances in the direction of the 'truth': Nyerere's perspective of leadership. The working-model, which is pictured in Appendix 4 aims to "understand" the dynamic of the process of hermeneutical interpretation. Every understanding in the spiral is then different and 'further developed'.

We also follow the combination and merging of the two approaches – content analysis and hermeneutics – suggested by Roller as 'hermeneutic-classificatory content analysis', which has the ability "to embed one's data in the specific context of the study", and "attempts to marry qualitative and quantitative techniques in order to try and make the best of both worlds" (Roller et al. in Babbie and Mouton, 2001:494). However, the overwhelming importance and impact of the context-related process of understanding as a permanent process, seems to be undervalued in Roller's suggestion. Our own modified approach carries a special concern for and focus on the influence of context (historical, political and personal) for an adequate (or the best possible) understanding. This can lead to a just and truthful interpretation of the particular leadership picture of Nyerere..

Finally, the combined methodological approaches will also partly follow the recommendations for multiple methods (triangulation) and allow methodological checkings and corrections to reduce unintentional biases and deficits where not planned, thus enhancing the validity and reliability of our findings (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 274–278). The process of triangulation in this study is, on the other hand, rather rudimentarily developed; the different methodological approaches are consecutively combined and, only to a minor extent

⁶⁶ "circular: ... moving round in a circle; a circular tour (i.e. one taking a route that brings travellers back to the point where they started" in *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 1999:200)

⁶⁷ "spiral: ...in the form of a continuous line or curve that winds around a central point, moving further away from it all the time", in *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 1995:1385 .

“control” each other. A stronger emphasis on triangulation was not given because of the focus on “understanding” the text; a stronger explanatory approach – with more quantitative elements – was not intended, as we will “discover“ in the following section of application.

4.4.6. Application of the ‘Triple-Jump’

As already explained, this exercise can be seen as a methodological triple jump. We worked with thematic codes (coding themes for frequency) and favoured a mixed approach, with three consecutive steps towards the truth. The process is a combination of a quantitative and a qualitative content analysis approach (coding) with hermeneutic understanding and interpretation (*hermeneutische Auslegungskunst*). Basically, we will follow Palmquist’s eight steps (Palmquist, cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2001:492), blended with a combination of practical hints and advice from experts in the German social sciences (sociology and philology). Legewie’s (1994:177) ten steps of global evaluation (*Globalauswertung*) and Mayering’s three steps of qualitative content analysis (*qualitative Inhaltsangabe*) are conceptually integrated into our model (Legewie and Mayering in Bortz and Döring, 1995:306-308).

The following practical steps have been prepared for the study and have been applied to the selected speeches (Eight Tally Sheets ‘Triple Jump’). Each speech is further analysed in following Chapter 5, according to a tally-sheet structure, as in the following example.

Tally-sheet triple-jump: Nyerere and Leadership

Headline:

- Number of the speech (1 to 8)
- Title of the speech
- Number of pages

1. Basic Data:

- Event and reason for the speech
- Date and venue
- Target group or/and audience

- Special intention or objective of the speech, if identifiable.

2. Coding (manifest):

- Screening the text with keywords and strings of words for highlighting in different colours. Four basic concepts, related to the research questions (see Chapter 1), are used for this. They are:
 - a) leader/leadership, government, (*people*) (pink)
 - b) democracy, participation, human rights (green)
 - c) development, poverty, education (red)
 - d) unity, peace, union (blue)
- High frequency words (top-keywords) are then ranked. The word *people*, as in category (a) above, stands, exceptionally, as an auxiliary term to point to the context for the keywords *leadership* and *government*.

3. Context Aspects:

- Description of relevant 'political context' information (historical, socio-economic, geographic etc.) and 'context: Nyerere' (personal aspects) to understand the text better.

Context orientation features one essential specific of understanding and interpretation (hermeneutics). Context will be supplemented and improved (updated, changed etc.) during the whole exercise.

- Spiral of understanding and interpreting: reading a part, rereading the whole, reading a part...to "dialogue" for better understanding (see Appendix 4).

4. Coding (latent):

- Reading text and localising results from manifest coding.
- Spotting and identifying statements (word strings, sentences and paragraphs) that are relevant to the research question (Nyerere's view of good leadership). The four concepts (highlighted, coloured keywords) help to locate significant text passages (relevant excerpts marked in bold and, if very important, in bold italic).
- Rereading (writing notes) and extracting text-passages on good leadership, and, separately, on bad leadership.

- Rereading the whole text (notes), together with the context aspects.
- Reshaping (reducing) the selected text-passages and selecting crucial quotations for good and bad leadership styles (about two to three pages maximum because of capacity for administration).
- Adding comments to selected crucial quotations.
- Sorting out condensed thoughts and views of Nyerere (quotations) and listing them according to relevance and frequency.
- Read the text repeatedly and continue asking the key-questions: What is good leadership? What is bad leadership?

Some terms to describe or portray leadership (LS)*:

Good LS: ‘leader of the people’, honesty, vision, solidarity, dignity, socialist; for democracy, equality, tolerance, reliability, accountability, rule of law, for self-reliance, education, health-care, basic needs, hard work, for unity, consensus, ‘Africanity’, liberation, unification, peace.

Bad LS: dictatorship, ‘charlatans and crooks’, traitors, ‘landlordism’, capitalists, authoritarian rule, elitism, selfishness, rapacity, obstinacy, arrogance, corruption, abundance, privilege, money-bags, egoism, hypocrisy, tribalism, aggression, ‘instigator’, violence, separatist, colonialism.

*All terms (traits and characteristics) are derived from Nyerere’s texts.

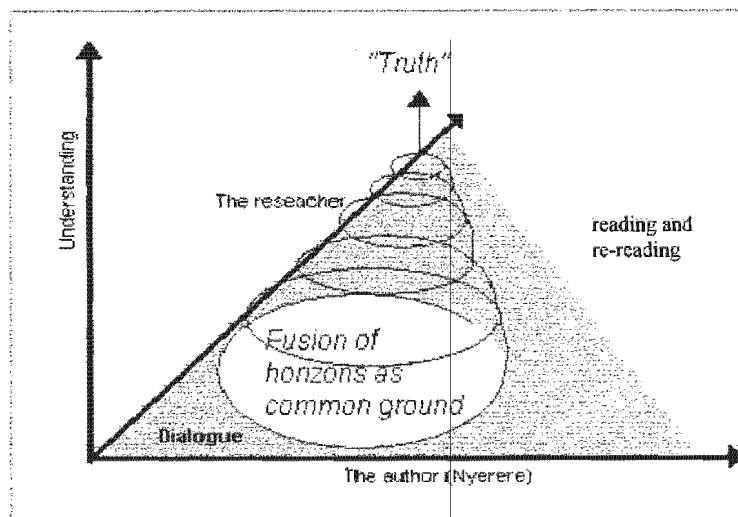
5. Leadership-picture:

- “Understanding and Interpretation” (U and I, or “you” and “I”).
- ‘Dialogue’ with the author (text), in order to find a “good conversation” and a common understanding (Gadamer).
- Reading and selecting from the compact and abridged quotes of Nyerere about good and bad leadership. Aspects of the leadership-picture can now be drawn by interpreting the emphasis of the responses identified and by summarising the result of a cyclic or spiral process of understanding and interpretation (Appendix 4).

- If necessary, the researcher rereads the selected quotations and the whole text, together with the context and writes notes. This circular exercise creates a new perception of the 'story' of good leadership.
- A short summary of one to two pages of the new understanding and interpretation (U and I) of Nyerere's view, with a few quotations for good leadership style and for bad. Nyerere's quotation and the researcher's comments shall 'speak' to each other and form a combination. An ideal result could be a complement – not a harmony – on leadership issues by Nyerere and the researcher.

6. **Researcher's reflection:** Some comments after a longer break; re-reading and reflecting upon the "Leadership-Picture" (5.) and the possibly revised context (3.), sometimes compared with other African political leaders (e.g. Kwame Nkrumah). Some questions could be helpful: are there new or further observations or arguments? These comments are a short and summarized critical assessment, rather distanced, which sometimes also deals with the contemporary political situation and builds a bridge between the 1960s and today.

The spiral of understanding points towards the 'truth' and has no end!



Chapter 5

Presentation and Discussion of Results: Nyerere's Perspective as Leader

This chapter presents the major findings of the study, thus composing Nyerere's picture of good and/or bad leadership, during the historical period of independence and consolidation of the new state of Tanzania, by using the "triple jump" method. The speeches analysed here cover the 1960s and were randomly selected, with the exception of the first speech, which was selected for its relevance and appropriateness to the study (further reasons were explained in section 4.4.4.1.). While the analysis and conclusions in this study are based on my analytical findings, they are also influenced by reflections, documentary reviews, literature and experiences of development and governance in Africa. Table 1 below presents the titles of the speeches and basic information related to the context in which they were delivered.

Table 1 The eight selected speeches

Title (no. of pages)	Year and month	Event	Audience/Venue	Topics (keywords)
Africa's Place in the World (17); hand-picked speech	February 1960	Africa-Symposium	Wellesley College USA, politicians and international guests	Democracy, government, human rights
<i>The Future of Africa</i> (2)	June 1961	Article for student's magazine	School in Natal RSA ('whites only')	Human rights, unity, no racism
<i>President's Inaugural Address</i> (12)	December 1962	Parliament after election	MPs, TANU, Tanzanians	Education, unity, development
<i>Frugality</i> (2)	April 1965	Radio-address to the nation	People of Tanzania	Government, development, education; Saving Money Campaign
<i>The Tanzania Economy</i> (18)	June 1966	Budget speech Nat. Assembly	MPs, Tanzanians, African guests	Government, development, economy; Five-Year- Development Plan
<i>Policy on Foreign Affair</i> (18)	October 1967	National TANU Conference	TANU, international guests	Government, peace, unity
<i>Things we must Correct</i> (8)	December 1968	Radio Republic day	Tanzanians, TANU MPs, international guests	Government, development, unity; Arusha Declaration
Adult Education Year (5)	December 1969	Radio- address	New Year's Eve Broadcast in Tanzania	Education, poverty, government, Adult Education Year 1970

5.1. Methodology: The 'Triple Jump'

This study has been a journey that has led me through different and interesting times, to fascinating places, exciting events and all kinds of people. At the centre of it all is Julius K. Nyerere, the outstanding political leader of Tanganyika/Tanzania in East Africa. We have engaged in a dialogue on many issues, but did so particularly on political development and

leadership in a crucial and difficult time: the decade of the newly gained independence. Through this process, I have found myself more interested and involved in politics.

The methodology to understand and interpret Nyerere's perspective on leadership is based on texts, mostly speeches, and is called the 'triple jump'. It is a combination of a quantitative method (manifest coding in content analysis) and two qualitative methods (latent coding and hermeneutical interpretation). This analysis tries to make rather unknown texts understood and is part of an inductive mode of reasoning (Mouton, 2001).

5.1.1. Understanding in the Specific Context

The strength of this approach is that it places the text in its historical, political and personal context. Re-reading the text and taking its own context into consideration widens the horizon and provides conditions for 'conversation' with the author (Gadamer, 1979). Additionally, dealing with the philosophical discussion in Africa (section 4.1.) provides a better and sharper view of dominant paradigms, and it helps one to better understand the underlying value-system (ethics) and sense of the world. The triple-jump is well-balanced because it considers important critiques of Nyerere. However, it deals fairly with the political leader, by seeing him in his context and not allowing the privileges of hindsight. Non-African scientists (see e.g. the German Africanist Erdmann, 2000) are mostly tempted to measure and assess the achievements or failures of Nyerere based on their own European (or Anglo-American) knowledge-system of human rights and democracy.

The weakness of this study is, as with much qualitative research, the small database – Nyerere's selected 8 speeches. Other researchers of the subject might reach different results even if they use the same approach. A comparative study would be more convincing – e.g. of Nyerere and Nkrumah – but probably more difficult to design and less satisfactory regarding its results, because of the complex research required to compare two historical, political and personal contexts. A possible critique relates to the few 'hard measures' applied (as in manifest coding). The answer to the research question does not confine to any easy 'picture'. Mouton finds that "the contextuality (and intertextuality) of texts may constrain one's understanding" (Mouton, 2001:168). I would argue that by contextualising the text, one is able to widen the understanding (fusion of horizons) of the text and place it within its historicity.

5.1.2. How to Approach the "Truth": Technique of the Triple Jump

To gain understanding of a text, the process needs to deal with context, as it informs the text and its interpretation both directly and indirectly. When reckoning with social systems and social actors it is important to recognize the subjectivity of meaning for actors in different situations (see Max Weber's 'four types of action' in Marshall, 1998:4). The following methodology, the 'triple-jump', is scientific "because it gives a rational, coherent account of people's actions, thoughts, and relationships" (ibid: 4). The process of the 'triple-jump' with its six steps of 'understanding and interpretation' is the centrepiece of this study. Section 4.4.6. explains how the tally sheets are used and Appendix 3 provides more details.

The following is a summary of the 'triple jump' method:

- Collecting the basic data on the event, such as the main and secondary topics, the target groups, the source etc.
- Manifest Coding: Nyerere's perception of good and/or bad leadership structured according to the four key-concepts, found on the text's surface (see table 2).
- Context orientation: description of Nyerere's performance and attitude/behaviour as an exemplary political leader, in a specific historical, political and personal situation.
- Latent Coding: Nyerere's statements related to the key-concepts, mainly his thoughts and opinions about leadership (extracts from speeches). It also provides some answers (terms) to 'what is good leadership, what is bad leadership?'
- Hermeneutical interpretation: a dialogue with Nyerere ('U' and 'I') in order to get the 'fusion of horizon': a common picture of the 'good' and the 'bad' political leader in the specific context.
- Researcher's reflection: my point of view and assessment of Nyerere's ideas on good and bad leadership for democratic development and its consequences for contemporary leadership.

5.2. Manifest Coding and Interpretation of the Top Keywords

Table 2 shows the result of the manifest coding, based on the four key-concepts and the related keywords, which have been retrieved from the speeches. The coding (manifest) does not allow a 'deeper' analytical justification; it does however indicate the emphasis that Nyerere placed on good leadership and people-centred development, and in this way validates and reinforces the research findings. The three most frequently used keywords are

listed in table 2. The key-concepts are: leadership, democracy, development and unity (see section 1.5. and Chapter 2).

Sets of three correlated keywords were employed to represent each of the key-concepts in browsing the text:

- For leadership: leader, government, *people*
- For democracy: democracy, participation, human/right
- For development: development, poverty, education
- For unity: unity, peace and union

The keyword '*people*' indicates the context for 'leader' and 'government'. It works as a 'guide' to spot 'leader' and 'government', and facilitates the latent coding; it does not count by itself (even if it is the "frontrunner" with 179, mentioned in every speech). A further term – *economy* – counts only in the two speeches, which focus on economic issues; it was later added because it appeared often (see also Appendix 3).

Table 2 Frequency of the set of keywords in each speech

Speech	Leadership & No. leader, government, people*	Democracy & No. democracy, participation, human rights	Development & No. Development, Poverty, Education	Unity & No. Unity, Peace, Union
1 Africa's place...	government (45)	democracy (52) right (18)		
2 The Future ...		right (2)	poverty (1)	unity (2)
3 President's...	government (19)		education (27) development (9)	
4 Frugality	government (5)		development (2) education (2)	
5 The Tanzanian Economy	government (44)		development (26) <i>economy</i> (28)	
6 Policy on Foreign Affairs	government (27)		education (12)	peace (15) unity (12)
7 Things We Must Correct	government (15)	human (3)	education (12)	unity (3)
8 Adult Education Year	government (7)		education (27) poverty (2)	

*("people " was mentioned 179 times)

Table 3 Occurrence of keywords in the analysed texts

(Only the three most frequently used keywords in each speech are listed below)

Word	government	education	democracy	development	human/ rights	Unity	peace	poverty	economy
Total number	162	80	52	37	23	17	15	3	28
Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	5

Here, the extraordinary role of the *government* as ‘the leader’ of the national movement and in Tanganyikan and Tanzanian politics is visible. Leadership is clearly coined by state and party institutions, which form the government. It appears that government is “the leader” of the national movement and, on the one hand, government and leading political party (TANU, CCM) are a homogenous and powerful unity, dominated by Nyerere, who was the undisputed head of both institutions. Such an authoritarian structure invites questioning of the democratic spirit of the new society and state. On the other hand, the quite homogenous national movement, “the *people*” (179 times mentioned), is the “sovereign”– the subject and object of politics in the new “people-centred” socialist society, and Nyerere is their “first servant”. For political and social development, *education* plays a central role in the first decade; *democracy* and *human rights* coincide particularly with the beginning of independent Tanzania and with the constitutional discussions in the second half of the 1960s. The idea of *unity* and *peace* is apparently a focal concern for Nyerere, particularly in African affairs, in relation with African neighbours and international partners. *Economic* issues and problems came up especially in the second part of the 1960s with the first experiences of *Ujamaa* agriculture, the nationalisation of the economy in 1967 and the 5-year-development. Interestingly, the concept of *poverty* does not play as important a role as one would expect. However, Nyerere’s concern was directed mostly toward development and education, which can be interpreted as “poverty reduction”. The concept of *poverty* gained currency later in 1969 (Nyerere: “In Tanzania poverty is endemic...”⁶⁸) and during the 1970s, after periods of famine and economic setbacks. *Poverty* as a concept also became popular from the middle of the 1960s on because of the massive financial and economic involvement (intervention) of the international “aid-industry”, which made Tanzania very dependent and therefore concerned. Nyerere: “We shall not depend upon overseas aid to the extent of bending our political, economic, or social policies in the hope of getting it” (1968:254).

⁶⁸ Nyerere (1973:126). Socialism and Rich Societies. Speech at the Swedish Social Democratic Party Conference in Stockholm on the 3 October 1969.

Only further interpretation about the infrequent mention of *poverty* could later reveal that Nyerere addressed poverty mostly through specific issues, e.g. housing, food production, water, schooling, diseases like malaria etc.

This short analysis of the results of manifest coding with keywords also shows the weakness of this methodological approach. For example, *poverty* does not explicitly appear often, but implicitly it is crucial to every speech. On the other hand, *democracy* appears prominently on the 3rd place (table 3), but this impression distorts the reality: *democracy* was only significantly mentioned in a speech in February 1960 in USA, before Nyerere became President.

Therefore we recommend applying the manifest coding only as a “tool” to spot words, to be backed with a systematic control and with cross-examination of the results. Latent coding, for example, can also be employed to check the appropriateness of the results of manifest coding, a methodological approach which uses a technique of “understanding”.

5.3. Analysis: Latent Coding and Hermeneutical Understanding

To gain a detailed, deep-rooted and sound interpretation of Nyerere's leadership perspective, one needs information on the background and related topics and phenomena. Therefore, aspects of the historical, political and personal context as stated in the tally sheets of the speeches (Nr 3 in Appendix 3) are given. The first step towards understanding the context is to become familiar with the basic vocabulary of Nyerere's political philosophy and his language about leadership and related concepts.

The following terms derive from Nyerere's texts to describe or portray good leadership:

- leader of the people, honest, vision, solidarity, dignity, socialist;
- for democracy, equality, tolerance, reliability, accountability, rule of law;
- for self-reliance, good education, healthcare, for hard work, modesty;
- for unity, consensus, ‘African-ness’, liberation, unification, peace.

Bad leadership is characterized by the following terms:

- dictatorship, ‘charlatans and crooks’, traitors, ‘landlordism’, capitalists;
- for authoritarian rule, elitism, selfishness, rapacity, obstinate, arrogant;
- corruption, amassing private wealth, privilege, money-bags, egoism, hypocrisy;
- tribally biased, aggressive, violent, separatist, colonialism, instigator.

Understanding and using these terms appropriately is significant if one is to have a critical dialogue with Nyerere. It also enables the researcher to interpret Nyerere's definition of leadership according to the changing situation during the 1960s. This "understanding and interpretation" ('fusion of horizon') mirrors and presents Nyerere's perspective of 'leadership for democratic development in Tanzania' as hermeneutical process. The last step in the process of analysis is the 'Researcher's reflection': a distanced personal assessment based on the 'fusion of horizon' (U and I), with critical comments linking Nyerere's perspectives and present times.

5.3.1. Speech 1: Africa's Place in the World, 1960 (Africa-Symposium, USA)

Context aspects: Nyerere founded TANU in 1954 and became its first leader. In the same year, a UN-Commission recognized TANU as a 'National Movement'. Nyerere was recognized as a responsible leader of a strong, disciplined TANU and gained political profile. In 1958 and 1959, TANU won the elections under British administration (but as a subject of the UN Trusteeship Council) with a landslide victory. The new British Governor Turnbull finally accepted Nyerere as partner in the negotiation process (section 3.1.). Through this speech and through his visit to the USA, Nyerere promoted immediate independence. He also explained to numerous VIPs (e.g. Vice-President Nixon) his plans for a democratic socialist Tanganyika with a one-party system and a human rights policy for everybody. Nyerere's international standing and his reputation in USA's political and religious circles were high and on the increase. Many of the political elite were impressed by Nyerere's intellectual capacity, his outstanding rhetoric and powers of persuasion. Nyerere was very optimistic about forming a society built on human rights. At the opening of the *Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa Conference* in Tanganyika 1959, Nyerere promised:

We are telling the world that we are fighting for our rights as human beings. We gain the sympathy of friends all over the world – in Asia, in Europe, in America – people who recognize the justice of our demand for human rights. Does anybody really believe that we ourselves will trample on human rights?(Nyerere, 1966:70)

- Top Keywords (manifest coding): democracy 51, government 46, human/ rights 12/18

Leadership picture: Understanding and Interpretation ("U and I")

Nyerere: good leadership (main quotations)

"It is this nationalist movement which fights for and achieves independence; it, therefore, inevitably forms the first government of an independent state. It would surely be ridiculous to expect that a country should voluntarily divide itself for the sake of conforming to a particular expression of democracy."

"The one instrument I have for the development of that country is the government. I have no other. The others have to be nursed and developed. The government of my country is going to think in terms of what it can do as a government; to see that the people have the water and the schools and the hospitals."

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Good leadership is:

- Implementing the wish of the people and forming a government of national consent – this is a one-party democracy. Division of the population into different political interest groups (parties) has to be avoided; undermining the national conscience for the building of one nation endangers unity and peace and hinders development (education!). Tanganyikans, Asians and Europeans shall live together with equal rights and obligations. The challenge of people-centred development is to "win the war against the three chief enemies of our people – disease, poverty and ignorance" (Nyerere, 1966:80).
- Education is crucial for building competence and achieving an independent society. Basic needs have to be provided, for example schooling for all. These are the most important tasks for the new government for achieving basic human rights and dignity for the people.
- Democracy for Africans is the right to choose or change the government via free and regular elections at the ballot box; that is possible with a democratically-oriented national party and does not need opposition parties.
- A democratic state has also to be built on African tradition.
- Essential for Africans is to guarantee harmonious relations; working and living together in unity and peace. To have different parties, as in the UK and USA fuels conflict: if one party is governing, the other(s) in opposition will fight to gain the power and will basically oppose the government. "Africa is anti-oppression and pro-freedom" (Nyerere in MNF, 2000:8). Good leadership concentrates all forces, including ethnic and religious groups, in order to build a new society.

Nyerere: bad leadership (main quotations)

“Any would-be dictators or exploiters who may be in the nationalist movement in Africa would find it very difficult to achieve their objectives. For the African nationalist movements have already taught the men and women of Africa to recognise their own dignity as human beings, and have done the job too thoroughly for such would-be dictators or exploiters to succeed without a revolution.”

“One thing I hope is also going to develop is that the African people will refuse, on principle, to be involved in any form of diplomacy that is a diplomacy of rivalry, that they will emphasise a diplomacy of co-operation. I hope they will discourage – not only at the United Nations but within their own countries – any form of diplomacy which tends either to divide them or to align them with a particular power-bloc.”

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)*Bad leadership:*

- Exploits and misleads the people after much suffering in colonial times (slavery and dependence).
- Does not tackle the great need for freedom, human rights and unity. All political concepts and actions against African unity and against the peaceful unification of the African countries are selfish acts against the wish of their own people and should be condemned. People should not accept that unity can be endangered because of one-sided alignments and fraternisation with one of the ideological power-blocs. That would also risk the newly gained independence and the chance for human development in sovereignty.

Researcher's Reflection: A Democratic One-Party System was Possible

Nyerere believed that real democracy could exist in a one-party system that guarantees intra-party democracy and control by the people. He did not see the need for two or more political parties to guarantee a democracy. To have the right to choose between two candidates of the national party (TANU) was democratic and could be organized in a way that the better candidate, i.e. the better leader, would be chosen. To achieve this situation of democratic competition, a process of open and transparent intra-party decision-making was necessary. In the speech and during an interview, Nyerere explained and defended his position with the

observation that the Anglo-Saxon two-party system “implies the existence of a class struggle” (Nyerere in MNF, 2000:11) which is not the case in Tanganyika. Considering the homogenous national movement and TANU, Nyerere was right. He gave the priority to ‘political stability’ instead of ‘individualism and pluralism’.

Nkrumah, who can be compared to Nyerere, risked confrontation with the colonialist countries and campaigned for the fight against capitalism and neo-imperialism all his life. Nkrumah, who used to be a radical socialist (or communist), ascribed to the idea of divergent classes and denied the possibility of a “peaceful coexistence between opposing ideologies” (Nkrumah, 1970:57). He studied Lenin extensively and predicted the collapse of capitalism as a result of “nationalist awakening and an alliance of progressive forces, which hasten its end and destroy its conditions of existence” (ibid: 57). But Nkrumah’s reign was rather short-lived; he and his one-party government were toppled in 1966, and he had to flee to save his life. Secou Toure, President from Guinea/Conacry, gave him safe haven until his death.

Nyerere, unlike his idol Nkrumah, denied the class-struggle because of the “nature” of the African society “which fundamentally solves that conflict between the individual and society” (Nyerere in MNF, 2000:15). Nyerere’s one-party democracy was based on a non-violent approach to change. He accepted the coexistence of different ideologies and political systems between Eastern and Western powers, although he saw the serious tensions. His analysis was clear when he said:

The West seems to have exaggerated its idea of freedom beyond the point where freedom becomes license.... The Communist world, to my mind, largely I think as a reaction against this exaggeration, has swung like a pendulum to the other extreme. The individual in a Communist society is secondary to something called the State. (Nyerere in MNF, 2000:13)

Political stability was widely granted, a result of *Ujamaa* and a ‘neutral’ peace-policy towards the Cold War. The policy of ‘Arusha Declaration’, as a socialist concept for development and social justice, was outstanding and ethically unique in Africa. Tanzanian socialism, with its egalitarian political programme and tolerant, human rights oriented philosophy, became a rare example of peaceful nation building, appreciated not only in Africa. Despite the obvious deficits, for example in economic development and the unrealistic perspective of economic self-reliance, Nyerere contributed significantly to democratic and social development in Tanzania.

By the mid-80s the pressure to end the Cold War and overcome the East-West-conflict (as proclaimed by the former USSR president Gorbachev with ‘perestroika’ and ‘glasnost’), had reached breaking point. It was high time too for political change in Tanzania.

Chief Fundikira, a political observer and then critical supporter of the multi-party system, makes the point with his statement in 1990: "The single party system has served its purpose to unite the people into a cohesive national. But its further constitution is now acting as a hindrance to our political and economic development." (Bagenda, 1991:109). Still in 2003 in Tanzania, a majority of people who participated in a survey about popular satisfaction on democracy and economic development generally appreciated the one-party-system run by Nyerere (see section 2.1.).

5.3.2. Speech 2: The Future of Africa, 1961 (article for a 'Whites Only' school, RSA)

Context aspects: Nyerere, as Prime Minister, shortly before independence, fulfils a promise he made earlier, to write an article for a magazine on a 'Whites Only' secondary school in Natal, South Africa. Some months before, in February, the elected President of Congo, Patrice Lumumba, had been killed. Nyerere, as then Chief Minister, made understood at the National Council his deep condolences and his disgust for violence:

It is indeed hard ... to see how anything but evil results can flow from the act of violence that has taken place in the Congo, but even at this stage let me express the hope... that the Congo's wounds may yet be healed. (Nyerere, 1966:107)

Since the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa, March 1960 – when 69 people were killed and 186 wounded (Yapp, 1998:57) – the brutality of the racist apartheid regime in South Africa had become well known. Nyerere in his article did not call for revenge – he despised violence – instead he promoted the idea of accepting human rights and claimed that better information and political education e.g. civic education should specifically be directed to the youth. For Nyerere, African unity was essential for real independence from colonial masters; therefore TANU supported the liberation struggle for the whole of Southern Africa.

Nyerere, on the one hand followed a strategy to promote peaceful resolution of conflict through understanding and dialogue; for him equality of human rights and of all citizens in a just society was the programme. "Only a wicked man can make colour the criterion for human rights" he stated in the Legislative Council debate, "here we intend to build a country in which the colour of a person's skin or the texture of his hair will be as irrelevant to his rights and his duties as a citizen as it is irrelevant to his value in the eyes of God" (Nyerere, 1966:76). On the other hand, Nyerere's ideological commitment to an African continent freed from the shackles of colonialism was uncompromising, he claimed freedom and independence for all African countries and he promised to fight for it. He promoted

unification and the East African Federation, in order to avoid a permanent balkanisation, which the imperialists favoured for obvious reasons. For Nyerere these two objectives, peaceful conflict resolution and struggle for liberation were not contradictory, but complementary.

- Top Keywords (manifest coding): right (2), unity (2), poverty (1)

Leadership picture: Understanding and Interpretation (“U and I”)

Nyerere: good leadership (main quotations)

“I believe that this word ‘Africans’ can include all those who have made their home in the continent, black, brown, or white. I think this is what the majority of the people now want. Yet it can only happen if people stand as individual citizens, asking only for rights which can be accorded to all other individuals.”

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Good leadership is:

“Promoting human rights and equality for all citizens of Africa; overcoming racism and nurturing ‘African-ness’. That is the key to solving the crisis. Africa has to unite; then she has a proud future.”

Nyerere: bad leadership (main quotations)

“This means that in South Africa, for example, the people at present in power – as well as those struggling for it – are influencing the future. But their deliberate encouragement of racism and prejudice, and their imposition of humiliation and frustration on the African people, is poisoning this future.”

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Bad leadership:

- Continues with apartheid policy and fighting for the ongoing oppression of the (other) African people, the majority, is highly undemocratic. Continuing with racism and humiliation will guarantee a bleak future. (South) African leaders are too selfish, as they do not act in the interests of the people.

Researcher's Reflection: African Unity is Essential

Nyerere did not mention the word 'apartheid'. He was very diplomatic in his letter to the South African schoolchildren, and tried to convince the class (and teachers and parents) with his humanist approach. Indirectly he says that all violence is bad, even that of the rebels ("struggling for power") against apartheid South Africa. Or was it a tactical formulation of Nyerere's to win over the pupils and the related adults? On the other hand, the extent of human rights violations, crimes against humanity and the permanent humiliation against millions of South Africans by the apartheid government was probably well known to Nyerere. It was even known to the – generally well informed – people of the Western States, e.g. in Europe as a result of the Sharpeville massacre. The limited base of information for Nyerere improved with the political asylum of ANC-leadership in Tanzania. We have also to consider Nyerere's deep-rooted belief in universal human rights and peaceful development. Violence and war were inimical to Nyerere's deeply rooted belief in universal human rights and peaceful development. Tactically speaking therefore Nyerere was a 'fox'.

He, for example, demonstrated in his article (and speeches as well) his tolerance and underlying forgiveness in order to prepare a situation where a life together as equal human beings would become possible. He directed his message probably more to the young people of SA and the 'liberal citizens'. On the other hand, that very year Nyerere contributed actively to an essential political decision of the future for the Commonwealth. Tanganyika was invited to become a member state. Nyerere campaigned against the ongoing membership of SA. "We cannot join an 'association of friends' which includes a State deliberately and ruthlessly pursuing a racialist policy" (Nyerere 1966:111), he wrote in the British *The Observer*, to influence the then running 'Prime Minister Conference' in UK. Nyerere stressed the keen interest of Tanganyika to join the 'Club' of democratic countries, but without the daily affront of the apartheid state.

We are forced to say that to vote South Africa in, is to vote us out. This decision we have made reluctantly, in the face of full knowledge of what this will mean to us – an underdeveloped country, determined to overcome the poverty, ignorance and disease which now afflict many of our nine million people. (Nyerere, 1966:112)

South Africa withdrew her application in order to avoid not being accepted in the end. Therefore Tanganyika became a member in 1962, and gained the reputation of a 'freedom fighter': one more step towards 'Úhuru na Umoja' (Freedom and Unity)!

5.3.3. Speech 3: *President's Inaugural Address, 1962 (Tanganyikan Parliament)*

Context aspects: The first general elections in Tanganyika were held in November 1962. Nyerere polled 97%; his only opponent, the ANC's Mr Zuberi Mtemvu, got 3%, and so he became President of the Republic of Tanganyika. TANU was not well-prepared for taking over and administering the government. Only a few of the Tanzanian people were well educated: the British colonialists (as the Germans earlier also) had not been very interested in preparing the 'natives' to run the Government structure. The rate of literacy was about 45%, and even lower for women. Nyerere promised to provide basic education for all.

Shortly after independence the struggle for good, well-paid government posts and for influence and wealth in society began. In the civil service in 1961, only 550 of the 4000 leadership posts were held by Africans; by the end of 1962 this had improved to more than 1000, though many posts were still vacant. The British government smoothly organised the handing-over of power, to avoid a violent 'new start'.

Of the 10 million people in Tanganyika, only about 250 000 to 300 000 lived in the towns, with access to a minimum of public services. By the end of 1962, the country faced serious problems: "Poverty, ignorance and disease: Let's start the war against it" was the official appeal (see Iliffe, 1979, Smyth and Seftel, 1998).

Nyerere, who resigned as Prime Minister early 1962, spent almost one year travelling throughout the country, "to act as a bridge between the people and the new Government by demonstrating in practical terms the importance of the Party, and helping people to identify themselves with the institutions of the independent nation" (Nyerere, 1966:157). During these months Nyerere wrote the draft of "*Ujamaa – the basis of African Socialism*" (ibid: 162).

By then he already knew that some of the parliamentarians and party leaders were more interested in their personal wealth than in the development of the country. But he believed that he could convince them or control them.

- Top Keywords: education (26), development (6), unity (6)

Leadership picture: Understanding and Interpretation ("U and I")

Nyerere: good leadership (main quotations)

"We [are] determined to build a country in which all her citizens are equal; where there is no division into rulers and ruled, rich and poor, educated and illiterate, those in distress and those in idle comfort."

“There is no quick way to cancel out the present difference between our African and our non-African citizens; there is no easy way to remove the existing disparity in education between Christians and Muslims, or between the educated few and the majority of our people.”

“To build a nation in the true sense, a task into which we must throw ourselves wholeheartedly, is to build the character of its people – of ourselves; to build an attitude of mind which will enable us to live together with our fellow citizens of Tanganyika, and of the whole world, in mutual friendliness and co-operation.”

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Good leadership is:

“Addressing the truth: poverty, ignorance and disease are the challenges for social development. They have to be fought together; particularly the privileged rich and the well-educated have to strengthen the battle of the masses. Equality means living and working together with same rights and obligations – the rich and the poor, the Africans, Asians and Europeans, the Muslims and the Christians. Implementing socialism – *Ujamaa* – requires boosting agricultural produce, real human dignity for everybody in all groups, hard work and no more privileges. Education is the key. The minds and attitudes of the people have to be changed, in order to harmonise tradition and modernity for the good of the nation and Africa.”

Nyerere: bad leadership (main quotations):

“The Tanganyika we inherited from colonialism was one in which the injustices of colonial days still survived; in which there was racial discrimination; and from which the degradation and evils which sprang from colonialism had yet to be banished. And in this Tanganyika we have inherited, there are but few of her citizens as yet with sufficient education and wealth to live in reasonable dignity and comfort.”

“Of all the crimes of colonialism there is none worse than the attempt to make us believe we had no indigenous culture of our own; or that what we did have was worthless – something of which we should be ashamed, instead of a source of pride.”

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Bad leadership:

- Allows injustice and racial and religious discrimination to prevail and be accepted.
- Misuses the power of public jobs and uses wealth (money) for private gain.

- Denies access to or withholds access of people to their cultures. Nyerere placed strong emphasis on the important role leadership can play in the effort to overcome the colonial heritage. A lack of recognition of this role could lead to “bad leadership”.

Researcher's Reflection: Education is the Key for Development

Nyerere had to build up a ‘Nation’ out of a “country of peasant farmers...with few wage-earners” (Nyerere, 1966:183) and with a rich Tanganyikan culture. Therefore a combined collection of traditions with different aspects and styles of (120) cultures was needed, in order to gain a common identity of free people. He called it the “worst crime” of colonialism, to deny the possession of one’s culture.

Nyerere’s perception of British leadership and its role in Tanganyika in a new independent state in 1962 was probably one-sided and informed by his colonial experiences. He failed to attract and select enough educated collaborators from the British administration or from the UK to build up a new society. On the other hand, Nyerere’s dream of an independent and self-determined Tanganyika was understandable. He was one of the few leaders who had been educated with the support of Europeans (see section 3.1.), but he didn’t become a ‘Black European’. Nyerere knew that he was privileged and he felt an obligation to ‘redistribute’ to the people. How to do this best? To build a Tanganyika on the principles of human rights with well being for all groups: Africans, Asians and Europeans – Christians and Muslims. His vision was a society with ‘Education for all’, one day – he was sure – it would be implemented, free of charge for everybody... Tanganyika’s development missed so many educated and professionally trained leaders that Nyerere ‘obliged’ the TANU politicians to become “teacher(s) and an instrument of *Ujamaa*” (ibid: 185).

Compulsory education was only introduced in 1978, and “enrolment in primary schools for female and male pupils reached parity” (Okyo in FES, 2001:120). The Universal Primary Education (UPE) significantly increased the (adult) literacy rate in Tanzania to about 80% (UNDP, 2002), until the introduction of structural adjustment programmes (SAP) at the end of the 1980s. From then, the public spending was reduced and (poor) parents were required to pay for education, which led to a rapid decrease in literacy – particularly with girls and women. Since the reintroduction of free primary education in 2001, by President Mkapa and his government – on recommendation of UN (MDG) and World Bank/IMF (PRSP) – the question remains whether the downward trend in education (and some other SAP-connected

sectors) can be stopped? Indicators show still in 2004 the bitter consequences of a failed structural adjustment policy imposed by IMF/World Bank and supported by some western countries. For example the UNDP life expectancy (at birth) indicator shows a difference of 3.2 years (!) between the average life span in the years 1970 –1975 (46.5years) to the years 2000-2005 (43.3 years).

Nyerere's massive emphasis, on (self-reliant) education was appropriate and exemplary for that difficult but peaceful nation building process in the 1960s and 1970s; the "war against disease, ignorance and poverty" couldn't be won yet, despite his leadership effort – his political party, centralism and poor economic development can be blamed for that. But he and many supporters fought relentlessly to achieve a partial success in the provision of human rights for health and for education.

5.3.4. Speech 4: Frugality, 1965 (Radio speech, one year of Tanzania)

Context aspects: On the African stage, Tanzania gained influence and responsibility after the foundation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 in Addis Ababa. Tanganyika was selected as the headquarters for all the liberation movements of Southern Africa.

The year 1964 was a hard political test for Tanzania, TANU and Nyerere, and it led to far-reaching reforms and changes, most notably the bloody Zanzibar revolution, which resulted in the Tanzania Union, military reform and the introduction of National Service for young people. Political education was a training feature of National Service, "to guarantee the soldiers' commitment to the government". To put down a military rebellion, Nyerere had to call for the British army to support him to regain safety and security in Tanzania. He was deeply disappointed and personally ashamed of what happened in January 1964.

Consequently, and because they supported the rebellion, free trade unions were abolished. The National Union of Tanzania, NUTA, was created to take over their role. The first Five-Year Development Plan with its focus on import substitution and industrialisation was enacted. Nyerere tried to remove Tanzania's economic dependence on the colonial powers (Western countries) to become self-reliant and produce more agricultural produce for economic reasons, but also in order to gain political independence.

Authoritarian and intensive measures for poverty reduction and for more direct democracy followed, but often missed their development goals: for example the local government reform with elected 'village committees' and district councils heads – which

replaced the abolished traditional authorities – led to more centralisation, and confusion for the people.

Nyerere's state visit to China in February 1965 influenced him significantly and strengthened his firm belief that a key issue for successful development was 'self-discipline', specifically of political leaders. Nyerere also cut back his own humble salary of £250 a month, banned hard liquors at government receptions, and ruled that no longer would any expensive new official car be bought.

- Top Keywords: government (5), development (2), education (2)

Leadership picture: Understanding and Interpretation ("U and I")

Nyerere: good leadership (main quotations)

"The government officials (in China) too, use cars only when it is really necessary for their job – and then the cars are small and cheap ones."

"And the only way to defeat our present poverty is to accept the fact that it exists, to live as poor people, and to spend every cent that we have surplus to our basic needs on the things which will make us richer, healthier, and more educated in the future. This is the policy which the Government will be adopting."

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Good leadership:

- Knows the resources, accepts the conditions (poverty!) and achieves the goals: better health, education, supply of basic needs.
- Saves money instead of lavish spending.
- Are self-disciplined and set a good example.

Nyerere: bad leadership (main quotations)

"Some of the things we have done in the recent past, like buying big cars for the Regional Commissioners, were bad mistakes of this kind. They must not be repeated. Everyone knows that we are not rich."

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Bad leadership:

- Lives like the rich and ignores the fact of poverty.
- Misuses wealth (money) for private gain.

Researcher's Reflection: Leadership between Austerity and Privileges

1964 was a very difficult year: it was the first real deep-seated disappointment. It led to a crisis in leadership and to a new orientation of the development policy with far-reaching changes leading towards nationalization. The village settlement policy with thousands of selected settlers and farmers and a lot of financial investment started optimistically, but Nyerere soon felt that the village settlement programme (initiated in 1963, with about 1000 new villages 'created' in two years) was a forced action that did not bring the fruits he and TANU had expected: to build economic communities with centres for health care and education.

On the other hand, his trip to China led to the pursuit of a policy of austerity. Nyerere was very impressed by the social development of China and the strict discipline within Maoism. He didn't follow the Marxist-Leninist ideology, like Nkrumah and other African leaders and political philosophers did, but he esteemed Mao as teacher of useful ideas and "he shared Mao's view of the role of theory... in looking at his own ideas", states the contemporary Colin Leys (McDonald and Sahle, 2002:62).

Nyerere wore the 'Mao-suit' as a symbol for frugality; he probably introduced the suit to Africa. Still in 2004 some (elderly) renowned political leaders (e.g. Ngombale-Mwiru, Malecela, and Kimiti) wear that suit as matter of political conviction and simplicity.

Did Nyerere culturally and ethically misinterpret the readiness and flexibility of TANU leadership to lead a humble and exemplary life? Did he misinterpret the ability of the people to change their life – move into *Ujamaa*-villages – to save money in order to gain 'real social development'? Perhaps he partly did. However, I think that Nyerere believed in the influence of education and the power of good ideas, disseminated in speeches, publications and training. He thought that leaders would follow his example. Did Nyerere not use all his communication channels to find out the opinions of the people particularly in the rural areas? He expected that almost all leaders would support *Ujamaa* socialism to achieve equality, a decent life and fight against poverty, disease and ignorance – as he did.

But (African) leaders generally like to demonstrate prosperity, often to impress their subjects and show their superiority. Patrimonial behaviour is often recognized by people and gratifying to them. The belief that leaders enjoy privileges is still common, and those who endorse it expect in some way or another to profit from this in a 'trickle down effect'.

This thinking and argument is often used as an excuse to justify corruption and accept impunity for corrupt leaders. Nyerere didn't accept this because it contradicted his policy and vision of people's dignity and of equal social development for everybody. He didn't use symbols of power that are respected by economic elites or other leaders, like Mobutu Sese Seko, Arap Moi, or Kadhaffi (but also as Western leaders e.g. USA's Presidents with their official air fleet, their car convoys and military and security forces for personal protection).

5.3.5. Speech 5: The Tanzania Economy, 1966 (Budget speech at National Assembly)

Context aspects: In 1965, Tanzania changed her constitution and officially became a 'one-party democracy'; the nationalisation programme was in full swing. Nyerere, was comfortably re-elected as President (96% of votes) in September 1965, and supported the Congolese nationalist forces against the CIA-backed government. Cuban troops, as well as Russian and Chinese weapons, passed through Tanzania, and when Che Guevara's mission in the Congo failed (October 1965), he settled in Dar es Salaam until March 1966. Nyerere strongly supported the liberation of countries on almost one seventh of the landmass of Africa. This included about 12% of Africa's population.

Nyerere felt strong and quite comfortable because of the people's support during elections and because of a slowly consolidating economy; a growth of 3–5% despite the decrease in world market prices for the country's major export product, sisal, and despite a drought. Nyerere saw the risks and consequences for an export-oriented economy. His strategy was 'saving' and producing a consistent economic growth in agriculture; his political priorities remained poverty reduction and rural development. The 'villagisation' programme continued to be a burden as he saw the mistakes. Nyerere's ethical commitment to fight poverty was unbroken and the responsibility for TANU leadership and the growing public service was equally demanding.

- Top Keywords: government (40), development (29), economy (28)

Leadership picture: Understanding and Interpretation ("U and I")

Nyerere: good leadership (main quotations)

"There are still too many of our people living in hovels, and who could not afford to pay an economic rent for a decent house even if one were available. The lowest wages must increase still further."

“We must choose between buying another car for the President or a tractor for a maize farm. The more we buy of the goods to enjoy, the less we can buy of the goods which will produce wealth in the future.”

“In practice we have allowed running expenses to increase much faster than we had planned. Now, we must either reduce services, or provide them more economically. We must have more financial discipline within government and government institutions.”

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Good leadership:

- Knows the resources, accepts the conditions (poverty!) and achieves the goals: better health, education, supply of basic needs.
- Saves money instead of lavish spending. Good leadership focuses on supplying the basic needs and catering for the poorest.
- Are self-disciplined and set a good example; they are also self-critical and admit to mistakes.

Nyerere: bad leadership (main quotation)

“In practice we have allowed running expenses to increase much faster than we had planned. Now we must either reduce services, or provide them more economically. We must have more financial discipline within government and government institutions.”

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Bad leadership:

- Lives like the rich and ignores the fact of poverty.
- Misuses wealth (money) for private gain. We remember hypocrisy in leadership: ‘to preach water and to drink wine’!

Researcher's Reflection: Ujamaa Socialism versus Market Policy

Nyerere saw the need to improve economic development. Guaranteeing incentives for farmers could increase production and create more wealth, and importantly, it could provide more food for everybody. On the other hand, he rejected the idea of introducing more free-market policy, which could easily lead to capitalism, the enemy of *Ujamaa* socialism.

Nyerere was in a trap, and with him many of his close friends and consultants. They feared that more private (economic) initiatives would lead to more private income (profit) and create different classes in society; they were not ready to pay such a high 'price' for more efficient production. The political philosophy and economic concept of *Ujamaa* and self-reliance policy was for Nyerere and the majority of leaders the only viable way; a free-market economy – capitalism – was no alternative. In the centralized *Ujamaa* model, there was little space for (democratic) experiments, despite Nyerere's vocation for 'rural socialism'.

There are only a few good examples of successful co-operatives. Because of interventions by dogmatic party-leaders, several of the very efficient and productive initiatives with grass-roots empowerment were 'disciplined', some even dissolved. However, another approach, the 'third way', a social-market policy was developed in Germany towards the end of the 1960s. It became the economic approach for social democrats in Europe for decades. However this could not become a realistic alternative for Nyerere and TANU and not for many African leaders. Social-market policy was part of the capitalist paradigm, the "life-world" of the colonial masters!

5.3.6. Speech 6: Policy on Foreign Affairs, 1967 (TANU National Conference)

Context aspects: In 1966, Ghana's President Nkrumah, the "towering leader" (Mazrui, 1999) was toppled with intervention by the CIA; his socialist politics played a role in that. Some of the 38 sovereign African states followed the capitalist way: for example Ivory Coast in West Africa, Kenya in East Africa. In June 1967, in North-East Africa and Palestine, the Israeli 'Blitzkrieg' (6-day war) against Jordan and Egypt aggravated the situation in North Africa and complicated Tanzanian relations with both Palestine and Israel.

From 1966, at its third summit in Addis Ababa and again in 1967, at its fourth summit in Kinshasa the OAU began to show cracks: in Kinshasa only 13 of 38 heads of state participated; Nyerere did not. Haile Selassie tried unsuccessfully to mediate because of the Biafra war. Tanzania was one of the few states (together with France), who supported Biafra's freedom in the separation-struggle in Nigeria.

Internationally the USA-led Vietnam War provoked in many countries (especially in Europe) massive, sometimes violent, demonstrations against the USA, and at home, movements for equal rights for all Americans were formed and became powerful (e.g. the Black Panthers in 1966). Nyerere and Tanzania condemned the war. Violence flared and

escalated in many countries, though not in Tanzania. The 'revolutionary banner' against war and oppression carried messages like 'freedom, human rights for everybody, socialism'.

Nyerere's standing within Tanzania was solid and well-rooted. In 1967, the *Arusha Declaration* – the programme for socialist development in Tanzania – was well received within TANU and social groups, and led generally to enthusiastic activities and cooperation within the young population (preferred by Nyerere) e.g. at the university in Dar es Salaam. Nyerere worked on the policy paper for 'self-governance in communities' as a needed supplement to *Ujamaa* in order to support the (new) villages and to strengthen the numerous socio-economic initiatives expected to benefit people's development.

This National Conference of TANU with African and international guests was a highlight in 1967. Nyerere addressed about 2000 conference participants: TANU delegates, political delegations from regional African states and further guests. Special guests were President Kaunda of Zambia and President Obote of Uganda.

- Top keywords: government 28, peace 15, unity 13.

Leadership picture: Understanding and Interpretation ("U and I")

Nyerere: good leadership (main quotations)

"That is Tanzania's position. We recognize Israel and wish to be friendly with her as well as with the Arab nations. But we cannot condone aggression on any pretext, nor accept victory in war as a justification for the exploitation of other lands, or government over other peoples."

"There is, however, one further point I must make with reference to the United Nations ... That is the fact that the People's Republic of China is still excluded from the United Nations, and the Chinese seat occupied by representatives of a Government which was overthrown eighteen years ago. Tanzania will continue to advocate China's admission to her rightful place in the United Nations."

"We in East Africa have, I believe, learned this lesson. The conference of eleven African states which was held in Nairobi in March 1966 under the able chairmanship of President Kenyatta had the sole purpose of increasing understanding and co-operation between East Africa and its neighbours."

"Dar es Salaam is also, of course, an increasingly important port for Zambia – along with Mtwara in the south. Delegates will have heard with the same joy as President Kaunda and myself that there is a real prospect that the railway linking our two countries will now be built. The engineering survey will start soon; after that we have, from the People's Republic

of China, such assurances of further practical and financial help that completion need not be doubted.”

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Good leadership:

- Has a policy of non-alignment but not of neutrality! Formulating clear and reliable political positions that are based on the values of the United Nations.
- Has capability and courage to assess major political developments and events worldwide (Vietnam, Israel-Egypt, Biafra, South Africa) with consistent ethical principles, based on human dignity and self-determination. Double-standards and tactical hypocrisy undermine political credibility with both enemies and friends.
- Promotes consequently regional bodies and geographical and political unity (EAC) to gain momentum as a political player. For viable political-economical co-operation, an infrastructure (railway between Tanzania and Zambia) is essential.
- Implements pragmatic policy whenever it is needed. They favour peace-solutions that can stand on their own (Israel-Palestine) and balance the different interests, not favouring or pushing one-sided solutions that are unsustainable (e.g. a boycott of South Africa by Lesotho or Botswana).

Nyerere: bad leadership (main quotations)

“I do not think I will be misunderstood when I express Tanzania’s interest in the unity and progress of our East African partner. Differences of economic and political organisation can certainly be accommodated within the arrangements for East African co-operation. We have established what can become a real common market, and really effective instruments for joint economic services ... Tanzania is one of eleven nations involved in discussions which could lead to the creation of an Economic Community of Eastern Africa.”

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Bad leadership:

- Creates unrealistic expectations in crucial policies; underestimating political and economic complexity. In particular the idea of an easy merger between socialist national economies (Tanzania, later Uganda) with the free-market economy of Kenya

was illusionary: they are two contradictory approaches. The big 'common market' project was only a dream as long as the transformational conditions were not clearly discussed and a consensus reached.

Researcher's Reflection: Nyerere's Policy of Unity and Forced Regionalisation

Nyerere's international standing as an extraordinary leader was informed by his humane vision, his ethical and political commitments, and his bright knowledge about African affairs and international politics. His convincing commitment to fight poverty and struggle for African freedom and unity was unbroken, and fundamental to further success. From the TANU leadership and from other leaders he expected such a responsibility for their country (see 'leadership code' in section 2.4.4.1.). But not all leaders followed such principles, and part of the growing public service also became tempted to search for 'a better life' for themselves; corruption became a serious issue. Nyerere observed and intervened sometimes, but dealt with such attitudes and behaviour as exceptions.

Regarding the East African Community, founded in 1967, Nyerere's powerful optimism for regionalisation and good neighbourliness to unite Africa was quite limitless. One rather naïve and hopeful idea was the plan to shape the 'real common market' under different political and economic systems: capitalism and socialism, and within a variety of culturally different states. In these years, multi-national organisations with the objective to "promote technical and economic co-operation in Africa" mushroomed. These "were the halcyon years of African integration" writes Mazrui (1999:728).

A viable common market in East Africa (EAC) is in 2004 still a wishful project, despite significant support from EU and others since the 1990s. Nyerere's vision of a strong, coherent community was limited by the antagonism of the economic systems between Tanzania and Kenya, and the political systems between Tanzania and Uganda. Recently the EAC-leadership sped up the unification process and produced protocols and agreements to overcome the disparities. But it does not suffice when heads of state (Mkapa, Museveni and Kibaki) agree in nice speeches on regionalisation and unification in the region. The community has to be involved in a people-centred and democratic decision-making process.

5.3.7. Speech 7: *Things we must correct, 1968 (Republic Day broadcast)*

Context aspects: Internationally, the year 1968 was defined by escalations in dangerous situations in the East-West conflict: the ongoing cruel USA-led Vietnam War provoked

protests and further violence in many countries, especially in the USA, France and Germany and Europe. A student protest in France against the outdated authoritarian educational system (May 1968) spread over Europe and even further. The Soviet Union (with satellite states Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and East Germany) invaded Czechoslovakia with military troops (August 1968) and ended the 'Prague Spring' (Yapp, 1998), halting the transformation of the communist government and society to a democratic socialist one. The communist military intervention of about 600 000 soldiers led to controversial debates within the communist movement and to the split of parties in Europe where a group of new leftist democratic parties ('euro-communists') had emerged. The process of democratisation in all sectors of life had started.

The EAC was founded in 1967, and Tanzania intensified the economic and political co-operation in the central and East African region, from Congo to Zambia. Particularly with Zambia, and her socialist President Kaunda, an intensive collaboration took place. For example the Tazama oil-pipeline, between the harbour of Dar es Salaam and the Zambian town of Ndola improved the energy supply.

Nyerere's two extended tours in 1968 – to West Africa (Ivory Coast and Liberia) and to Asia (China and North Korea) – were more than symbolic, and pointed to his political priorities. The visit to Ivory Coast, for example, was undertaken to promote the aim of African unity, despite different political and economic systems: the formerly French-colonised country followed a rather market-oriented policy. The visit to China served the development of co-operation between the two countries, and intensified China's economic support of Tanzania.

The political ideology and policy of Tanzania (*Ujamaa*-Socialism) was published in the *Arusha Declaration* in 1967 and became obligatory reading for Tanzanians. A small group of leaders did not agree with this socialist model and opposed the "leadership code" (section 2.4.4.1.). Despite a certain political and economic consolidation in Tanzania, a new culture of leadership with new leaders was emerging, which did not accept the humble living conditions and the principles of (Nyerere's) modesty. Some of these leaders were oriented towards a capitalist and western lifestyle, and a belief that the real benefit for work was money.

- Top keywords: government 40, development 29, economy 28.

Leadership picture: Understanding and Interpretation (“U and I”)

Nyerere: good leadership (main quotations)

“One thing which makes me very happy is to see how our young men and women in positions of responsibility in government and parastatal organisations improve their work year by year.”

“In order to be a political leader, a man does not have to have any particular educational qualifications. But the work of the civil servants and people in the parastatal organisations does require education.”

“I promise you that we shall deal with anyone who practices tribalism.”

“But unfortunately things are not going so well as regards Local Government. At first we thought that the reason was the shortage of good and experienced local government employees, and in the last few years we have made great efforts to send more educated and better quality people into the local government service. This has reduced the problem, but in some places good local government workers are unable to do their work properly because of interference and intrigue by the Councillors. ”

“It is possible that not all socialist countries in the world believe as we do that all men are our brothers; but all socialists, and all who call themselves socialists, believe that all workers are brothers, regardless of their colour, religion or citizenship.”

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Good leadership:

- Assesses and evaluates realistically the efforts and achievements or the deficits and failures of governmental organisations and institutions.
- Motivates the many committed young women and men, and expresses gratitude and praises their selfless co-operation and hard work.
- Equally important, it gives guidelines in keeping with the political principles of equality, unity and freedom, and undoubtedly to reject tribalism and racism – to act against the slightest whispers.
- Addresses the real problems early, with the courage and power for intervention, if needed even with coercive means.

Nyerere: bad leadership (main quotations)

“Many primary school teachers are therefore left without the money they have earned, and which they need, to keep themselves and their families. I am grateful to these teachers that they have not gone on strike ... The greater part of the money for teachers' wages is paid by the Central Government, but instead of setting this money on one side to pay the teachers their money as it becomes due, many councils are spending this money on other things.”

“... in some places good local government workers are unable to do their work properly because of interference and intrigue by the Councillors. For these reasons the troubles in local government are continuing, even in those places which have good employees. When I investigate, the answer is very often that their [the expert employees'] reluctance to attend stems from the fact that council meetings are not relevant to development, but that the time is spent on political intrigue, in discussing allowances, or in abusing local government workers.”

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)*Bad leadership:*

- Undermines government policy in education; accepts that primary school teachers did not get their pay.
- Has no system of control and does not use coercive measures against political intrigues, bribery and corruption. What is needed are, for example, local government, law enforcement, public transparency in finance and decision-making, and democratic participation for the citizens to express their (opposing) opinions.

Researcher's Reflection: Good Leadership versus Corruption

Some indications of bad leadership emerged within the Tanzanian government, particularly on village levels, though not only in rural areas. Money played a decisive and seductive role. The situation deteriorated between government workers and employees (sometimes experts) on the one hand and the often uneducated but powerful councillors on the other. Such conflict still existed in 2004 in Tanzania, even with increased accountability and transparency of public offices. The objective of self-governance of communities, the policy of decentralisation (1972), and free and fair local government elections since 1993 (exception: Zanzibar) has not been able to protect Tanzania from becoming an increasingly corrupt country. In the year 2002, the international organisation Transparency International (TI, 2004), ranked the country as one of the ten most corrupt countries. Tanzania has improved

since then. In 2004 it was placed within the group "90-96" out of 146 screened countries with an indicator of 2,8 (9,7 is Finland, the best; the worst Haiti scored 1,4).

Nyerere tried hard to influence party leadership (TANU, later the CCM – Chama Cha Mapinduzi – the party of the revolution) in the direction of hard work, honesty and accountability; he attempted to diminish the influence of 'patrimonial' leadership; but did he succeed? Nyerere hardly used law enforcement or other coercive means to discipline leaders and to enforce his policy and politics.

African tradition often is built on families, clans and patrimonial leadership – something that Nyerere knew, and which he partly appreciated and also implemented. Consequently the coherence of the extended family survived as a social system. I doubt whether such an ethical attitude as 'solidarity' with the poor was widespread.

On the other hand, Nyerere, despite his high reputation and strong influence as top leader in all spheres of public life, couldn't ensure the regular payment of salaries to teachers. This reveals clear limits of power. President Nyerere complained in 1967: "African leaders have their price these days. The moment one becomes a minister, his price also gets determined. The prices are not even big; some are bought for only 500, or a simple house" (McDonald and Sahle, 2002:17).

Nyerere also discovered serious structural problems in the backbone of rural development, the *Ujamaa*-village policy. He writes in October 1968 in a paper for the leadership of the National Executive Committee Meeting in Tanga, that "no one can be forced into an *Ujamaa* village", and adds, "An *Ujamaa* village is a voluntary association of people who decide of their own free will to live together and work together for their common good" (Nyerere, 1973b: 67). But many peasants were forced by TANU leadership to move into *Ujamaa* villages, which, particularly in the 1970s, lead to stronger criticism and sometimes to an undermining of the basic idea of *Ujamaa*. On the other hand, the criticism of peasants and inhabitants of *Ujamaa* villages caused an often authoritarian and restrictive reaction by the local or regional political leadership of TANU, who felt that their influence and power to control the 'adequate implementation' had been jeopardized.

5.3.8. *Speech 8: Adult Education Year, 1969 (New Year's Eve Broadcast)*

Context aspects: In 1969, big changes took place on the international scene. An exciting event was the US-led mission (Apollo 11) to the moon – for the first time, astronauts walked on the moon. The USA again took the lead in technological and military research from the USSR. The ‘space-age’ was initiated. The ongoing student revolution in Europe and elsewhere contributed to a change in political culture and democracy: for example the discourses of critical analysis and critical pedagogy gained momentum, and inspired intellectuals on the left as well as others. Student-led solidarity movements e.g. Africa-liberation groups (pro-Frelimo, ZANUF, anti-apartheid movements etc.) emerged and promoted the idea of active contribution in the liberation struggle. In Tanzania, young people from Europe and USA, teachers, researchers and scientists volunteered to support and stabilise the socialist experiment of *Ujamaa*.

In Germany, in 1969 a change in political leadership, from conservatives to social-democrats, contributed to a new policy approach of ‘democratisation of all sectors of society’, education was a fundamental area. Chancellor Willy Brandt and the government focused on a new concept of conflict reduction, peace and a *détente* policy (*Entspannungspolitik*) with communist countries in East Europe and the USSR – including East Germany. North-South co-operation became an international concern and political issue, particularly for the ‘Socialist International’, where European socialists and social democratic parties (in Sweden, Austria and Germany) put their focus on the African continent. This was the time to re-establish diplomatic relations between West-Germany and Tanzania, because the “Hallstein –Doktrin”⁶⁹ became obsolete. In 1968, FES started its development project in Dar es Salaam (mainland) with adult education; the German social democratic Minister for Development, Erhardt Eppler visited Tanzania several times. The official development service of the communist government of East Germany was still working on the Tanzanian island of Zanzibar.

Nyerere’s reputation was on the increase, though more in Europe and North America than on the African continent. In October 1969, he was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Law by the University of Toronto, Canada. In a remarkable speech (Stability and Change in Africa, Nyerere, 1973a:108–125) he once more unfolded the challenges for Tanzania on the

⁶⁹ Official West-German (FRG) doctrine since 1965, which says that FRG cannot have diplomatic relations to states which establish diplomatic relations with (the “state” of) East-Germany (GDR).

way to *Ujamaa*-Socialism and 'education for self-reliance'; and he stressed the tasks of the African freedom struggle.

Nyerere did believe that the transformation of the whole society of Tanzania needed much time. He saw the challenges of teaching as the essentials of socialism and realised that it would take a lot of hard work to implement its ideas, provide the needed goods and implant the spirit of equality. There was no shortcut to a socialist society, the deficits were numerous: patriarchal, partially-feudal structures at village level, and generally only few well-educated people to manage all sectors on the way to a stable socialist society with a committed leadership.

Kweka, a Tanzanian social scientist, describes that period of Nyerere's "deep concern":

Nyerere emphasised the need for adult education which would enable people to understand these things, and hence to transform the existing leadership into a people's leadership whereby the leaders fear the judgement of the people. At the same time he felt there was a great shortage of educated people, of finance, and of committed, modern and thinking socialists. (Kweka in Legum and Mmari, 1999:73)

- Top keywords: education 27, government 7, poverty 2

Leadership picture: Understanding and Interpretation ("U and I")

Nyerere: good leadership (main quotations)

"Other countries are using new methods of production, and are organising themselves for their own benefit. They will not wait for us! Unless we determine to educate ourselves we shall get left behind again; we shall be at the mercy of other nations and peoples. Independence which is subject to the decisions of other peoples is not independence; it is an illusion."

"The first job of adult education will therefore be to make us reject bad houses, bad *jembe*, and preventable diseases; it will make us recognise that we ourselves have the ability to obtain better houses, better tools, and better health."

"Education is learning from books, from the radio, from films, from discussions about matters which affect our lives, and especially from doing things. This question of learning by doing is very important. The best way to learn to sew is to sew; the best way to learn to farm is to cultivate; the best way to learn cooking is to cook; the best way to learn how to teach is to teach; and so on."

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Good leadership:

- Contributes to democratic participation and decision-making via adequate education and directly supporting cultural, social and economic development.
- Motivates people to accept change and cope with new situations.
- Offers and promotes adult education countrywide, contributing to greater equality.
- Helps followers (or leading people or colleagues) become self-confident, active and enterprising.
- Provides adequate methods and tools for tackling problems and mastering challenges. Education is a basic tool for better understanding and for appropriate acting, in private life and in the world of work. One recipe is 'learning by doing'. Literacy – reading and writing – is seen as a pre-condition for personal self-confidence and for professional competitiveness.
- Corresponds 'critical education', as an objective for good leadership, with human dignity. It can also contribute to a common identification of the leaders and the led, which often results in intense and sustainable co-operation and contribution. Adult education is interconnected with the idea of lifelong learning.

Nyerere: bad leadership (main quotation)

"We are poor, and backward; and too many of us just accept our present conditions as 'the will of God', and imagine that we can do nothing about them."

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Bad leadership:

- Abuses the power of leadership to cement the status quo, often to gain and/or secure privileges, and withhold equal rights for women and men.
- Misuses tradition and religious beliefs in order to justify or verify a specific situation or development; this happens often in traditional 'closed' and remote groups.
- Exhibits false modesty or sheer laziness and reluctance. Such conduct, a bad leadership trait, seems to be quite widespread.

- Thinks and acts fatalistically (or only 'waits'). This is still an often-practised poor conduct of leaders.

Researcher's Reflection: Adult Education and the Idea of Life-Long Learning

Nyerere, the teacher (Mwalimu), knows that education – learning and teaching, understanding and acting – is crucial for the dignity of human beings and for the growth of a state or nation. He himself as leader is the best example: education (not only schooling) changed his life fundamentally (see Chapter 3). Leadership needs education: life-long learning embedded in critical pedagogy and vocational and professional training. Tanzanian socialism has been based on education to achieve equality as a human right. Education is essential to gain real independence as a society and to enjoy the fruits of freedom as equal partners in a changing world. As a teacher, Nyerere believed in the power and influence of education until the end of his life. His most sustainable legacy and strongest contribution to social development was his achievements in the sector of education for women and men, girls and boys. Still in 2002, the Human Development Index (HDI, UNDP, 2004:180) shows a significant value above the average in Sub-Saharan Africa for the adult literacy rate (77.1) and the education index (0.62); otherwise Tanzania ranks below the average and, sadly she is on the decline since 1990. Tanzania ranked in 2002, only 162 out of 177 countries (least: Sierra Leone).

Nyerere saw leadership problems in the building of a new society and he feared that some leaders could misdirect more people and manipulate them against socialism. Nyerere was in a trap! On the one hand, he tried to disseminate the socialist messages of *Ujamaa*. It was quite a strict exercise to learn and to accept or obey the rules of a classless society. On the other hand, he supported democratic development and “political democracy”, which he described as an essential part of socialism. He states that “true socialism cannot exist without democracy also existing in the society” (Nyerere, 1968:234). But, in general, strict centralized political concepts and one-sided TANU recipes didn't allow for open-minded controversy or debate. No wonder that such dogmatic reactions couldn't convince the ‘doubting Thomases’ (Nyerere), but rather contributed to the growth of a clandestine opposition, which later, in the 1970s, led to a overthrow attempt by some of his close collaborators, colleagues in government and even friends.

This speech about adult education is an extremely convincing appeal for education, and a heartfelt confession of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere's lifelong passion. In the last year of his

life, he emphasised and appealed for the surmounting importance of (critical) education for sustainable social development in every society. I believe that the posterity will remember Mwalimu Julius Nyerere particularly because of his everlasting convincing commitment for education as a principle for human dignity and equality.

5.4. Nyerere's Leadership Perspective: Summarized Conclusions

In this section, Nyerere's view of good political leadership qualifications and attitudes will be presented and interpreted. The period we are analysing is the decade of the 1960s, the period immediately post independence. This period when Tanzania as a nation came into being can be characterized by two major features: the Independence phase (1960–1966) and the Development or Consolidation phase (1967–1969). The presentation of conclusions regarding Nyerere's view of good leadership is linked to the four key-concepts presented in Chapter 2, as framework to understand his major aim to achieve sustainable development of Tanzania.

This section comprises also a particular analysis of the importance and influence of the crucial Leadership-Code contained in the "Arusha Declaration" (1967) and its consequences; this step "marked a watershed in Tanzanian history. It committed the ruling party to socialism": "TANU members and government officials had to embrace socialism fully, turning their backs on all capitalism's temptations" (Smyth and Seftel, 1998:131). The code and the public reactions to it drove Nyerere's perspective during the decade under analysis.

In Chapter 6, I will build a bridge between Nyerere's view of good leadership and the profile of the "ideal leader" composed by the trainees of the YLTP, discussing his contemporary role as a model for leadership in Tanzania.

5.4.1. Nyerere's Perspectives on Good Leadership after Independence

What is the desired leader for Nyerere, the one who is able to lead the state to become a nation? What kind of leadership did Nyerere promote during the first decade of independence?

The Commandments of the Leadership Code

The Leadership Code for the mass-movement TANU spells out the strict obligations for all its leaders. TANU was supposed to become a party with qualified membership and responsible leaders. We remember: "Where it is thought unlikely that an applicant really accepts the beliefs, aims and objectives of the Party, he should be denied membership"

(Nyerere, 1968:248). Positions of leadership in TANU and government combined top, high and middle cadres. "In this context 'leaders' means a man, or a man and his wife; a women, or a women and her husband" (ibid: 249). TANU members are under obligations, which are, on the one hand, very general, and on the other, very specific and strict, and compulsory sometimes even for the members of the family. While TANU members are to refuse 'capitalism' and 'feudalism', they and their families should not hold directorships in any privately owned enterprise.

Nyerere very clearly states that leaders must be good examples to the people through their actions and in their own lives. The 'commandments' of the Leadership Code are the fundamental pieces of Nyerere's perspective in the first decade after independence:

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 or 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 enterprises.
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 (ibid: 249)

Nyerere's views and expectations regarding the socialist leadership were strictly and uncompromisingly enforced, not only through official policies, but through the constant 'propagandizing' of the leader's speeches and education policies. Nyerere tried to follow the (communist) principles of "austerity" and "material equality" with the *Ujamaa* policy and its consequent villagisation, arbitrarily implemented. Nyerere proclaimed the end of "individual peasant producers who were gradually adopting the incentives and the ethics of the capitalist system" (Smyth and Seftel, 1998:146).

The Leadership Bill that passed Parliament in October 1967 included the duty of all members of Parliament (including their wives) declaring their assets and income. This "law" led to deep-rooted political tensions within TANU and the government, with its already nationalised enterprises and institutions. The Bill foresaw a year of "tolerance" for people to "purify" themselves: properties had to be sold in three months or to be given away; otherwise the owner would have to resign from office or parliament. "In the first few years the

Leadership Code was neither well supported nor extensively followed" (ibid: 142). Bibi Titi Mohamed, the most important women in leadership (see section 2.4.3.), resigned from her functions, and claimed to be 'ill'. The media however spread the version that she "had forsaken public service for the large income she received from the rental of property" (ibid: 142).

Nyerere's Perspectives on Democracy and Nation Building

Nyerere believed that a democratic state in Africa had to be built on the African 'tradition', and based on solidarity and communitarianism. The good leader should promote people's responsible participation in decision-making; protect the human rights; and work towards equality for all citizens, aiming at overcoming racism, tribalism and nurturing 'Africaness'. Africa's unity is a precondition for real social and economic development. According to him, those were the keys to overcoming crises in Tanzania and in the whole of Africa.

Ujamaa, the Tanzanian model of socialism, was somehow a 'political mixture', cast with many elements, and not easy to be understood or swallowed, neither by the common people nor by the country's leadership. The adult illiteracy rate was around 50% at the time of independence, and the subtleties of the *Ujamaa* construction were difficult to grasp. *Ujamaa* came to be a political model for Africa, and the Tanzanian socio-economic alternative to capitalism (see section 3.2), with its combination of cultural and political elements of 'traditional communitarianism'.

According to Nyerere, good leaders try to implement the wishes of the people, forming a government of "national consent". His argument to promote or justify the one-party system was linked to the "weaknesses of the state institutions", still in their early days of transformation from a colonial ideology into a socialist one. The one-party regime should have an 'internal democratic mechanism', such as electing members of Parliament (even if from the same party). To avoid conflicts in the path of nation building, Nyerere led the people towards the 'understanding' that the division of the population into different groups or parties had to be avoided, since the different groups' interests were not yet well formulated, and allegiances built under colonialism could and would determine the constitution of those groups.

Nyerere's strong belief was that a one-party democracy could be a real democracy if it guaranteed human rights such as dignity, equality and education, besides a good degree of

intra-party democracy and checks and balances by the people. Nyerere had remarkable success with this model of democracy (as we show in section 2.1.3.), but he did underestimate the liberal power of “democratic” countries to define what ‘democracy’ should be. The major forces that ‘defined’ how ‘democracy’ should be, were Britain and the USA, with their two-party political systems. Socialist Sweden and socio-democratic Germany (with Willy Brandt in power at the end of the 1960s) were also important moderate influences towards multi-party politics.

Nyerere's View on Leadership for Social Development

Nyerere's perspective was founded on humanist principles, such as equal rights for all people and other human rights, and on the building power of education. He thought education could change men and women, and contribute to social development and eradication of the ‘three enemies’, poverty, ignorance and disease. Although the idea of a progressive and native educational system, with the aim of providing ‘education for all’, was to significantly contribute to human development, institutional problems, old contents and methods and low – often not paid – salaries were counter-productive.

Nyerere made it clear that the good leader addresses ignorance (besides poverty and disease), a serious obstacle to social development, giving it a priority in political tenure. Leaders should work with all the people together, and include the well-educated and the rich, who have to support and strengthen the battle of the masses because of their ‘inherited’ privileges. For him, equality did not mean that people were all equal in their human capabilities and expectations, but that all people should live and work together with the ‘same’ rights and obligations – the rich and the poor, women and men, the Africans, Asians and Europeans, the Muslims and the Christians (see also Amartya Sen, 1999).

Concepts around the idea of education as a human right and a tool for development can be found all over Nyerere's speeches. The good leader has to be a ‘teacher’, and to promote education and work. Furthering education was to be the means to understand development and change in Tanzania, since the minds and attitudes of the people would change in order to harmonize tradition and modernity for the good of the nation and Africa.

Education was also a foundation in Nyerere's sustainable ‘functioning’ of the ‘villagization-project’. He may have seen the missing socialist consciousness and responsibility among leaders and might have excused them knowing that poverty spread all

over in the country. He may have really believed in the educative power of the idea of “self-reliance”, even if the economic conditions were so unfavourable in the first decade of independence (see section 2.2.).

The nationalization of the economy, the centralized planning system and the low incentives for workers and agricultural producers, natives and foreign investors alike, hindered needed economic growth for sustainable development. However, that was not enough to build a nation; despite an average economic yearly growth of 4 to 6 percent in the 1960s (Hodd, 1989), dependency on foreign aid and loans increased as the years passed.

Nyerere rejected a more market oriented economic policy, which could lead to ‘capitalism’, the enemy of *Ujamaa* socialism. Such understanding constituted a trap for him and many of his close friends and consultants, for they feared that more private economic initiatives would lead to more private income and profit, creating different classes in society. Therefore they were ready to pay the ‘price’ of reducing efficiency, to avoid raising a capitalist society. The political philosophy and economic concept of *Ujamaa* and self-reliance were for Nyerere and his peers the only viable way towards development.

Unity and Peace as a Means to Nation Building

Nyerere believed that a multi-party system would undermine the potential for the construction of a “national” identity during the transition between the liberation phase and the consolidation phase. He thought that this would endanger unity and peace, hindering development in its basic foundations, particularly the provision of education and the eradication of preventable diseases and misery.

Nyerere searched to create a symbiosis rather than a conflict between the two opposing worldwide ideologies, capitalism and communism. His perspective for Africa was a combination of “her own basic structure and the self-criticism of Western Europe in order to evolve from there a form of society which can satisfy both sides” (ibid: 15). However, his vision of the ideal society, the African society, the “continent of hope for the human race”, was too optimistic and not realistic – it was a dream. Nyerere seemed to believe that other leaders in TANU, government, agricultural business and civil society, still united by the recent experience of a mass movement, would cooperate and support peace and unity, for the sake of prosperity in Tanzania and in Africa.

Nyerere’s international standing as an extraordinary leader was informed by his humane vision, his ethical and political commitments, and his knowledge about African

affairs and international politics. His convincing commitment to fight poverty and struggle for African freedom and unity was unbroken, and he expected the same commitment from other leaders in the country. Nyerere's political approach to unite and 'regionalize' Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania was much more realistic and peaceful than Nkrumah's Pan-African plans, which would have caused violent conflicts. Nkrumah's political philosophy was based on the hope that the 38 free African countries would unite to become powerful. He was dogmatically influenced by the communist theory (Leninism) of the unavoidable class struggle and the clash of the ideologies. He did not believe that co-existence was possible. (Nkrumah, 1970).

Good Leadership

Nyerere, the 'father of the nation' and the indisputably brilliant leader, was caught between two strong and diverse fractions of political leadership. The communists and the 'liberals' were represented by two outspoken, competent and powerful top leaders with further political ambitions: the Cabinet Minister Mohammed Babu (see Babu, 1981 and 2002) and Oscar Kambona, who was for a long time the general secretary of TANU, close friend of Nyerere's and Tanzania's foreign minister. Later, Kambona was to allegedly plan a coup against Nyerere and his socialist policy in the 1970s (Smyth and Seftel, 1998), and had to flee the country. Babu, as well, was to be detained for several years, for undermining *Ujamaa*-socialism. Babu openly criticized the leadership of TANU and Nyerere for "capitalist tendencies" (ibid: 145).

Nyerere, who had neither a dogmatic nor an inflexible personality, was very impressed by the strict discipline of Maoism. He used to wear the 'Mao-suit' as a symbol for 'frugality' and 'equality'. But other African leaders liked to demonstrate power, prosperity and wealth to impress their subjects or to demonstrate their tribal identity. Many African people – still today – expect leaders to be the 'big man', 'the boss', the 'generous paternalist' or the 'chief and traditional leader' (see Anyang' Nyong'o, 2002 and Chabal and Daloz, 1999), who direct people and politics, telling others what to do.

Nyerere tried hard to influence the party leadership in the direction of hard work, honesty, accountability and people's participation; he attempted to reduce the influence of paternalistic behaviour in leadership. Has he succeeded? Probably no, for this cultural attitude was deeply rooted and still now is an obstacle for participatory development.

President Nyerere did not distribute Tanzanian resources (money, goods, and privileges) among his family or his tribe, as it was and is very common in African societies (see Mazrui, 1999; Chabal and Daloz 1999; Iliffe, 1979). Nyerere did rather the opposite; he saved public money with his humble lifestyle, and suggested that Tanzania should “spend every cent that we have surplus to our basic needs on the things which will make us richer, healthier, and more educated in the future” (Nyerere, 1966:332-3).

5.4.2. Nyerere's Views of the Leader for a Just and Socialist Society

For Nyerere, the ‘ideal’ leader, as learned in the section above, was the perfect socialist abiding by the principles of *Ujamaa*: a hard-working peasant or worker, disciplined, people-centered, humble and modest, socially responsible, competent, fair and tolerant, interested in education and professional qualification, equality-oriented (nowadays, he would have praised the leader who considers gender balancing in ‘his’ leadership). The leader would certainly accept a low salary without privileges. Such expectations (sometimes, given as an instruction) attracted other idealistic leaders, who followed and supported the charismatic Nyerere. On the other hand, such an ascetic and disciplined picture of a leader frightened many of the common men and women and, worse, deterred them. Nyerere projected his own traits and characteristics onto the picture that he promoted publicly, composing a model of ‘new leaders’ on a very high moral and ethical level.

The most striking of Nyerere’s perspectives about good leaders for his country are terms such as equality, basic democratic and human rights, social justice, helpfulness, industriousness, modesty, reliability, accountability, tolerance, fairness, intelligence, skilfulness. The leader should be talented as thinker and orator, intellectually gifted, philosopher and visionary, disciplined and firm, having the capacity to strive and to fight for justice and peace, for conflict reduction and political stability. Perhaps his most influential perspective was his promotion of the importance of education, of learning and of teaching. And his most convincing argument as a leader was probably his own example, his humility: in this case, he definitely did not ‘preach water and drink wine’.

Nyerere’s view of good leadership contrasted with some of his own personal traits and behaviour, and this must have influenced people to resist his ‘preaching’, since it is difficult, for example, to praise ‘democracy’ while passing authoritarian laws at the same time. I find that the traits that most characterized Nyerere’s negative aspects are his authoritarianism, his tendency to be a dreamer and ‘utopist’, his naiveté towards the attraction

of the 'market economy' and its 'world of goods'. Perhaps the basic 'fault' of his leadership was the unawareness (lack of belief) in the diversity of human beings and their interests, which led to authoritarian behaviour and even to coercion in the wish to 'change' people, to transform them into something that they were not. Nyerere sometimes violated his own fundamental principle: "People cannot be developed, they can only develop themselves" (Nyerere, 1974:27).

If Nyerere's view on the major traits and characteristics of a "good leader" were the ones I showed above, how do they intersect with the contemporary view of the young leaders who were participants in the YLTP? The next chapter will deal with this question, discussing and highlighting Nyerere's legacy, and extracting the lessons learnt from his political leadership in Tanzania and abroad.

Chapter 6

Nyerere – A Role Model for the 21st Century?

The central question of the present study, “What was Nyerere's perspective of good leadership for democratic development in the 1960s?”, was answered in Chapters 2 and 3, and analysed in Chapter 5. Nyerere's perspective – his picture of good leadership – emerged sharp and clear: it was his own reflection! He expected from TANU-leaders (almost) as much as he gave to the country and the people in order to build up the new “*Ujamaa*” society.

What he claimed from party and government leaders was frugality, hard work and social responsibility for the people in order to provide services, e.g. education, health care and enough food for everybody.

He demanded socialist attitudes and political opinions towards the people. This included firm consciousness of a classless society and the realization of equality between educated people and humble farmers and workers, and between different ethnic groups and races. He propagated tolerance between religions, and he promoted equal rights for men and women. He condemned privileges and contested arrogance and corruption. He was persistent and stubborn in the implementation of socialist principles; he acted in good faith: the end justifies the means.

His charisma was so winning that even peers accepted his leadership and adversaries and competitors could not really conquer him. His visionary 'skills' and rhetorical capacity fascinated many people and irritated others. It was difficult to oppose his well-structured opinions; he listened but was often firm and inflexible. Charisma is a rare gift and cannot be taught or handed down, but despite his charisma and his visionary gifts, miracles could not be done – hard work and good ideas were necessary. Some ideas and political projects have, however, failed because of his too idealistic vision for a new Tanzanian society.

In a nutshell, he expected active involvement and sincere support from good leaders for the transition to a social and just society. He believed in the superiority of a socialist society over the capitalist society of exploitation. He refused the market-economy because of its capitalist tendency, which would divide the society. He believed in national and critical education, and the rights of the people to cultural education and professional training.

Nyerere's leadership was the most necessary and appropriate for nation building in Tanganyika, beginning with the struggle for independence and the work for development, until the consolidation of the young democratic country, Tanzania. But the question still remains – did Nyerere over-estimate the readiness and motivation of the political leadership to cooperate under and implement the 'mandates' of the "Arusha Declaration"? In the research, I find that to some extent, the answer must be in the affirmative.

His charismatic personality persuaded the firm conviction of political leaders and people of the implementation of his ideas and projects. His visionary leadership fascinated many, but it also sometimes alienated Nyerere from the people and their wishes and needs, which were based on their cultural heritage.

Retrospective analysis shows how important it is that leaders recognize the power of tradition and the willingness of people, and that coercion does not lead to people's active participation. People cannot be forced to engage in development processes that are not their design. Building up a new society in the Tanzanian context of post-colonialism would be only achievable through hard work and voluntary engagements. Nyerere's charisma and leadership skills, social principles and pledge for universal human rights could not, even with political decision-making power centralized by the party, avoid the rise and continuation of corruption.

With the idea of a socialist and human economic system, the philosophy of "self-reliance" and a nationalized agrarian state, he fought against exploitation and foreign domination. His standing in Africa and in the world was extraordinary. He symbolised hope and future for many Africans and others, and he stood for unity, peace and human development. His brilliant intellect, political philosophy and overwhelming skills as politician to speak and write impressed many people from all walks of life during the critical era of the 1960s. His example as founder and "liberator" of Tanzania, and as a political leader, continues to stun many contemporaries. His most extraordinary 'historical achievement' – and not only in Africa - was his stepping down as President, voluntarily, after 25 years. He remained, however, politically influential and loved by the people for 15 years more – until his death in 1999.

From this point of retrospective, I will build a bridge to the present time in drawing conclusions; mostly from the "researchers reflections" formulated in Chapter 5. Then the question shall be asked whether Nyerere can still serve as a "role model for the 21st century",

for example to the young leaders of YLTP. Different points of view with some controversial perceptions and paradigms – i.e. ideological assessments – will be presented. As a political outlook to Africa and her political development, I will reflect on the influence of Nyerere's (legacy) on the African Union. This chapter refers to different political positions and briefly discusses the ideological foundations of the protagonists.

This research undoubtedly shows that Nyerere's perspectives on 'democracy and human rights, social development and peace and unity' are still relevant today. However, in applying some of the lessons learned through dialogue with Nyerere many challenges emerge in contemporary politics. These include the issue of economic globalisation and divergent African perspectives.

6.1. Economic Globalisation, Neo-liberalism and the African Perspective

For Nyerere, the question "what are the impacts of globalisation on Africa?" remained crucial until his passing. As long-time chairperson of the South-Commission and then of the South Centre, Nyerere was actively involved in the discussion on the consequences of the victory of capitalism on the South. He did not accept any further exploitation by global powers and called for an end to "neo-colonialism" (Nyerere in MNF, 2000:60). During his last visit to Germany in 1999 Nyerere significantly influenced the discussion about debt-cancellation for the poorest countries; he also contributed to the world-campaign "Jubilee 2000 Rally" (ibid:75-82) which finally led to the Cologne Summit and a significant cutback of debts (FES, 2002). Nyerere's undisputed ethical leadership, his influence on young people (see section 6.2.) in particular, his fearless meddling and trumpeting of his beliefs caused criticism, especially from the North.

Strong criticism of Nyerere as a leadership role model arises from the group of strict positivist scientists⁷⁰ and – more politically motivated – from the world of the neo-liberal paradigm (e.g. from IMF, WTO, World Bank). The advocates of a liberal democracy with a free-market policy in a globalised environment reject Nyerere as a role model. Neo-liberal supporters of the capitalist world order fundamentally criticise all political concepts based on socialist (or even social democratic) philosophy. They claim that Nyerere's leadership – his style and messages – are outdated and meaningless. For them there are no realistic

⁷⁰ The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English defines positivism as "a system of philosophy based on things that can be seen or proved rather than on ideas" (Crowther, 1999: 899).

alternatives to capitalism; it is “the end of history”, as the American political scientist Francis Fukuyama formulated it a few years ago, “an unabashed victory of economic and political liberalism” (Fukuyama in Jackson and Jackson, 1997:188). Since the worldwide “victory” of liberal democracy, the request for Africa to follow the good (western) example and speed up democratic development has not vanished. Questions have newly arisen about alternative approaches for economic development (Le Per, 2005). One of those questions concerned whether certain styles of democratisation and social development, such as Nyerere's in Tanzania (see section 2.2.4.), can be successful, or if they are only senseless models to delay a real poverty-eradication and democratisation in Africa. Recent critical analysis and discussions about the reliability of the “Washington Consensus”⁷¹ and its crucial impact on the developing countries fuels the search for political alternatives. The strict free-market policy led to “subordinate development to free trade” write Bullard and Chanyapate. The authors assume that the impact of ten years of WTO “on the world's poor has been overwhelmingly negative” (2005:21); they conclude their essay: “ Perhaps the most striking feature of the WTO in the last 10 years is its inability to reform, despite the hopes poor countries pin on this agenda every day in their Geneva negotiations” (ibid:34).

6.1.1. Alternative Criticism: Western Democracy versus African Democracy?

Another criticism on the "African way" comes from fundamental apologists of western democracy, multi-party policy and radical human rights activists. This stream tends to question tradition as a legitimate factor in African democracy, and to claim a globally-accepted understanding of (an absolute application of) human rights. Eager to make their idealistic point, such experts often do not adequately consider the historical, ethnographic or political contexts. Erdmann, for example, generalised his critique on Aké and Nyerere instead of considering their very different contexts and perceptions of democracy, saying,

The concept of ‘African democracy’ as presented, for instance, by one Nigerian political scientist, Claude Aké, at the beginning of the 1990s, is no more than a pared down and modernised version of Julius K. Nyerere's concept from the 1960s, which he used to justify one-party democracy. (Erdmann, 2000:1)

Erdmann does not accept the democratic legitimacy of the elections in the one-party system of Tanganyika/Tanzania just after independence. At that time, the electorate had two optional

⁷¹ “Washington Consensus” describes the political and economic vision of the three international institutions, two based in Washington: IMF, Worldbank and US-Treasury, and WTO in Geneva.

candidates for each constituency in the parliamentary elections, but all from the same party, which had the character of a national movement. He blames rightly African “despots and dictators” for the slow pace of democratic development (Erdmann, 2000) but he does not differentiate between dictator (type Idi Amin), authoritarian leader (e.g. Nkrumah) and leader with a limited democratic legitimacy like Nyerere.

Aké, on the other hand, gives a different explanation, which is shared by the researcher.

In their quest for allies in the cold war, the great powers ignored considerations of human rights in Africa and sought clients wherever they could. All this crystallized opinion against democracy in Africa. The prejudice was so strong that the question of democracy in Africa was hardly ever raised. From time to time – for instance, during the Carter administration in the United States – human rights became an issue, but never democracy. (Aké, 1996:131)

Aké also analyses the value of democratic processes in Africa, and states: “with few exceptions [democracy] has been shallow; typically, it takes the form of multiparty elections that are really more of a democratic process than a democratic outcome” (ibid:137). As mentioned earlier (section 2.1), Nyerere himself finally supported the introduction of a multi-party regime in Tanzania. He insisted on a fair chance for the emergence of new parties and their participation in the first multi-party elections in 1995 – a further example of his qualities as political leader. However, what we can currently observe in Tanzania, after one decade of multi-party politics, is an increase in the legitimate power of the ruling party (CCM), the former sole party. The CCM now holds almost 80% of the parliamentary seats. We can observe a similar tendency to a legitimate ‘one-party politics’ in South Africa, where the ruling party ANC won about 70% of the parliamentary seats in the 2004 elections. Such a monopoly in democratic development of pluralistic societies has been little researched as yet.

The crucial subject of democracy and legitimacy could be a topic for a comparative study between European and African states. A recent study of ‘Policy Making in the European Union’ (Merkel and Ostheim, 2004) reveals a certain “decay of established parties” (ibid:15). For example in Germany, “popular dissatisfaction with democratic institutions” showed an increase of 22.3 per cent “of established parties among registered voters”. Some other Western democracies have even more alarming figures: Italy (52.3), Austria (42.8), and Japan (40.4). The lowest increase (10.5 per cent) was in the Netherlands (ibid: 15)⁷². Such a strong change in acceptance of the traditional multi-party politics is probably influenced by the big changes and new challenges of globalisation. The impacts of one-sided economic

⁷² These figures compare year 1960 with 1990.

globalisation with the dynamics of capitalism, which deprives the poor countries in the South even more (section 2.2.), cannot be accepted. Young people especially show their objection to such politics of "injustice" and refuse to support the established political system or even oppose it.

6.1.2. Critical Discourse: Economic Capitalism versus Social Justice

Nyerere criticised the neo-liberal world order and economic globalisation because of their negative impact on sub-Saharan Africa. Among the consequences of economic globalisation, with its ruthless competition, is an unequal distribution of wealth, with sub-Saharan Africa ever the loser. In the "world's poorest region, 20 countries have now lower incomes per head in real terms than they had in the 1970s," reckons Anthony Giddens, the director of the London School of Economics, quoted by Allister Sparks (2003:203)⁷³. In one of his last speeches in June 1999, Nyerere expressed a similar concern and recommended caution to the new generation of African leaders, saying:

Africa has yet to liberate itself – to attain economic liberation – gaining control over, and having responsibility for, our economic development strategy and macro-economic policies, in order to be able to provide for, at least, a decent basic standard of living for all our people. Unless this is done, our political independence will always be in danger – whoever controls money, they say, also controls politics. ... I strongly believe that Africa's political independence will never be complete unless African people take in their hands the control of their economies instead of leaving them in the hands of foreign forces. (Nyerere in MNF, 2000:84)

Such a political statement reminds us of the policy of Ujamaa-socialism and the political concept of self-reliance. It was Nyerere's political programme for the independence and consolidation of a new state with free and equal people in Tanzania. The implementation of his economic policies failed in part, yes, but was he or is he therefore wrong in his analysis of the ongoing exploitation of African resources ?

Nyerere did not change much of his political vision during the course of his life; he promoted a world with more social justice; his aspiration for equality among human beings endured for his political lifetime of forty years. "That was his major problem, he did not see the reality!" comment his critics, who refuse to accept him as a role model (e.g. Lamb, 1986). On the other hand, Nyerere's supporters and admirers, many of them young Africans, honour

⁷³ International reports (UNDP 2005, Social Watch report) state that there was little improvement the last years.

especially his visionary trait, his value-oriented positions and political steadfastness, his self-confident and clear opinion. The followers liked his outspoken messages against exploitation and oppression. Nyerere called for real partnership between the North and the South and for sharing the wealth for the sake of more social justice. His supporters summarized their appreciation for him: Nyerere played a historical role for his nation and for Africa as a whole. He is reliable and highly estimated, he stands for a social alternative to economic capitalism; we can be proud of him.⁷⁴

6.2. Role Model for Young Leaders of YLTP

To further determine the relevance and value of Nyerere as role-model for present young leadership, as formulated in the objectives of this study (section 1.4.), I will have to compare the results of our analysis of the 1960s and of later years with that of present perceptions of young leaders in Tanzania. In order to 'compare' Nyerere's leadership profile with the expectations of the YLTP, I have identified the system of "good governance" as an appropriate criterion for comparison. "Good governance" refers to the internationally, widely used and applied structure to measure political performances of political actors, for example personalities (leaders, rulers), organizations (governments, religious groups, NGOs), or national or multinational institutions (companies, states, UN). UNDP's principles to measure "good governance" are: political participation, equality, basic human rights, accountability, transparency and rule of law, complemented by social responsibility (see section 2.1.).

As explained in Chapter 1, the YLTP, run by FES in Tanzania, is a small training programme that has, nevertheless, had an impact on young leaders in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda as well. It is a one-year programme, whose fourth group is currently in training (2005). YLTP I started in 2001 with 17 trainees, and YLTP II, in 2003 selected 22 trainees, with 13 of them being women. For YLTP IV out of 38 eligible trainees who attended the interviews, 22 were selected, and 10 are women (FES, 2005:8).

During a YLTP session in 2003, we, the trainer team, held a participatory workshop to develop the profile of a good leader from the trainees. The 'pictures of a good leader' we were dealing with are from the YLTP I and YLTP II. The groups were given the task to "develop a profile for a good leader" (Salles and Häussler, 2003:12). The results were striking and quite unambiguous: Nyerere is still a role model for young leaders because of his leadership skills and his ethical values as political leader of Tanzania. This analysis, however,

⁷⁴ See: Bagenda P. and Häussler P. (2003) and *New African*, August/September 2004, No 432.

does not allow generalization of the results but indicates tendencies, showing perceptions of young leaders. Methodologically, it is composed of quantitative and qualitative steps (see the process and the results of the workshop in Appendix 5).

By combining the major results of the comparison of Nyerere's leadership traits as listed in section 5.4., and his qualities as described by the students (Bagenda and Häussler, 2003) with the results of the YLTP-workshop (six 'traits of consensus' of the four groups), we have identified some interesting characteristics, showing cross-sections between the YLTP-perception and the Nyerere-perception of "good leadership":

- * Knowledgeable
- * Listener
- * Accountable
- * Decision maker
- * Self-evaluating and critical (mentioned by Nyerere and three of the groups)

Divergent characteristics that are important for "good leaders" arose from the workshop:

- * For Nyerere: to be "servant rather than master", to be "democratic"
- * For YLTP: to be "creative" and "innovative"

The comparison of the profiles does not produce significant differences in the perceptions of good leadership. On the other hand, it is interesting and informative that in the perception of good leadership neither Nyerere nor the young leaders (during the workshop) were much concerned about the importance of "economics". The economic sphere – economic policies, economic knowledge, macro-economics, free-market policy versus social market policy – or other terms of the "economic world" did not play a specific role to implicitly characterize the "good leader". Although economic topics are a prominent part of the curriculum of YLTP and several training sessions (Salles and Häussler, 2003:44), the increasing relevance of "the economy" suggests revision and special consideration in the planning and implementation of leadership trainings.

However, this small survey and exercise to compare the 'perceptions of good leadership' does not allow further general conclusions. Reliability and validity are limited and the results are not representative. It does however give clear indications about the value systems of young people and their icons and role models, particularly in Tanzania. A conclusion is that leaders have to be, foremost, knowledgeable, accountable, decisive, creative, and democratic.

A further useful exercise to deepen the knowledge about Nyerere's leadership could be to research and analyse Nyerere's economic policy of nationalization, self-reliance and import-substitution, and financing of development and poverty reduction. These topics and others, like "economic growth and social distribution" signal great actuality and high priority in the ongoing discussions about, on the one hand, real independence of Africa from the neo-colonial influence and structure, and on the other hand, the negotiations with the "big powers" (G8)⁷⁵ in order to gain advantages for NEPAD. Ben Turok, a South African MP, recently quoted the objective and principle of NEPAD as the "framework for the socio-economic renewal of Africa", which is "a vision that seeks to determine the path to self-reliant development in the context of the realities of the global order" (Turok in *New Agenda*, 17/2005:63).

6.3. Nyerere's Leadership Limitations and Requirements

As a consequence of the analysis of Nyerere's leadership perspective (see above and in Chapter 5) and the results of the comparison of the "profiles" of Nyerere and YLTP (section 6.2.), I would like to draw two major conclusions, formulated as requirements for good leadership and corresponding training activities:

Firstly, a good political leader has to be familiar with the major economic paradigms (e.g. 'free-market' versus 'social-market' policies) and with financial policies and 'realities' generated globally by the powerful multinational corporations and financial institutions, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization. To be acquainted with does not mean to accept and swallow such policies; the knowledge provides a wider repertoire of concepts and 'reaction-patterns' for the political leadership in charge of national, governmental or non-governmental policies. For the African perspective, I would like to recommend intensive research and broad political dialogue on economic and political alternatives to neo-liberal and capitalist mainstream development policies that "lead" the world presently. Further discussion of socialist and social democratic concepts and programmes and a reading of alternative global approaches of political and economic concepts could be stimulating for young leaders. Nyerere would probably agree that such knowledge is basic for a critical analysis of our situation under globalisation and increasing poverty in the world.

⁷⁵ G8 : Group of eight powerful industrialized Western countries, USA, Canada, UK, Japan, France, Italy, Germany and Russia

Secondly, a good political leader has to acknowledge that there is no viable or realistic alternative to democracy, a participation-based (pluralistic) political system that allows the people (interest groups) to be actively involved in all political, economic and cultural issues or affairs. Political freedom as a principle will also publicly allow the opposition, e.g. in political parties, to strive for political room, to gain power and to substitute the government in office if the electorate so decides. Presently, the accepted democratic model is the multi-party system, with at least two different political parties competing – the one in power and the opposition party. Unlike Nyerere's time and his political reality in the 1960s, nowadays in Africa, having as reference the year 2004, there are no countries that are consolidated democratic states that are not based on standards of pluralism and human rights, and are not multi-party systems (see Section 2.1). Even Tanzania's close neighbour and partner in the East African Community, Uganda, which until now favoured a one-party system – 'the movement' – shows public signs of revoking the ban on multiple political parties and of joining the club of multi-party democracies. The influence of Western partners, particularly the USA, on Uganda, speeded up the process of adaptation to international standards of 'good governance' policy. Moreover, numerous national political groups (NGOs, Human Rights groups, former political parties) and many highly-respected personalities of Ugandan's public life are openly favouring and claiming the reintroduction of a multi-party system. It is hoped that after the end of the civil war of the Lord's Resistance Army and their cruel rebel leader Kony against the policy and government of Yoweri Museveni, the political reform and reintroduction of multi-party politics will be realized.

The newly-founded African institutions and bodies, such as the African Union (AU), NEPAD, the Pan African Parliament (PAP) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) are all – in spirit and in practice – committed to the international principles of democracy and good governance (see Section 2.1) adopted by the United Nations, even if the African "new terminologies" are slightly different from the international ones expressed by Adebajo Adedeji in 2003 (Adedeji, 2003:52–53). Meanwhile, in 2005, the discourse "adaptation" is completed; and the Pan-African Parliament has accepted the UN-terminology and its interpretation (Mongella in New Agenda, 17/2005). This is a further step forward on the agenda for global partnership (see below section 6.4.). One could argue that the "speed" of adaptation could be interpreted as an act of 'submission' to the 'big powers', which would consequently limit the newly won 'liberty' of the African Union as a powerful organisation on the search for alternative African perspectives.

6.4. African Union – A Renaissance of Nyerere's Legacy?

If we look into the political concept and the implementation process of the African Union we reckon some achievements in the challenge of unifying and coordinating such a diverse political “patchwork” like Africa. To pick up and compete economically with other continents – be it Asia or Latin America or the West – Africa has to speed up in her economic and social development and in other sectors of the political realm, like in the field of human rights and human security. Onyegu, who is sceptical that the transformation from OAU to AU will carry many fruitful changes for the people of Africa, made one exception. He states that “one institution does have relevance for the quest for a new space for human rights and democracy in Africa: the African Human Rights Court” (Onyegu in Windfuhr:217). This court is a “carry-over from the OAU” (ibid:218) which could – if one day in place - become “a rich source material for courts in national jurisdictions when dealing with human rights cases” (ibid:219).

In his study about the transition from “OAU to AU” Onyegu refers also to NEPAD, which he – in quoting Prof. Eze, an NEPAD expert– interprets critically, because it does not deliver after three years of existence and still has unclear objectives. It “does not effectively encourage transparency and accountability, ... (or) gender as a central component of development and...the Peer Review Mechanism ... is weak “ (ibid:221). Onyegu summarizes his criticism: “it is neoliberalism at its best”. Onyega claims more “urgent actions”, responsibility and good governance from African leaders before they ask for international financial support. “Unless some urgent actions are taken, it will go the way of all the other initiatives that have preceded it. Africans deserve a better deal from their leadership”, concludes Onyega (ibid:221). This call for “African leadership responsibility” reminds us of Nyerere and his last speeches.

The results of this study of Nyerere’s perspective of leadership show clearly the existence of a close correlation between Nyerere’s view and the picture of a good leader drawn by young political leaders in Tanzania (YLTP). Evidence is given and it is proved that Nyerere is a role model for young political leaders, probably not only in Tanzania. During a conference on “Youth and Democracy in Africa”⁷⁶ in Norway in 2003, for example, an

⁷⁶ Organized by World Voices Norway in Oslo on 8 -10 August 2003; a resolution on leadership (draft) “Action Declaration on Youth and Democracy in Africa” has been released by the participants.

African initiative formulated principles for "good leadership"⁷⁷ similar to the YLTP's, which correspond widely to Nyerere's traits (except for "neutral/impartial" which was not Nyerere's trait and, to me, it is a pure fiction in political life).

Some interesting questions arise from this study, in dealing with an outstanding and responsible African leader and his contribution to political and social development in Africa. I formulate only a few of such questions and tentatively indicate possible answers. A new study would be needed to adequately answer these questions.

What kind of role can Nyerere's legacy play for the political leadership in the contemporary African discussion about development? Can he, as historical personality and with his view of good leadership, fit into the new reality of the African Union and NEPAD? Is Nyerere, the African sage, perhaps idealized and transfigured? Are Nyerere's political messages and political programmes outdated, or do they have relevance for the ongoing debate about the African way of coping with globalisation and increasing poverty in sub-Saharan Africa?

6.4.1. Ethical Leadership and Development of Self-Reliance

Some examples in public political discussions and in African recent literature validate Nyerere's view of good leadership and his ethical attitude and human approach as a model for present times (see e.g. *New African* and *New Agenda*). For example, in 2001 a group of twenty-five prominent African citizens (co-ordinated by Prof. Albert Tevodjre from Benin) was mandated as the UNDP's independent commission on the Third Millennium for Africa, to formulate a vision for African development. Part of their work was to bestow a 'Nobel Prize' for ethical conduct in public service. The commission recommended that the award be named after former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, justifying their decision by Nyerere's achievements as an ethically outstanding African leader. The *Tanzanian Daily News* writes about this project:

By all accounts Julius Nyerere, who served as President of Tanzania for 23 years, was a leader untainted by corruption (although he would be less favourably remembered for his economic policies). His rise to prominence is an inspiration to Africa's young. ... He was, of course, a man highly regarded not only in his country ... What a fitting tribute a Nyerere prize for ethics in public service would be to exceptionally high ethical standards! (April 17, 2001)

⁷⁷ Good leadership: "honest, keep promises (accountability), ..., work for people, thus also him/herself, good listener, responsible, neutral/impartial, have authority/power, have a vision, charisma (can also be abused, as with Sese Seko Mubutu), peaceful"

In the African contemporary political discussion about adequate development, value-oriented and ethical concepts – such as the policy of self-reliance – gain new momentum. In connection with a critical review of NEPAD's role and achievements, John Ohiorhenuan⁷⁸, indirectly confirms the dire need for a new socio-economic policy of self-reliance. In his article 'NEPAD and the Dialectics of African Under-Development', he paid tribute to the late Professor Bade Onimode, a renowned protagonist of such an alternative policy, which dates back to the seventies (*New Agenda*, 7/2002: 9–27). Recent comments from representatives of African Union, APRM and the Pan-African Parliament confirm or even strengthen the objective of self-reliance in a new African context framed within the principles of good governance. Gertrude Mongella, the President of the Pan-African Parliament, at the occasion of a German-African conference⁷⁹, quotes in her keynote address, "two founding fathers of the African nations", to make her point clear. First Kwame Krumah, who said:

If we are to remain free, if we are to enjoy the full benefits of Africa's rich resources, we must unite to plan for our total defence and full exploitation of our material and human means in the full interest of our peoples. To go it alone will limit our horizon, curtail our expectations and threaten our liberty.

Then Mongella refers to Nyerere who developed the concept of self-reliance in the 1960s:

Julius Nyerere of Tanzania further defined development in terms of a struggle to eliminate poverty, diseases and ignorance by using land, people, good governance and leadership for self-reliance. The seeds of good governance were planted since that time; it is now that we are watering them. (Mongella in *New Agenda*, 1/2005:60)

Nyerere's messages are not outdated; the contrary seems to be the case. Educational projects and training programmes for girls and boys, women and men are mushrooming in Africa. Nyerere's policy strategy of "education for all" is higher than ever on the African agenda; universal primary education as a Millennium Development Goal (MDG) is a further cornerstone in honour of Mwalimu Nyerere, the teacher. Educational institutions inside Tanzania, such as the University of Dar es Salaam, disseminate his life-work and knowledge in programmes and training courses. Interestingly, this also happens outside Tanzania: other renowned universities – the University of Western Cape in South Africa, as an example, remember Mwalimu Nyerere, propagate his knowledge and honour him in seminars,

⁷⁸ John Ohiorhenuan. Resident Representative of the United Nations Development Programme in South Africa, writing in *New Agenda*, 7/2002:9–27.

⁷⁹ Conference "Good Governance in sub-Saharan Africa", October 21-22, 2004 in Berlin.

publications and annual lectures. Recently, the University of Western Cape praised Nyerere as educator and invited the public to the Inaugural Julius Nyerere Annual Lecture on Lifelong Learning. "One of Africa's most respected figures, Julius Nyerere (1922–1999) was a politician of principle and intelligence. Known as Mwalimu or teacher he had a vision of education that was rich with possibility". (Mail & Guardian, 3 to 9 September 2004)

6.4.2. Search for a New Global Human Philosophy

Coping with our global problems, specifically with the burden of African problems, is not possible unless political leadership is committed – not only to the values and principles of 'good governance', but also to a new global human philosophy. We, human beings will be in the centre of theoretical and practical concern of politics. Education has to be the key for development, and self-confidence and trust in the human capability will prosper. This would enhance the readiness of women and men to actively participate in all spheres of lives. People will learn and want to share, and 'solidarity' will flow from the demonstration-banners into the hearts and the brains...

Further interesting contributions for a new global advancement is the "communitarian approach to the emerging global society" (Etzioni, 2005:127). Etzioni's concept focuses on the global need for "affective bonds and moral norms" (ibid:127) and puts the crucial question about sharing values and the wealth. He asks "whether shared values can and do develop on a transnational level and whether they may promote a willingness to resolve differences in a peaceful manner and foster decisions that make substantial sacrifices for people of other [rich] nations" (ibid:134). Etzioni recommends as framework a set of norms of the UN Declaration: the human rights. Despite the great differences in the present interpretation of rights within the nation-states, he analysis a significant minimum consensus, which strengthens the possibility and validity of human rights as common norms. "Very few leaders and opinion makers, as well as groups within the attentive public, outright deny the validity of human rights...Even totalitarian leaders tend to explain why they do not heed these rights yet or why they do not heed them more fully,..., but these leaders do not deny their validity"(ibid:135).

If such a paradigm, based on human rights, one day prevails, it could contribute to more social justice and a fairer partnership between the North and the South. Leadership could be based on the acceptance of and compliance with the letter and the spirit of the conventions on

human and civil rights. Politics should then be based more on democratic principles and ethical belief which would contribute to peaceful conflict resolution worldwide.

Leadership vision should be embedded in a spirit of cooperation, despite the numerous pressing differences and contradictory interests in the world. Politics of domination and oppression can only lead to more of the violence and destruction we experience today – terror as a cruel spiral of deadly despair. Only real and responsible leadership, as Nyerere demonstrated, particularly in the 1960s, at all levels of political activities can break the vicious circle. The increasingly democratic network of political movements worldwide and the growing critical electorate holds the power for change.

Political leaders should be measured and judged more critically on the basis of their deeds, and less on their talks and promises. Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere is still a good example of a leader who loved the 'truth' and served his people in order to attain human dignity for all. Nyerere, despite his mistakes and weaknesses, was an outstanding leader, was committed to human rights, and still is a role model for young leaders, as we found out. For the African Union and NEPAD, he will probably remain an excellent example of an African leader, who showed leadership in most difficult times. And the times for Africa and the African Union are equally difficult: the transformation from the decolonisation to regional economic integration, ready for the global competition. This is a serious task, which needs African leadership and international assistance, enabling the people to tackle the problems of poverty and guaranteeing development in a spirit of human rights.

6.5 A Short Epilogue

The study that I, the researcher, have accomplished is all about Nyerere and leadership, and his concern about the future. His view, or the perception of his view, will surely interest many more researchers and many more young, committed and curious political leaders. Some of them will be worried about democratic development in Tanzania and in Africa as a whole. Of that there is no doubt. My humble contribution may be for some readers a welcome sidelong glance or even an inspiration. Others will call it an undesirable intervention: Africa is for the Africans, the leadership issue is an African one...

I listen and think about what Mwalimu would have said. I hear him saying:

The primary responsibility for the development of Africa rests on the African. Any support should only supplement those efforts of the people of the countries of Africa. If there has to be any kind of cooperation, this should be based on mutual benefit and not on the basis of

exploitation. Let us all join hands in saving Africa from further exploitation. (Nyerere in MNF, 2000:88, held in 1999)

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www.socialistgroup.org
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Appendix 1

Nyerere's Leadership Speeches and Articles

(process of selection)

A: First Selection: 63 +2 speeches (12.3.03)

Nyerere. Freedom and Unity. 1st volume and others...

1. 1959, 19. March. *Five TANU Ministers*, (2p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. 1966 (1)
2. 59, September. *Human Rights – PAFMECA Conference*, (3p.). Moshi, Tanganyika. 1966 (1)
3. 60, February. *Africa's Place in the World*, (17p.). Wellesley College, Massa. USA. 2000 (2)
4. 60, 17. May. *Corruption as an Enemy of the People*, (4p.). Dar es Salaam, Tangan. 1966 (1)
5. 1961. *The African and Democracy*, (4p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. 1966 (1)
6. 61, 01. May. *Broadcast on Becoming Prime Minister*, (2p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. 1966 (1)
7. 61, June. *The Future of Africa*, (2p.). Natal, South Africa. 1966 (1)
8. 61, 01. August. *The Functions of Leadership*, (2p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. 1966 (1)
9. 61, 18. October. *The Principles of Citizenship*, (4p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. 1966 (1)
10. 61, 25. October. *Education and Law*, (3p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. 1966 (1)
11. 61, 14. December. *Independence Address to the UN*, (13p.). New York, USA. 1966 (1)
12. 62, 22. January. *Resignation as Prime Minister*, (2p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. 1966 (1)
13. 62, 28. June. *Importance of a National Ethic*, (2p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. 1966 (1)
14. 62, 10. December. *President's Inaugural Address*, (12p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. 1966 (1)
15. 63, 07. July. *Pomposity*, (4p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. 1966 (1)
16. 63, 09. December. *Republic day Broadcast*, (6p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. 1966 (1)
17. 64, 25. April. *The Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar*, (2p.). Dar es Salaam, Tangan. 1966 (1)
18. 64, 20. July. *African Unity-OAU Cairo*, (5p.). Cairo, Egypt. 1966 (1)
19. 64, 21. August. *Opening of the University College Campus*, (11p.). DeS, Tanzania. 1966 (1)
20. 64, 15. October. *Young Peoples' Training Centre*, (2p.). Masasi, Tanzania. 1966 (1)
21. 65, 26. April. *Frugality*, (2p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1966 (1)

Nyerere. Freedom and Socialism. 2nd volume and others...

22. 65, 08. June. *Dissolving the Independent Parliament*, (15p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanza. 1968 (3)
23. 65, 16. August. *Unemployment is no Problem*, (2p.). Moshi, Tanzania. 1968 (3)
24. 65, 10. September. *Election Broadcast*, (7p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1968 (3)
25. 65, 12. October. *Opening of the New Assembly*, (18p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1968 (3)
26. 65, 07. December. *The Judiciary and the People*, (6p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1968 (3)

27. 66, February. *Leaders Must Not be Masters*, (7p.). Mafia, Zanzibar. 1968 (3)
28. 66, 13. June. *The Tanzania Economy*, (18p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1968 (6)
29. 66, June. *Principles and Development*, (20p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1968 (3)
30. 66, 27. August. *The Power of Teachers*, (6p.). Morogoro, Tanzania. 1968 (3)
31. 67, January. *The Arusha Declaration: Socialism and Self Reliance*, (20p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanz. 1968 (3)
32. 67, March. *Education for Self Reliance*, (24p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1968 (3)
33. 67, 05. August. *The Purpose is Man*, (12p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1968 (3)
34. 67, 16. August. *Zambia and Tanzania*, (7p.). Zambia. 1968 (3)
35. 67, October. *Policy on Foreign Affairs*, (18p.). Mwanza, Tanzania. 1968 (3)
36. 67, 17. October. *After the Arusha Declaration*, (25p.). Mwanza, Tanzania. 1968 (3)

Nyerere. Freedom and Development. 3. volume and others...

37. 68, 01. January. *A Peaceful New Year to Diplomats*. (4p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1974 (4)
38. 68, 01. January. *Implementation of Rural Socialism*, (7p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1973 (5)
39. 68, 07. June. *The Party Must Speak for the People – Uganda Peoples Congress*, (5p.). Uganda. 1974 (4)
40. 68, 18. June. *The Supremacy of the People*, (5p.). Peking, China. 1973 (5)
41. 68, October. *Freedom & Development – Policy Booklet*, (17p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1974 (4)
42. 68, 09. December. *Things We Must Correct*, (8p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1973 (5)
43. 69, 31. December. *Adult Education Year*, (5p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1973 (5)
44. 70. *A Survey of Socialist Progress*, (9p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1973 (5)
45. 70, 06. July. *Arusha Declaration Parliament*, (17p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1973 (5)
46. 70, 29. August. *Relevance and Dar es Salaam University*, (12p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1973 (5)
47. 70, 15. October. *UN General Assembly, 25th Anniversary*, (21p.) New York, USA. 1973 (5)
48. 70, 24. October. *Choosing A Representative*, (4p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1974 (4)
49. 71, 31. March. *The Relationship between Socialism and Law*, (3p.). DeSalaam, Tanzania. 1973 (5)
50. 71, September. *Ten Years After Independence*, (74p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1973 (5)
51. 72, May. *Decentralization*, (7p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1973 (5)
52. 72, 03. June. *After the Peace Commission*, (17p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1973 (5)
53. 72, 21. August. *All Men are Equal*, (5p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1974 (1)
54. 72, November. *A Call to European Socialists*, (5p.). Fabian Society of Britain. 1973 (5)
55. 85, 21. May. *A Speech at FES Bonn*, (8p.). Bonn, Germany 1985 (7)
56. 96, 10. March. *African Unity and True Independence*, (3p.). Abuja, Nigeria. 2000 (2)
57. 96, 04. June. *Education and Development in Africa*, (6p.). 2000 (2)
58. 96, 14. September. *Peace, Unity and People Centred Dev. In Africa*, (5p.). DsS, Tanz. 2000 (2)
59. 97, 03. June. *A New Africa*, (4p.). London, England. 2000 (2)
60. 97, 06. June. *Africa Today and Tomorrow*, (6p.). London, England. 2000 (2)
61. 97, 16. October. *Collective Self Reliance Africa's Only Future Hope*, (12p.). South Africa. 2000 (2)

62. 97, 17. October. *Peace, Unity & Justice*, (5p.). Johannesburg, South Africa. 2000 (2)
 63. 99, 16. May. *Money and Politics*, (6p.). California, USA. 2000 (2)

Note: The last numbers in brackets (in each line) reflects the number of the book/publication from which an article/speech has been retrieved. Below you will find the list of publications with their respective numbers.

1. Nyerere: Freedom and Unity/Uhuru na Umoja, A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1952-1965. Oxford University Press, Tanzania 1966. (1)
2. Africa Today and Tomorrow. Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation (MNF), Tanzania 2000. (2)
3. Nyerere: Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Ujamaa; A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1965-1967. Oxford University Press, Tanzania 1968. (3)
4. Nyerere: Freedom and Development/Uhuru na Maendeleo; A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1968-1973. Oxford University Press, Tanzania 1973. (4)
5. Nyerere: Man and Development. Oxford University Press, Tanzania 1974. (5)
6. Presidents Report to the TANU Conference, September, Tanzania 1973. (6)
7. Nyereres' Speech at the FES Bonn 21st May 1985: FES, Germany 1985. (7)
8. Nyerere: Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania. African Publishing Group, Tanzania 1995. (8)

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64. 100, 91, August. *Forword*, (8p), in Museveni (1992). What is Africa's Problem? Uganda.
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B: Content Analysis: 15. March 2004

- Sampling: "systematically selecting cases for inclusion in a research project" (Neuman, 1997)
- Selection of speeches: random sampling/systematic sampling (simple s., selected element not returned)
- Population (pre-selected out of 99 speeches) : 63 speeches (sampling frame)
- Random start (blindly pointed at the random number table, Nr 54435; witness: Valeria S.-H.)
- Sampling interval: 7; ratio: 9: 63= 0.143

The randomly selected speeches on the sampling frame: Nr 42, 49, 56, 63, 7, 14, 21, 28, 35, 43; nr 63 has been hand-picked as one of three basic speeches (3, 63, 67).

Selected speeches (9 randomly + 4 hand-picked, H-P = 13)

- H-P: 60, February. *Africa's Place in the World*, (17p.). Wellesley College, Massachusetts, USA. 2000 (2)
 7. 61, June. *The Future of Africa*, (2p.). Natal, South Africa. 1966 (1)
 14. 62, 10 December. *President's Inaugural Address*, (12p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. 1966 (1)
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 35. 67, October. *Policy on Foreign Affairs*, (18p.). Mwanza, Tanzania. 1968 (3)

42. 68, 09 December. *Things we must Correct*, (8p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1973 (5)
 43. 69, 31 December. *Adult Education Year*, (5p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1973 (5)
 49. 71, 31 March. *The Relationship between Socialism and Law*, (3p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1973 (5)
 56. 96, 10 March. African Unity and True Independence, (3p.). Abuja, Nigeria. 2000 (2)
 63 H-P: Intern. 99, 16 May. Money and Politics, (6p.). California, USA. 2000 (2)
 67 H-P: Tz., 87, 5 February. Self-Government is Self-Reliance, 20th Anniversary of Arusha Declaration and 10th Anniversary of Chama cha Ma (25p), Dodoma. (8)
 H-P: Intern. 87. 2 October. Inauguration Chairman South Commission, (8p), Geneva

Further texts:

- 79, 12 February. Unity for a New Order. Address to the Ministerial Conference of the Group of 77. Arusha, Tanzania.
 97, 6. March. Speech in Accra on the occasion of Ghana's 40th independence anniversary, New African, 2000, No.381, 28-31

C: Final selection of eight speeches (all from 1960s): July 2004

Speeches: 8 from 1960s selected (7 randomly selected, 1 hand-picked, H-P)

- H-P: Intern. 1960, February. Africa's Place in the World, (17p.). Wellesley College, Massachusetts, USA. 2000 (2)
 7. 61, June. The Future of Africa, (2p.). Natal, South Africa. 1966 (1)
 14. 62, 10 December. President's Inaugural Address, (12p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. 1966 (1)
 21. 65, 26 April. Frugality, (2p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1966 (1)
 28. 66, 13 June. The Tanzania Economy, (18p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1968 (6)
 35. 67, October. Policy on Foreign Affairs, (18p.). Mwanza, Tanzania. 1968 (3)
 42. 68, 09 December. Things we must Correct, (8p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1973 (5)
 43. 69, 31 December. Adult Education Year, (5p.). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 1973 (5)

Appendix 2

Nyerere's Ujamaa – Socialism (excerpt)

The following quotations, selected by the researcher, are chronological excerpts from the 30-page booklet *Nyerere on Socialism* (Nyerere, 1968:2–32).

“*Ujamaa* is Tanzanian Socialism.

“What does socialism mean for us? How can we move towards it?

“By the use of the word ‘*Ujamaa*’ therefore, we state that for us socialism involves building on the foundation of our past, and building also to our own design. We are not importing a foreign ideology into Tanzania and trying to smother our distinct social patterns with it. We have deliberately decided to grow, as a society, out of our own roots, but in a particular direction and towards a particular kind of objective. We are doing this by emphasizing certain characteristics of our traditional organization, and extending them so that they can embrace the possibilities of modern technology and enable us to meet the challenge of life in the twentieth century world.

“There is no reason why a dozen fully socialist societies should not have a dozen different methods of organizing themselves, a dozen different sets of customs relating to social intercourse, and a dozen different styles of political address and description. It is by no means necessary to call people ‘comrade’ in order to be socialist; it is not necessary to insist upon [only] a civil marriage ceremony in a socialist society; it is by no means certain that a centralized economy is an inherent part of socialist organization.

“First, and most central of all, is that under socialism Man is the purpose of all social activity. The service of man, the furtherance of his human development, is in fact the purpose of society itself. There is no other purpose above this; no glorification of ‘nation’, no increase in production – nothing is more central to a socialist society than an acceptance that Man is its justification for existence.

“The word ‘man’ to a socialist, means all men – all human beings. Male and female; black, white, brown, yellow; long-nosed and short-nosed; educated and uneducated; wise and stupid; strong and weak; all these, and all other distinctions between human beings, are

irrelevant to the fact that all members of society – all human beings who are its purpose – are equal.

“The existence of racialism, of tribalism, or of religious intolerance, means that a society is not socialist – regardless of whatever other attributes it may have. A society in which all men are of equal account will probably be socialist, because socialist organization is really the means by which the diversity of mankind is harnessed to the common benefit of all men.

“Democracy is another essential characteristic of a socialist society. For the people's equality must be reflected in the political organization; everyone must be an equal participant in the government of his society. Whatever devices are used to implement this principle, the people (meaning all the members of the society equally) must be sovereign, and they must be able to exert their sovereignty without causing a breakdown of the law and order, or of the administration in their society. There must, in other words, be some mechanisms by which the people exert their will peacefully, and achieve changes in the laws which govern them; they must be able to change the personnel in positions of leadership within the framework of the normal workings of the social system. It is difficult to see how this could be achieved without the existence of some system of free elections if the society is so large that direct democracy (the direct government by all the people) is impossible. But elections are not the beginning and end of democracy. 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 the power to exert effective control over those sectors of the social organization for which they have been given responsibility.

“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.

“A socialist society, therefore, will consist of workers – and only of workers. Every member will contribute by his work, to the total of wealth and welfare produced by the society, and he will receive a return in proportion to his efforts and his contribution to the wellbeing of the community.

“It follows from this that in a socialist society there will be no exploitation of one man by another. There will be no ‘masters’ who sit in idleness while others labour on ‘their’ farms or in ‘their’ factories. Nor will there be too great a degree of inequality between the incomes of different members of the society. It is arguable that an especially clever man, or an

especially hard-working man, contributes more to the society than one who does not have these qualities, and that he is therefore entitled to receive greater remuneration. But can any one man do the work which is 100 [a hundred] times more valuable than that of another?

“A man who cheats his fellows by dishonesty, who fails to do a full day’s work, or who fails to co-operate with his fellows because he wants to bolster his own personal interests, is exploiting other men. Society has as much a right, and a duty, to prevent these kinds of exploitation as it has to prevent the exploitation which arises from individual ownership of the means of production and exchange.

“Control in this context does not only mean regulation in the negative sense of stopping people from doing certain things. It also means the power to do positive things – to expand a factory, to build a new one in a particular place, to invest in a risky enterprise, etc. It seems almost certain that this will normally involve public ownership at least of the key points of the economy, and one would therefore expect a socialist society to be distinguished from a non-socialist society in this matter of ownership of the economy. Obviously this does not preclude private ownership of the things which pertain to the individual worker, or to the family. Such a suggestion is simply put forward to frighten the timid men and to mislead those trying to find an alternative to the social evils of capitalism.

“Similarly, a family can own the house in which it lives, the furniture and equipment which increase the comfort of its members, and so on. The question of public ownership arises when men have to co-operate together in the pursuit of a particular objective. When the tool has to be used by two men it must be owned equally; when the product is necessary for the decent life of others they must be involved in the control over it.

“There is another bogeyman which is used to frighten people, and that is the suggestion that individual freedom does not exist under socialism. The purpose of socialism is to enlarge the real freedom of man, to expand his opportunity of living in dignity and well-being. An obviously essential part of this is that the laws of the society shall be known, be applied equally, and that people shall not be subject to arbitrary arrest, or persecution by the servants of the society. The Rule of Law is a part of socialism; until it prevails, socialism does not prevail. By itself the Rule of Law does not bring socialism; but you cannot have socialism without it, because it is the expression of man’s equality in one facet of social living.

“Both before and since the Arusha Declaration, the Government and Party in Tanzania have been emphasizing the need to increase output – to increase the production of wealth. We

shall continue to do this, because in our circumstances an increase in the amount of goods produced and available for social services, for distribution, and for investment, is a socialist purpose. Our country is bedevilled by its present poverty; people are sick, ignorant, and live in very poor conditions, because we do not produce enough wealth to be able to eradicate these evils. We have to increase our production of goods if we are to enable everyone to live in conditions of human dignity.

“The purpose of production must always be the greater well-being of man; goods must be produced because they are useful and make life better. To Tanzanians that looks very obvious; indeed, most Tanzanian citizens may wonder what I am talking about, because it is so obvious that extra food, bricks, roofing, ovens, chairs, tables, beds, clothing, and so on and so on, will make life better. Yet we are still in danger of being attracted by the idea of ‘wealth’ as represented by all the consumer goods we see advertised in foreign magazines (and even Tanzanian ones), or in the films, etc. We are still in danger of accepting the idea that the greatest production of consumer goods is the criterion by which a nation, or an economic system, should be judged. Advertisements to promote the sale of such things are a normal part of capitalist society; their newspapers, television, etc. make every attempt to suggest to people that they will be ‘old-fashioned’ if they do not acquire the object in question.

“A socialist will not be impressed by such values, nor even by the talk of people ‘exercising their freedom as consumers’, if, at the same time as these things are being produced and sold, other human values are being ignored or sacrificed. For the incredible thing is that in the same countries which encourage this kind of ‘market creation’, other people are living in conditions of great poverty, educational facilities are starved of funds, and completely free hospital care for everyone is said to be too expensive for the community to bear!

“In a socialist society, therefore, man as a consumer is not ‘king’. Instead man is recognized as a human being who desires human dignity, who is a consumer both privately and socially, and who is also a producer. Under a socialist society men come together to try and organize the community in which they live so that all their different needs and all their co-operative social values are considered, with priority being given to those which are most urgent – but without any being destroyed.

“The fact that socialism is concerned with all aspects of man’s life in society does not mean that man as an individual ceases to exist. Every person is unique; there are some things which are, and which must be, private to himself.

“Once a man has fulfilled his responsibilities to society, it is nothing to do with socialism whether he spends his spare time painting, dancing, writing poetry, playing football, or just sitting. Nor is it any business of socialism if an individual is, or is not, inspired in his daily life by a belief in God, nor if he does, or does not, attend a place of religious worship – or pray elsewhere.

“This means that socialism cannot require that its adherents be atheists. There is not the slightest necessity for people to study metaphysics and decide whether there is one God, or many Gods, or no God, before they can be socialist. It is not necessary to try and decide whether there is an after-life, or what kind, before you can be a socialist.

“What matters in socialism and to socialists is that you should care about a particular kind of social relationship on this earth. Why you care is your own affair. There is nothing incompatible between socialism and Christianity, Islam, or any other religion which accepts the equality of man on earth.

“There is, however, an apparent tendency among certain socialists to try and establish a new religion – a religion of socialism itself. This is usually called ‘scientific socialism’ and the works of Marx and Lenin are regarded as the holy writ in the light of which all other thoughts and actions of socialists have to be judged.

“It is no part of the job of a socialist in 1968 to worry about whether or not his actions or proposals are in accordance with what Marx or Lenin wrote, and it is a waste of time and energy to spend hours – if not months and years – trying to prove that what you have decided is objectively necessary is really in accordance with their teachings.

“Speaking generally, and despite the existence of a few feudalistic communities, traditional Tanzanian society had many socialist characteristics. The people did not call themselves socialists and they were not socialists by deliberate design. But all people were workers, there was no living off the sweat of others. There was no very great difference in the amount of goods available to the different members of the society. All these are socialist characteristics. Despite the low level of material progress, traditional African society was in practice organized on a basis which was in accordance with socialist principles.

“For example, a study of the work of past socialist thinkers and of history and economics appears to have led some people to argue that Tanzania can only become socialist if it first goes through the stage of capitalism. Yet it is difficult to believe that they thought about the objective conditions of this country when coming to this conclusion. (It is also difficult to believe that they understand the principles of socialism – the attitude of mind it requires!) Certainly Tanzania was part of the Western capitalist world while it was under colonial domination, but it was very much on the fringe. Certainly our independent nation inherited a few capitalist institutions, and some of our people adopted capitalist and individualistic ideas as a result of their education or their envy of the colonial representatives whom they encountered. But the masses of the people did not become capitalist, and are not filled with capitalist ideas. Under these circumstances what would be the sense in working to create capitalism, with all the individualism, social aggressiveness, and human indignities which it involves?

“In 1965 Tanzania adopted its own form of democracy – we rejected the Western model and said it was not appropriate for our circumstances despite the fact that all our constitutional development had until then been based on it.

“For in rejecting the idea that we had to follow the ‘Westminster model’ if we wanted to be democratic, we had also overcome the psychological need to have a certificate of approval from the West in relation to our political system. We did not reject this idea of an accolade from the West because we were critical of the political systems operating in Western countries. On the contrary, there was much that we admired in them, and we learned a great deal from them. But we acted as intelligent and thoughtful citizens of Tanzania who wanted democracy to be a continuing reality in our own country.

“It is not intelligent to reject an accolade from the West on democracy in order to seek one from the East on socialism. Socialism is about people, and people are the products of their history, education, and environment.

“To say that Tanzania does not need certificates of approval from this country or that does not mean that we cannot learn from non-Tanzanians. This kind of automatic rejection of something because it is said by an American or a Chinese, or done in Britain or Poland, is as much a reflection of an inferiority complex as the automatic acceptance of what they say or do.

“Why should Tanzania not learn from the agricultural communes of China? Their experience could promote thought and ideas about our own rural organization, provided that we go to learn, and proceed to think – not to copy. Agricultural organization, rural transformation, adult education, are all problems we have to deal with in Tanzania; why should we not study the techniques used by other men to see if they could usefully be adapted to meet our needs, or if they provide a clue to the solution of a difficulty we are experiencing? Nor do we have to confine our attention to development in communist countries. The co-operative settlements of Israel, the co-operative organizations of Denmark and Sweden, have all accumulated great experience which we could learn from.

“We in Tanzania are a part of mankind. We have to take our place in the world. We would be stupid to reject everything or everyone coming out of the West because that 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 own needs, and then to consider other experiences and other suggestions in the light of our requirements.

“Socialism does not spring ready-made out of the womb of violence. Even the most successful and popular revolution inevitably leaves behind it a legacy of bitterness, suspicion and hostility between members of the society. A violent revolution may make the introduction of socialist institutions easier; it makes more difficult the development of the socialist attitudes which give life to these institutions.

“Violence itself is the opposite of a socialist characteristic. Brigands can govern by violence and fear; dictatorships can establish themselves and flourish. Socialism cannot be imposed in this way, for it is based on equality. It denies the right of any individual or any small minority, to say, ‘I know and the others are fools who must be led like sheep.’ Leadership can be given – and indeed must be given – in a socialist state. But it must be the people’s leadership, which they accept because ultimately they control it. Socialist leadership is of the people; it cannot be imposed by force or tyranny.

“Yet in Tanzania the great mass campaigns of the 1950s and early 1960s were for independence. We campaigned against colonialism, against foreign domination. We did not campaign against capitalism or for socialism. Creating still more difficulties was the fact that the colonialism we fought against was that of a people who happened to be of a different

racial group than ourselves. It was fatally easy to identify the thing you were fighting against as a people of this other race – the Europeans. It is true that we in Tanzania campaigned on the grounds of human equality; that has helped us. But the problem Africa knew was that of discrimination against the African majority. We therefore asked, ‘Why are there no African District Commissioners, administrators, supervisors, secretaries, etc.?’ and often this was transposed into, ‘Why are there European or Asian this and that?’ Humanity took second place in this struggle very often; even when political leaders said on public platforms and elsewhere that they would never countenance reverse discrimination after independence, this was sometimes interpreted as a manoeuvre designed to avoid the heavy hand of the colonial authority!

“The leaders could therefore receive applause if they replaced white, or brown, capitalists by black ones. Capitalism was the system which the masses knew in the modern sector, and what they had been fighting against was that this modern sector should be in alien hands. It was not only the masses who looked upon things in this way; many leaders of the independence struggle themselves saw things in these terms. They were not against capitalism; they simply wanted its fruits, and saw independence as the means to that end.

“Such leaders as these may well identify the progress they have promised the people with the increasing wealth of the few; they will point to African-owned large cars and luxurious houses, and so on, as evidence of growing prosperity and of their own devotion to the cause of national independence. It was on this basis, for example, that some Tanzanian leaders criticized the Arusha Declaration. They said that leadership qualifications prevented Africans from becoming landowners and businessmen, while Asians and Europeans could continue in these fields as they had done before independence. This public acceptance of African capitalism will be obtained because the people have learned to trust their nationalist leaders, and will wish to honour them. Also there will inevitably be new jobs and opportunities for a good number of the most active, vocal and intelligent of those who might otherwise have led criticism.

“It is comparatively easy to get independence from a colonial power – especially one which claims to base its national morality on the principles of freedom and democracy. Everyone wants to be free, and the task of a nationalist is simply to rouse the people to a confidence in their own power of protest. But to build the real freedom which socialism represents is a very different thing. It demands a positive understanding and positive actions,

not simply a rejection of colonialism and a willingness to co-operate in non-co-operation. And the anti-colonial struggle will almost certainly have intensified the difficulties.

“Second, the most active, and therefore the most popular, of the nationalist leaders may have been people without a socialist conviction. They may either have never had an opportunity to study the problems and possibilities of social and economic organization, or they may even have been people who were motivated by a personal desire for the fruits of capitalism.

“Third, all the national Party organization and education were geared to defeating colonialism and to opposing people of another race who happened to be in positions of power. This means that once independence is achieved, and the key positions of power have been Africanized, there is a grave danger that the Party will lose support and will atrophy.

“To do this new task a strong Party organization is as essential as it was before independence, but it involves a serious and conscious effort on the part of the leaders. In particular they have to act deliberately so as to emphasize their identification with the people and so as to remain one of them. During the independence struggle this was no problem: the leaders lived with the people, and were as poor as the masses whom they led. They had no choice in the matter and no particular temptation. In the struggle for socialism the position is different: often the leaders have to live in more comfortable surroundings if they are to do their new Government tasks efficiently, and they are also faced with all the temptations of power. Yet to be effective leaders in this second phase of the freedom struggle, it is essential that they should turn their backs on these temptations; they have to act like socialists and be prepared to account to the people for all the personal wealth which they deploy.

“However, it is not only leaders who must be involved in the building of socialism. There must be an active adult education system which is directed at helping the people to understand the principles of socialism and their relevance to real development and freedom. There must be local institutions of socialism – co-operative societies which are under the effective control of the members, *Ujamaa* villages, and so on.

“These things must be achieved while the people are protected against the manipulation of those who are so arrogant that they wish to enforce their own judgement of what is ‘the good life’.

“In Tanzania we have begun the work of building socialism. 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. 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. The ultimate success in the work of building socialism in Tanzania – as elsewhere – depends upon the people of this nation. For any society is only what the people make it. The benefit to the people of a socialist society will depend upon their contribution to it – their work, their co-operation for the common good, and their acceptance of each other as equals and brothers.

“To the extent that we in Tanzania succeed in the struggle to which we have committed ourselves, so we shall be taking our place in the march of humanity towards peace and human dignity. For too long we in Africa – and Tanzania as part of Africa – have slept, and allowed the rest of the world to walk round and over us. Now we are beginning to wake up and to join with our fellow human beings in deciding the destiny of the human race. By thinking out our own problems on the basis of those principles which have universal validity, Tanzania will make its contribution to the development of mankind. That is our opportunity and our responsibility.” (Nyerere, 1968:2–32)

Appendix 3

Eight Tally Sheets 'Triple Jump'

Tally sheet 1N

Speech 1N: Africa's Place in the World (20 pages)

1. Basic data

Event/Reason: Nyerere as President of TANU (the Tanganyika African National Union) at the Africa-Symposium, Wellesley College, Massachusetts, USA.

Date and venue: February 1960; Massachusetts, USA.

Topic: Africa's Place in the World (1st speech in list, hand-picked, 1N, pp 4–20).

Summary: Shortly before independence, Nyerere talks about Africa's liberation struggle and the prospects for democratic political systems in Africa; he also responds to questions. Nyerere favours a one-party democracy for Tanzania and explains his opinion of TANU – the overwhelming homogenous national movement.

Target group Tanzania, Africa, International (Tz, A, Int.): academics, church, journalists, politicians, African diaspora, some representatives from international organisations and diplomats.

Source: Nyerere/

The Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, 2000.

2. Coding (manifest)

20.9.04: marked keywords ('words' and 'wild cards'):

1. leader 0, government 45, people 38 (total: 84) pink

2. democracy 52, participation 0, human 12, right 18 (81) green

3. development 3, poverty 0, education 1 (4) red

4. unity 1, peace 1, union 0 (2) blue

checked: 17.04., 14.7., 20.8., 20.9., 25.11., 14.07.05

Top keywords: democracy 52, government 45, right 18

3. Context aspects

Historical and political context

Tanganyika was under British administration (League of Nations mandate and UN Trusteeship Council); Nyerere's first speech at the UN in 1955 was a big success.

Nyerere's visit to the United States in 1960 was a political highlight during the seemingly never-ending struggle for independence, and Nyerere as leader of a strong TANU gained political profile.

Meanwhile West Africa, with Ghana as front-runner in the fight for independence (1957) and national development, had serious problems achieving a peaceful transition. East African countries Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika were still in loose negotiations for a regional community, which Nyerere strongly supported.

Nyerere had been invited as the probable first African Prime Minister of Tanganyika; the general elections would be held in August–September 1960. TANU would win almost all seats. In September 1959, during the first elections in five of the ten constituencies, TANU won all five African seats and eight of the ten European (5) and Asian (5) seats; Nyerere became the leader of the House of Parliament. Nyerere, who founded TANU in 1954 and became its first president, was well known as a peaceful, tactically clever and highly-intelligent counterpart to the conservative and reactionary Governor Sir Edward Twining. The Governor was the 'colonial master', who could hardly accept Nyerere as 'partner'.

The newly-elected Conservative government in Britain (October 1959) was more realistic than the previous one had been. Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod prepared the ground for a Council of Ministers in Tanganyika with Nyerere as Chief Minister. The British still planned however, that a final move to independence should not happen until 1968. Details would be discussed in London in March 1960, at a meeting between Nyerere and MacLeod.

Nyerere context

Nyerere, born in 1922 as the son of a chief from Butiama or Lake region, went to a missionary school and became a critical catholic and an enthusiastic teacher (mwalmu), with

a teaching diploma from Makerere University in Uganda (1946). He was sent to the University of Edinburgh, where he was awarded a scholarship and successfully completed an MA (1952) – probably the first Tanganyikan to achieve this degree. Nyerere studied history, politics and economics and was fascinated and caught by the political philosophy of the left and their social and humanism approach, especially that of the Fabian Society and the ruling Labour Party (with vast domestic reforms, regarding especially nationalisation and the welfare policy).

Nyerere, together with colleagues, founded the Tanganyika African National Union, TANU in 1954 and became its first president. The political movement grew fast and began making demands of the British: *madaraka!* (responsible government) was the rallying cry. In 1955 Nyerere was invited to the United Nations, to speak to the Trusteeship Council about the future of Tanzania. His oratory impressed the gathered politicians and diplomats and encouraged him even more in his vision of peaceful independence. Nyerere was also inspired by the success of the struggle for independence in Ghana (Nkrumah had become Prime Minister in 1957) and from then on he claimed independence more persistently and very actively, so that in 1958 he was arrested and convicted on two counts, and a steep fine had to be paid.

The new Governor, Sir Edward Turnbull, changed the approach, accepting Nyerere as a partner in the difficult negotiation process, and in the end appreciated Nyerere's responsibility as leader. A common political interest was to unify the three (or more?) East African countries and for them become officially independent as a new East African Unity. TANU's victory in the second part of elections (they won all 15 seats) strengthened Nyerere's hand. He was even able to refuse to be appointed as a Minister.

At the beginning of 1960, Nyerere travelled to the USA and Canada and was received by Vice-President Richard Nixon and participated in different lectures and public events with politicians, intellectuals and the church. He also took part in an educational television programme with Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of a former President of the USA, in which he was able to present his country, Tanganyika. He was awarded his first honorary Doctor of Laws degree (from Duquesne University) and lectured at the Wellesley College in February 1960, shortly before he became Prime Minister.

4. Coding (latent)

Selected speech statements (quotations – extract from 'Africa's Place in the World'):

“The challenge she [Africa] faces is to consolidate her freedom after it has been won. To do that Africa must maintain the moral principles on which she has based her fight. She must be able to judge issues on their own merit, without being slavishly committed to alignment with this or that power block in the world.

“I hope they will discourage – not only at the United Nations but within their own countries – any form of diplomacy which tends either to divide them or to align them with a particular power-bloc.

“But if Africa is to take up the challenge, she must maintain the highest democratic standards within her own territories .

“It must include the right of the individual citizen, regularly and through the ballot box, I emphasize and through the ballot box, and without intimidation, to re-elect or to replace the Government of his own country. It must also ... include the freedom of Governments to govern without fear of attempts being made to replace them by means other than the ballot box.

“It is this nationalist movement which fights for and achieves independence; it, therefore, inevitably forms the first government of an independent state.

“It would surely be ridiculous to expect that a country should voluntarily divide itself for the sake of conforming to a particular expression of democracy.

“The West seems to have exaggerated its idea of freedom beyond the point where freedom becomes license ...

“The individual in a communist society is secondary to something called the State. Here, then, I think is the problem: Where does society, or the state, draw the boundary of its rights and obligations; and where does the individual? It is a problem which has not yet been solved by either side in a way that can be accepted by the other.

“I don't have a Rockefeller Foundation in my country. I have no indigenous banks in my country. The one instrument I have for the development of that country is the Government. I have no other. The others have to be nursed and developed. The government of my country is going to think in terms of what it can do as a Government: to see that the people have the water and the schools and the hospitals.

"I don't like to define a role which 'minority groups' may play in Tanganyika, because I don't like to consider fellows as minority groups. We are all minority groups. I would not be using 'European' or 'Asian', I would be using Tanganyikans.

"Our problem is just this: How to get the benefits of European society – benefits which have been brought about by an organization of society based on an exaggerated idea of the rights of the individual – and yet retain the African's own structure of society in which the individual is a member of a kind of fellowship. The Africa that we must create, the Africa which we must bequeath to prosperity: ...

"Here is a continent which has truly free human beings. The outside world should be able to say, 'If you really want to see-how free people, who live up to their ideals of human society, go to Africa. That is the continent of hope for the human race.' "

Key questions for the researcher: What is good leadership; what is bad leadership?

Some terms derived from Nyerere's texts to describe or portray leadership:

Good leadership:

leader of the people, honest, with vision, solidarity, dignity, socialist;
for democracy, equality, tolerance, reliability, accountability, rule of law;
for self-reliance, good education, healthcare, hard work and modesty;
for unity, consensus, 'African-ness', liberation, unification, peace.

Bad leadership:

dictatorship, 'charlatans and crooks', traitors, 'landlordism', capitalists;
for authoritarian rule, elitism, selfishness, rapacity, obstinate, arrogant;
corrupt, amass private wealth, privilege, money-bags, egoism, hypocrisy;
tribally biased, aggressive, violent, separatist, colonialism, instigator.

5. Leadership picture: Understanding and Interpretation ("U and I")

Nyerere: good leadership (main quotations)

"It is this nationalist movement which fights for and achieves independence; it, therefore, inevitably forms the first government of an independent state. It would surely be

ridiculous to expect that a country should voluntarily divide itself for the sake of conforming to a particular expression of democracy.”

“The one instrument I have for the development of that country is the government. I have no other. The others have to be nursed and developed. The government of my country is going to think in terms of what it can do as a government; to see that the people have the water and the schools and the hospitals.”

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Good leadership is:

Implementing the wish of the people and forming a government of national consent, this is a one-party democracy. Division of the population into different political interest groups has to be avoided; undermining the national conscience for the building of one nation endangers unity and peace and hinders development (education!). The challenge of people-centred development is to fight against poverty, disease and ignorance. These are the most important tasks for the new government for achieving basic human rights and dignity for the people. This is democracy for Africans and the right to chose or change the government via free and regular elections at the ballot box; that is possible with a democratically-oriented national party and does not need opposition parties. A democratic state has also to be build on African tradition.

Nyerere: bad leadership (main quotations)

“Any would-be dictators or exploiters who may be in the nationalist movement in Africa would find it very difficult to achieve their objectives. For the African nationalist movements have already taught the men and women of Africa to recognise their own dignity as human beings, and have done the job too thoroughly for such would-be dictators or exploiters to succeed without a revolution.”

“One thing I hope is also going to develop is that the African people will refuse, on principle, to be involved in any form of diplomacy which is a diplomacy of rivalry, that they will emphasise a diplomacy of co-operation. I hope they will discourage – not only at the United Nations but within their own countries – any form of diplomacy which tends either to divide them or to align them with a particular power-bloc.”

U and I

Bad leadership is:

Exploitation by their own leaders and the misleading of the people by new African leaders after such a suffering in colonial times (slavery and dependence); not tackling the great need for freedom, human rights and unity has. All political concepts and actions against African unity and the peaceful unification of the African countries will be selfish acts against the wish of their own people and have to be condemned. People should not accept that unity can be endangered because of one-sided alignments and fraternisation with one of the ideological power-blocs. That would also risk the newly gained independence and the chance for a human development.

6. Researcher's reflection

Nyerere believes that real democracy can exist in a one-party democracy which guarantees intra-party democracy and control by the people. He did not see the need for two or more political parties to guarantee a democracy. To have the right to choose between two candidates of the national party (TANU) was democratic and could be organized in a way that the better candidate, i.e. the better leader, would be chosen. To achieve this situation of democratic competition, a process of open and transparent intra-party decision-making was necessary. In the speech and during an interview, Nyerere explained and defended his position with the observation that the Anglo-Saxon two-party system "implies the existence of a class struggle" (Nyerere in MNF, 2000:11) which is not the case in Tanganyika. Considering the homogenous national movement and TANU, Nyerere was right. He gave the priority to 'political stability' instead of 'individualism and pluralism'.

Nyerere searched for a symbiosis rather than conflict between the two opposing "powers". His perspective for Africa was a combination of "her own basic structure and the self-criticism of Western Europe in order to evolve from them a form of society which can satisfy both sides"(ibid.:15). However, his vision of the ideal society, the human African society, the "continent of hope for the human race", is too optimistic and not realistic. On the other hand, it is understandable that Nyerere dreams of a truly free, self-determined, peaceful society: after such a long history of oppression and exploitation in Africa. In the end, I think that Nyerere's approach of a one-party democracy from the beginning of the independence, during the time of political consolidation in the 1970s, and even until the early 1980s, did serve the idea of people-centred development and the objective of nation building. Political stability was widely granted, a result of ujamaa and a 'neutral' peace-policy towards the Cold-War. The policy of 'Arusha Declaration', as a socialist concept for development and

social justice, was outstanding and ethically unique in Africa. Tanzanian socialism, with its egalitarian political programme and tolerant, human rights oriented philosophy, became a rare example of peaceful nation-building, appreciated not only in Africa. Despite the obvious deficits, for example in economic development and the unrealistic perspective of economic self-reliance, Nyerere contributed significantly to democratic and social development in Tanzania.

Tally sheet 2N

Speech 2N: The Future of Africa (article excerpt, 2 pages)

1. Basic data

Event/Reason: Nyerere was (probably) asked to write an article.

Date and venue: June 1961; Written in Dar es Salaam for a secondary school in Natal, RSA.

Topic: The future of Africa (article: 2nd text in list, random, 2N, pp 116–117).

Summary: Nyerere, as prime minister, shortly before independence, fulfils a promise he made earlier to write an article for a magazine of a 'Whites Only' secondary school in Natal, South Africa. He talks about the idea of a common Africa and an "Africa for the Africans", black, brown or white... He promotes equal rights for all people and a tolerant society for the future. "But the responsibility is ours."

Target group (Tz, A, Int.): students, teachers and parents ...

Source: Nyerere, 1966.

2. Coding (manifest)

29.9.04: marked keywords (words and wild cards):

1. leader 0, government 0, people 8 (8) pink
2. democracy 0, participation 0, human 1, right 2 (3) green
3. development 0, poverty 1, education 0 (1) red
4. unity 2, peace 0, union 0 (2) blue

checked: 17.04., 17.7., 29.9., 14.10., 25.11., 14.07.05

Top keywords: right 2, unity 2, poverty 1 .

3. Context aspects

Historical and political context :

Tanganyika in June 1961 was almost independent. Since the elections in September 1960 – when TANU had won all seats but one – Nyerere was effectively in power. He became chief minister of the first independent government. In March 1961 Nyerere and TANU (with the presence of Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod) held a constitutional conference in Dar es Salaam where the official independence day was agreed upon with the British as 9 December 1961.

To become really independent from the colonial masters and to gain human dignity for all Africans, Nyerere believed that African unity was a political essential. So he and TANU supported the liberation struggle for the whole of southern Africa. As early as April 1960, when Tanganyika was still under British rule, Nyerere gave safe haven to some leaders of ANC, including the then Deputy President Oliver Tambo. This “action ... was the first step in assisting the ANC to establish its external mission”

(Source: Frene Ginwala, as Speaker of the South African Parliament, in Nyerere 2000:53).

Nyerere context:

Nyerere, the catholic, socialist and teacher (mwalimu) with a diploma from Makerere University in Uganda (1946) and an MA from Edinburgh supported a basically humanistic approach to overcome dependency. He stood for a peaceful change in Africa. Nyerere believed in the power of education and that schools have the influence to support (or initiate) political change.

After the Sharpeville massacre in March 1960 – when 69 people were killed and 186 wounded – the brutality of the racist apartheid regime in South Africa was obvious to everybody. Nyerere did not call for revenge – he despised violence – instead he promoted the idea of better information and political education e.g. civic education specifically directed to the youth. On the other hand he strengthened Tanganyika's support for the liberation struggle against apartheid and colonial oppression.

4. Coding (latent)

Selected speech statements (quotations):

“This means that in South Africa, for example, the people at present in power – as well as those struggling for it – are influencing the future. But their deliberate encouragement of racialism and prejudice, and their imposition of humiliation and frustration on the African people, is poisoning this future.

“Because whether or not Africa ever becomes united, whether or not we manage to overcome the present poverty in our continent – both of which I believe will happen – there is one thing which is quite certain: Africa will belong to Africans.

“I believe that this word ‘Africans’ can include all those who have made their home in the continent, black, brown, or white. I think this is what the majority of the people now want. Yet it can only happen if people stand as individual citizens, asking only for rights which can be accorded to all other individuals.

“This means forgetting colour, or race, and remembering humanity. On this basis of equality I believe Africa has a good future for all her people.”

Key questions for the researcher: What is good leadership; what is bad leadership? What contributes to good/bad leadership?

Some terms derived from Nyerere's texts to describe or portray leadership:

Good leadership:

leader of the people, honest, with vision, for ‘change’, solidarity, socialist;

for democracy, equality, tolerance, reliability, accountability, rule of law;

for self-reliance, good education, health care, hard work, basic needs

for unity, consensus, ‘African-ness’, liberation, unification, peace.

Bad leadership:

dictatorship, ‘charlatans and crooks’, traitors, ‘landlordism’, capitalists;

for authoritarian rule, elitism, selfishness, rapacity, obstinacy, arrogant;

corrupt, amass private wealth, privilege, money-bags, egoism, hypocrisy;

tribally biased, aggressive, violent, separatist, ‘clandestine instigator’;

5. Leadership picture: Understanding and Interpretation (“U and I”)

Nyerere: good leadership (main quotations)

“I believe that this word ‘Africans’ can include all those who have made their home in the continent, black, brown, or white. I think this is what the majority of the people now want. Yet it can only happen if people stand as individual citizens, asking only for rights which can be accorded to all other individuals.”

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Good leadership is:

Promoting human rights and equality for all citizens of Africa. Overcoming the racism and nurturing ‘African-ness’. That is the key to solve the crisis. Africa has to unite, then she has a proud future.

Nyerere: bad leadership (main quotations)

“This means that in South Africa, for example, the people at present in power – as well as those struggling for it – are influencing the future. But their deliberate encouragement of racialism and prejudice, and their imposition of humiliation and frustration on the African people, is poisoning this future.”

U and I

Bad leadership is:

Continuing with apartheid policy and fighting for the continued oppression of the (other) African people, the majority. Continuing with racism and humiliation will guarantee a bleak future. South African leaders are too selfish, they do not act in the interests of the people.

6. Researcher's reflection

Nyerere did not mention the word ‘apartheid’. He was very diplomatic in his letter to the South African schoolchildren, and tried to convince the class with his humanist approach. Indirectly he says that all violence is bad, even that of the rebels (“struggling for power”) against apartheid South Africa (ANC!?). Or was it a tricky formulation from Nyerere to win over the pupils? On the other hand, the extent of human rights violations, crimes against humanity and the permanent humiliation against millions of (not white) South Africans by the apartheid government was probably well known to Nyerere. It was even known to the –

generally well informed – people of the Western States, e.g. in Europe as a result of the Sharpeville massacre. The limited base of information for Nyerere improved with the political asylum of ANC-leadership in Tanzania. We have also to consider Nyerere's deep-rooted belief in universal human rights and peaceful development. Violence and war were inimical to Nyerere's deeply rooted belief in universal human rights and peaceful development.

Tally sheet 3N

Speech 3N: President's Inaugural Address (10 pages)

1. Basic data

Event/Reason: Nyerere as newly-elected President of Tanzania. (Nyerere had received 97% of the votes cast on the basis of 'one man, one vote'.)

Date and venue: 10 December 1962; Tanzanian parliament.

Topic: Inaugural address by new president (3rd speech in list, random, 3N, pp 176–187).

Summary: Shortly before independence, talks about Africa's liberation struggle and the prospects for democratic political systems in Africa; he also responds to questions. Nyerere favours a one-party democracy for Tanzania and explains his opinion with the overwhelming homogenous national movement of TANU.

Target group (Tz, A, Int.): parliamentarians, invited guests, media (journals, radio); academics, church, journalists, politicians, African diaspora, some representatives from international organisations; diplomats.

Source: Nyerere, 1966.

2. Coding (manifest)

26.4.04: marked keywords (words and wild cards):

1. leader 2, government 19, people 29 (50) pink
2. democracy 4, participation 0, human 5, right 5 (14) green
3. development 9, poverty 1, education 27 (33) red
4. unity 6, peace 0, union 2 (8) blue

checked: 27.11.04, 1.12., 14.07.05

Top keywords: education 27, government 19, development 9.

3. Context aspects

Historical and political context

The first general elections in Tanganyika were held in November 1962; Nyerere polled 97% , his only opponent, the ANC's Mr Zuberi Mtemvu, got 3%. Nyerere became President of the Republic of Tanganyika.

Since the elections in September 1960 – TANU won all seats but one – Nyerere had been in power, as prime minister of the first independent government. Nyerere and the people of Tanganyika celebrated an independent Tanganyika on 9 December 1961. Then they had to face the harsh reality. Poverty and no education! Problems over problems: one million received famine aid; exports were weak and depended mostly on European farmers. Nyerere resigned as prime minister and installed Rashidi Kawawa until he himself returned almost a year later. Nyerere as President of TANU travelled tirelessly throughout the country to listen and to talk to the people. He wrote a draft for a party programme, to improve party policy and to motivate the people, especially in the rural areas. TANU was not well-prepared for taking over and administering the government. Only a few of the Tanzanian people were well educated: the British colonialists had not been much interested in educating the 'natives'. But shortly after independence the struggle started for good, well-paid government posts, and for influence and wealth in society. In the civil service in 1961, only 550 of the 4000 leadership posts were held by Africans; by the end of 1962 this had improved to more than 1000, though many posts were still vacant. The British government smoothed the handing-over of power, partly to avoid a violent 'new start'. Of the 10 million people in Tanganyika, only about 250 000 to 300 000 lived in the towns. By the end of 1962 the country faced seriously increasing problems: "poverty, ignorance and disease; let's start the war against it" was the official appeal.

Nyerere context

Nyerere was aware of the problems, challenges and risks he would face as president. But he was overwhelmed by the national movement TANU and the support of the people for his policy and his achievements. After a year he stepped down as prime minister, to study the people and conditions for the future. He drafted a policy for Tanganyika's development: the

basic *ujamaa* – a party programme as a policy of a ‘mixed approach of socialism and tradition’. Nyerere also had a dream of a United East Africa, and a fight for the liberation of Africa. “A free and united Africa” was the motto.

When he addressed Parliament on 10 December 1962, after his inauguration, Nyerere already knew that some of the parliamentarians and party leaders were more interested in their personal wealth than in the development of the country. But he believed that he could convince them or control them. And he knew that to advance and to develop the country it was important to boost education and agricultural production immediately. Nyerere believed in the power of education and that schools have influence to support (or initiate) political change. Education should be with a Tanzanian cultural orientation.

Nyerere also believed in the dignity of all people. He wished for a new humanistic approach, a society with equal rights, where it was worthwhile to work hard for the benefit of everybody. He stood for a peaceful change in Tanzania and Africa.

(Sources: e.g. Smyth and Seftel, 1998; Nyerere, 1966.)

4. Coding (latent)

Selected speech statements (quotations):

“Anybody with intelligence will know that we are far from joking. Even if one were to take, for example, the Maji Maji rebellion and the Slave Wars, one would find no parallel to the slaughter of our people which has stemmed from poverty, ignorance and disease.

“We all hate the criminal who kills a fellow human being. Yet in actual fact those human murderers are nothing like so deadly a threat to the lives of our families and our friends as is the malaria mosquito.

“The Tanganyika we inherited from colonialism was one in which the injustices of colonial days still survived; in which there was racial discrimination; and from which the degradation and evils which sprang from colonialism had yet to be banished. And in this Tanganyika we have inherited there are but few of her citizens as yet with sufficient education and wealth to live in reasonable dignity and comfort.

“The majority of our people are both poor and uneducated. For this reason there is a very real risk that the economic division can lead to racial enmity between our African and our non-African citizens. But this sort of enmity would be just as unreasonable as, for

example, the enmity which could be stirred up by the evil-minded between Muslims and Christians.

“There is no quick way to cancel out the present difference between our African and our non-African citizens; there is no easy way to remove the existing disparity in education between Christians and Muslims, or between the educated few and the majority of our people.

“Those of you who are educated, make use of your education to help build a Tanganyika in which everybody will have the opportunity you have had to acquire a good education. Those of you who have capital or who own property, do not try to use your wealth as a weapon with which to oppress your brothers.

“Tanganyika is, in fact, a country of peasant farmers. We have proportionately very few wage-earners. For this reason, in drawing up our three-year Development Plan, government decided to lay the greatest emphasis on agriculture.

“A number of things have been done in connection with the co-operative movement. First, all the co-operative societies have joined together in a nation-wide union. Secondly, a co-operative bank has been opened, and this is the first bank to be started by the people of this country. Thirdly, the Co-operative Union has begun to open retail shops in the towns, and government has given a large sum of money to help get these shops started.

“It is Government's intention to extend the co-operative movement into every town, every village and every hamlet in Tanganyika, and to enable these societies to undertake every kind of enterprise which can be run by co-operative effort.

“We determined to build a country in which all her citizens are equal; where there is no division into rulers and ruled, rich and poor, educated and illiterate, those in distress and those in idle comfort. We determined that in this country all would be equal in dignity; all would have an equal right to respect, to the opportunity of acquiring a good education and the necessities of life; and all her citizens should have an equal opportunity of serving their country to the limit [sic] of their ability.

“The principle on which we stood, and on which we stand today, is the principle of human rights. It is the dignity and well-being of all our people which is the beginning and the end of all our efforts.

“Our people do not have enough money, and nor has the government, to provide each family with a tractor. So what we must do is to try and make it possible for groups of farmers to get together and share the cost and the use of a tractor between them. But we cannot even do this if our people are going to continue living scattered over a wide area, far apart from each other, and still haunted by the old superstitious fear of witchcraft, just as in the days of our grandfathers.

“The first and absolutely essential thing to do, therefore, if we want to be able to start using tractors for cultivation, is to begin living in proper villages. And if you ask me why the government wants us to live in villages, the answer is just as simple: unless we do we shall not be able to provide ourselves with the things we need to develop our land and to raise our standard of living.

“We shall not be able to use tractors; we shall not be able to provide schools for our children; we shall not be able to build hospitals, or have clean drinking water. It will be quite impossible to start small village industries, and instead we shall have to go on depending on the towns for all our requirements.

“But I would like to see every single one of us a teacher and an instrument of *Ujamaa*. I would like to see that wherever two or three of us meet, even if it is in a bar, or on a bus, or at a school, or at the market, on the shamba or in the office, in a shop or outside in the open, that place becomes a classroom for discussing and learning about *Ujamaa* and about the two main instruments of *Ujamaa* – the government and the Co-operative Movement.

“It is true that at present both the central government and our local government bodies are elected by democratic methods. But, although the methods may be democratic, the operation of democracy itself is not yet what it should be, nor can it be while the majority of our rural population remains so widely scattered.

“*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.

“It would be absurd to claim that TANU is a united national movement representing all the people of Tanganyika if what one really meant was that TANU was a united movement led by an educated minority who were using that unity in order to rule the rest of the people. No, it was right that TANU itself should be like Tanganyika, and that its leadership should be representative of the country as a whole. A rule which we have inherited from the British, that is the rule which sets a dividing wall between the politician and the civil servant; and

which forces a man to make a choice between entering politics or the civil service. This is absurd, for it tends to make us think that civil servants cannot be good politicians or even good patriots; and, worse still, it leads us to forget that all of us are the servants of the people of this country.

“And you, my friends, who have political power; do not make use of that power to oppress any of your fellow citizens, or to take revenge, but use it to build a Tanganyika in which there will not be so much as one individual citizen who is made to feel that he is a ‘second rate citizen’.

“All of us have agreed that we must establish a true socialist society in Tanganyika. It would be a shameful disgrace to the Republic of Tanganyika, the Tanganyika of *Ujamaa*, for us to refuse any of her citizens the right to become members of TANU because of their colour. Every citizen of Tanganyika who supports the policies of TANU and agrees to abide by the party’s rules and obligations, will be able to become a member.

“We cannot go on talking about our love of unity if we keep our doors barred against any of our friends who want to come back into TANU. We cannot force anybody to rejoin; but we shall be ready to welcome all those who wish to do so.

“To build a nation in the true sense, a task into which we must throw ourselves wholeheartedly, is to build the character of its people – of ourselves; to build an attitude of mind which will enable us to live together with our fellow citizens of Tanganyika, and of the whole world, in mutual friendliness and co-operation.

“We have a great reputation for unity. It is our duty to give thanks to Almighty God for this gift of unity. But we shall be making a grave mistake if we imagine ourselves to be any different from our neighbours, or from the people of any other part of the world.

“Of all the crimes of colonialism there is none worse than the attempt to make us believe we had no indigenous culture of our own; or that what we did have was worthless – something of which we should be ashamed, instead of a source of pride.

“So I have set up this new ministry to help us regain our pride in our own culture. I want it to seek out the best of the traditions and customs of all our tribes and make them a part of our national culture. But I don’t want anybody to imagine that to revive our own culture means at the same time to reject that of any other country. A nation which refuses to learn from foreign cultures is nothing but a nation of idiots and lunatics.”

Key questions for the researcher: What is good leadership; what is bad leadership?

Some terms derived from Nyerere's texts to describe or portray leadership:

Good leadership:

leader of the people, honesty, vision, solidarity, dignity, socialist;
for democracy, equality, tolerance, reliability, accountability, rule of law;
for self-reliance, education, health-care, basic needs, hard work;
for unity, consensus, 'African-ness', liberation, unification, peace.

Bad leadership:

dictatorship, 'charlatans and crooks', traitors, 'landlordism', capitalists;
authoritarian rule, elitism, selfishness, rapacity, obstinacy, arrogance;
corruption, abundance, privilege, money-bags, egoism, hypocrisy;
tribalism, aggression, 'instigator', violence, separatist, colonialism.

5. Leadership picture: Understanding and Interpretation ("U and I")

Nyerere: good leadership (main quotations):

"We [are] determined to build a country in which all her citizens are equal; where there is no division into rulers and ruled, rich and poor, educated and illiterate, those in distress and those in idle comfort."

"There is no quick way to cancel out the present difference between our African and our non-African citizens; there is no easy way to remove the existing disparity in education between Christians and Muslims, or between the educated few and the majority of our people."

"To build a nation in the true sense, a task into which we must throw ourselves wholeheartedly, is to build the character of its people – of ourselves; to build an attitude of mind which will enable us to live together with our fellow citizens of Tanganyika, and of the whole world, in mutual friendliness and co-operation."

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Good leadership is:

Addressing the truth: poverty, ignorance and disease are the challenges for social development. They have to be fought together; particularly the privileged rich and the well-educated have to strengthen the battle of the masses. Equality means living and working together with same rights and obligations – the rich and the poor, the Africans, Asians and Europeans, the Muslims and the Christians. Implementing socialism – *Ujamaa* – requires boosting agricultural produce, real human dignity for everybody in all groups, hard work and no more privileges. Education is the key. The minds and attitudes of the people have to be changed, in order to harmonise tradition and modernity for the good of the nation and Africa.”

Nyerere: bad Leadership (main quotations) :

“The Tanganyika we inherited from colonialism was one in which the injustices of colonial days still survived; in which there was racial discrimination; and from which the degradation and evils which sprang from colonialism had yet to be banished. And in this Tanganyika we have inherited, there are but few of her citizens as yet with sufficient education and wealth to live in reasonable dignity and comfort.”

“Of all the crimes of colonialism there is none worse than the attempt to make us believe we had no indigenous culture of our own; or that what we did have was worthless – something of which we should be ashamed, instead of a source of pride.”

U and I

Bad leadership is:

Injustice prevails and racial and religious discrimination are still practiced and accepted by some people and leaders. Misuse of the power of public jobs and the use of wealth (money) for private issues are evils, which have to be eradicated. To withhold the people from their cultural pride. Tanzania has to overcome the colonial heritage.

6. Researcher's reflection

Nyerere's perception of British leadership in the year 1962 was probably wrong. He failed to use educated collaborators to build up a new society, an independent one. He was one of the few who had been educated with the support of Europeans: school because of missionaries, and the Masters scholarship in Scotland. How to implant basic values like equality, how to implement social justice, how to provide social development? The leadership

challenge is demanding: we need our own – Tanganyikan – system of education. Is education the key? Yes!

Nyerere's dream of an independent and self-determined Tanganyika was understandable. He was one of the few leaders who had been educated with the support of Europeans (see section 3.1.) but he didn't become a 'Black European' Nyerere knew that he was privileged and he felt an obligation to 'redistribute' to the people. How to do this best? To build a Tanganyika on the principles of human rights with well being for all groups: Africans, Asians and Europeans – Christians and Muslims. His vision was a society with 'Education for all', one day – he was sure – it would be implemented, free of charge for everybody... Tanganyika's development missed so many educated and professionally trained leaders that Nyerere 'obliged' the TANU politicians to become "a teacher and an instrument of Ujamaa" (ibid.185).

The challenge remained: how to teach and 'implant' basic values of 'Ujamaa', the Tanganyikan socialism, which was known and understood only by a few people? How do you teach and 'circulate' the belief of 'human rights' to individuals? How do you promote thinking about social justice within communities? How do you make the economy run, the agricultural production effective, provide social services in the villages, and contribute to a firm social development in Tanganyika? These difficult leadership challenges were very demanding and needed a widely committed TANU leadership, educated and trained in Tanganyika but 'strengthened' by experts and scientists from abroad.

Tally sheet 4N

Speech 4N: Frugality (2 pages)

1. Basic data

Event/Reason: 1 year of union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

Date and venue: 26 April 1965; Radio Tanzania, to address the nation.

Topic: Frugality (4th speech in list, random, 4N, pp 332–3).

Summary: Nyerere speaks about development needs and problems; influenced by China.

Target group (Tz, A, Int.): all people of Tanzania; international organisations; diplomats.

Source: Nyerere, 1966.

2. Coding (manifest)

26.4.04: marked keywords (words and wildcards):

1. leader 0, government 5, people 5: (10) pink
2. democracy 0, participation 0, human 0, right 0 (0) green
3. development 2, poverty 1, education 2 (5) red
4. unity 0, peace 0, union 1 (1) blue

checked: 4.7., 18.8.04, 27.11., 1.12., 24.12., 14.07.05

Top keywords: government 5, development 2, education 2

3. Context aspects

Historical and political context

On the African stage Tanzania gained influence and responsibility after the foundation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 in Addis Ababa. Tanganyika was selected as the headquarters for all the liberation movements of southern Africa.

The year 1964 was for Tanzania, TANU and Nyerere a hard political test which led to far-reaching reforms and changes: the Zanzibar revolution which resulted in the Tanzania Union, military reform and the introduction of National Service for young people, political education as training feature ("to guarantee the soldiers' commitment to the government"), abolition of free trades unions (the National Union of Tanzania, NUTA, was created to take over their role), the first Five-Year Development Plan with its focus on import substitution and industrialisation, and the East African Women's Movement initiated by Mama Bibi Titi (the first woman member of the Tanzanian Parliament) and others. And in 1965 Tanzania changed her constitution and officially became a 'one-party democracy'.

Nyerere's state visit to China in February 1965 influenced him significantly and strengthened his firm belief that a key issue for successful development was 'self-discipline', specifically of political leaders.

Nyerere context

In 1964, when Nyerere announced the end of 'Africanisation' (empowerment for black Tanzanian Africans), he decided to implement a further centre-piece of his policy of 'equality' and 'one citizenship'. He did not expect a violent reaction: the mutiny of the army, supported by different trades unions. To put down this rebellion, Nyerere had to call for the

British army to support him to regain safety and security in Tanzania. He was deeply disappointed and personally ashamed of what happened in January 1964.

“This whole week,” said Nyerere, “has been one of most grievous shame for our nation. This is a very proud country. It is a double shame – shame at being let down by our men, and shame at having to call in the British” (Nyerere in Smyth and Seftel, 1998:100).

Another blow was the Ujamaa Villages experiment. Nyerere felt in 1965 that the village settlement programme (initiated in 1963, with 1000 new villages ‘created’ in two years) was a forced action, which did not bring the fruits he and TANU had expected. On the contrary, the programme did not really succeed in furthering self-reliant village democracies. Nyerere saw the mistakes: “To burden the farmer with very heavy debts ... is not the best way of promoting activity. These settlers showed far less enthusiasm and are less hard-working than settlers in spontaneous and unassisted schemes” (Nyerere in Smyth and Seftel, 1998:78).

Authoritarian and intensive measures for poverty reduction and more democracy followed, but often missed their development goals: for example the local government reform with elected ‘village committees’ and district councils heads – which replaced the abolished traditional authorities – led to more centralisation, and confusion for the people. Therefore more lethargy and even resistance arose, especially within the more prosperous communities. On the other hand, a small wealthy bourgeoisie emerged, which enjoyed privileges and comfortable life which annoyed the country’s reliable and hard-working leadership. Nyerere publicly denounced them, criticised their leadership and demonstrated personally what he claimed from the leaders: ‘frugality’.

At the official opening of the Dar es Salaam University College (August 1964), Nyerere stressed the cost of keeping a student studying there: “It takes the annual per capita income of more than 50 of our people to maintain a single student at this college for one year ... This disparity can only be justified, morally or politically, if it can be looked upon as an investment by the poor in their own future.” (Nyerere, 1966:307)

Nyerere also cut back his own humble salary of £250 a month, banned hard liquors at government receptions, and ruled that no longer would any expensive new official car be bought. Many party functionaries and businessmen were shocked and disillusioned.

(Sources: Brown, Irene and Roland, in Legum and Mmari, 1999: 9–22; Smyth and Seftel, 1998:78)

4. Coding (latent)

Selected speech statements (quotations):

“In February I went on a state visit to China, and there I learned one very important thing. China is a huge country, with a population of more than six hundred million people. And the Chinese government is one of those which is making money and technicians available to Tanzania to help us with our Development Plan. But they are able to do this only because they are a frugal people; they husband their resources very carefully indeed, and only spend money on things which are absolutely essential. This is true both of individuals and of the government.

“And the only way to defeat our present poverty is to accept the fact that it exists, to live as poor people, and to spend every cent that we have surplus to our basic needs on the things which will make us richer, healthier and more educated in the future. This is the policy which the government will be adopting.

“The government officials too, use cars only when it is really necessary for their job – and then the cars are small and cheap ones.

“Workers who do not need to spend all their money on food, clothing, and housing do not buy a lot of unnecessary things just because they would be nice to have or because someone else has one; they lend their money to the government instead so that more investment, more education, and more health facilities can be provided.

“Some of the things we have done in the recent past, like buying big cars for the Regional Commissioners, were bad mistakes of this kind. They must not be repeated. Everyone knows that we are not rich.

“And the only way to defeat our present poverty is to accept the fact that it exists, to live as poor people, and to spend every cent that we have surplus to our basic needs on the things which will make us richer, healthier and more educated in the future. This is the policy which the Government will be adopting.

“I believe that the people of Tanzania will want us to do this, and that they will cooperate. For this is the way to secure our Union, and our united progress. By dedicating

ourselves to the future and working selflessly to protect our independence and build a good society for all our children to live in.”

Key questions for the researcher: What is good leadership; what is bad leadership?

Some terms derived from Nyerere's texts to describe or portray leadership:

Good leadership:

leader of the people, honesty, vision, solidarity, dignity, socialist;
for democracy, equality, tolerance, reliability, accountability, rule of law;
for self-reliance, education, health-care, basic needs, hard work;
for unity, consensus, 'African-ness', liberation, unification, peace.

Bad leadership:

dictatorship, 'charlatans and crooks', traitors, 'landlordism', capitalists;
authoritarian rule, elitism, selfishness, rapacity, obstinacy, arrogance;
corruption, abundance, privilege, money-bags, egoism, hypocrisy;
tribalism, aggression, 'instigator', violence, separatist, colonialism.

5. Leadership picture: Understanding and Interpretation (“U and I”)

Nyerere: good leadership (main quotations)

“The government officials too, use cars only when it is really necessary for their job – and then the cars are small and cheap ones.”

“And the only way to defeat our present poverty is to accept the fact that it exists, to live as poor people, and to spend every cent that we have surplus to our basic needs on the things which will make us richer, healthier, and more educated in the future. This is the policy which the Government will be adopting.”

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Good leadership is:

Knowing the resources, accepting the conditions (poverty!) and achieving the goals: better health, education, supply of basic needs. Money saving instead of lavishly spending it. Leaders have to be self-disciplined and must set a good example.

Nyerere : bad leadership (main quotations)

“Some of the things we have done in the recent past, like buying big cars for the Regional Commissioners, were bad mistakes of this kind. They must not be repeated. Everyone knows that we are not rich.”

U and I

Bad leadership is:

To live like the rich and to ignore the fact of poverty. Misuse of wealth (money) for private issues are evils, which have to be eradicated.

6. Researcher's reflection

1964 was a very difficult year: it was the first real deep-seated disappointment. It led to a crisis in leadership and to a new orientation of the development policy with far-reaching changes leading towards nationalization. The village settlement policy with thousands of selected settlers and farmers and a lot of financial investment started optimistically but Nyerere soon felt that the village settlement programme (initiated in 1963, with about 1000 new villages 'created' in two years) was a forced action that did not bring the fruits he and TANU had expected: to build economic communities with centres for health care and education.

Did Nyerere culturally and ethically misinterpret the readiness and flexibility of TANU leadership to lead a humble and exemplary life? Did he misinterpret the ability of the people to change their life – move into Ujamaa-villages – to save money in order to gain 'real social development'? Perhaps he partly did. However, I think that Nyerere believed in the influence of education and the power of good ideas, disseminated in speeches, publications and training.

Nyerere, who was not a dogmatic political leader, was very much impressed by the strict discipline within Maoism. Nyerere wore the 'Mao-suit' as a symbol for frugality. But (African) leaders like to demonstrate prosperity and richness, often to impress their subjects.

Tally sheet 5N

Speech 5N: The Tanzania Economy (18 pages)

1. Basic data

Event/Reason: Budget speech at the National Assembly, Tanzania.

Date and venue: 13 June 1966; Tanzania.

Topic: The Tanzanian Economy; (5th speech in list, random, 5N, pp 157–178).

Summary: Nyerere explains the economic system in Tanzania since independence. He talks about advances and setbacks of the economic performance in Tanzania in fulfilling the first Five-Year Development Plan, starting in 1964.

Target group (Tz, A, Int.): Members of Parliament of Tanzania (African guests, national and international organisations, and diplomats).

Source: Nyerere, 1968.

2. Coding (manifest)

18.08.04: marked keywords (words and wildcards):

1. leader 0, government 44, people 33 (73) pink

2. democracy 0, participation 0, human 0, right 4 (4) green

3. development 26, poverty 0, education 2 (28) red

4. unity 4, peace 0, union 3 (7) blue

(5. economy/economic 28)

checked 18.8., 27.11., 27.12., 29.1.05, 14.07.05

Top keywords: government 44, development 26, *economy* 28

3. Context aspects

Historical and political context

After independence, Tanzania and Nyerere gained more political self-confidence, partial economic independence, and more influence in the liberation movements of southern Africa. In 1965 Tanzania changed her constitution and officially became a 'one-party democracy'. Nyerere, comfortably re-elected as President (96% of votes) in September 1965,

supported, for example, the Congolese nationalist forces against the CIA-backed government. Cuban troops, as well as Russian and Chinese weapons, passed through Tanzania, and when Che Guevara's mission in the Congo failed (October 1965), he settled in Dar until March 1966. Nyerere strongly supported the liberation of countries in almost one seventh of the land mass of Africa. This included about 12 per cent of Africa's population.

Authoritarian and intensive measures for poverty reduction and more democracy followed, but often missed their development goals: for example the local government reform with elected 'village committees' and district councils heads – which replaced the abolished traditional authorities – led to more centralisation, and confusion for the people. Therefore more lethargy and even resistance arose, especially within the more prosperous communities. On the other hand, a small wealthy bourgeoisie emerged, which enjoyed privileges and comfortable life and annoyed the country's reliable and hard-working leadership. Nyerere publicly denounced them, criticised their leadership and demonstrated personally what he claimed from the leaders: 'frugality'.

At the official opening of the Dar es Salaam University College (August 1964), Nyerere stressed the cost of keeping a student studying there: "It takes the annual per capita income of more than 50 of our people to maintain a single student at this college for one year ... This disparity can only be justified, morally or politically, if it can be looked upon as an investment by the poor in their own future." (Nyerere, 1966:307)

Nyerere also cut back his own humble salary of £250 a month, banned hard liquors at government receptions, and ruled that no longer would any expensive new official car be bought. Many party functionaries and businessmen were shocked and disillusioned.

(Sources: Brown, Irene and Roland, in Legum and Mmari, 1999: 9–22; Smyth and Seftel, 1998:78)

Nyerere context

Nyerere felt strong and quite comfortable because of the people's support during elections and because of a slowly consolidating economy; a growth of 3–5% despite the decrease in world market prices for the country's major export product, sisal, and despite a drought. Nyerere saw the consequences for an export-oriented economy, his strategy was 'saving' and a humble economic development as the principal method for agriculture; his political priorities remained poverty reduction and rural development.

But the 'villagisation' programme had become a burden. Nyerere felt in 1965 that the village settlement programme (initiated in 1963, with about 1000 new villages created in two years) was a forced action, which did not bring the fruits he and TANU had expected. On the contrary, the programme did not succeed in furthering self-reliant village democracies. Nyerere saw the mistakes: "To burden the farmer with very heavy debts ... is not the best way of promoting activity. These settlers showed far less enthusiasm and are less hard-working than settlers in spontaneous and unassisted schemes" (Nyerere, in Smyth and Seftel, 1998:78).

Nyerere's ethical commitment to fight poverty was unbroken and the responsibility for TANU leadership and the growing public service was equally demanding. The political philosophy of *Ujamaa* was the only viable way; a free-market economy – capitalism – was no alternative!

4. Coding (latent)

Selected speech statements (quotations – extracts from *Tanzanian Economy* 1966):

"Government's task with the support of this House, is therefore to account to the people for all plans it makes and to convince them that these plans are reasonable ..."

"1965 was not an easy year for Tanzania. We experienced two major difficulties – widespread drought conditions which reduced the output of certain important crops, and big decreases in the world market price of certain of our major exports. These two factors have resulted in the slowing down of the speed of our advance towards better economic standards for our people.

"Only the hard work of our people enabled us to surmount it. Clearly we have come some way towards the position where we shall feed ourselves and also build up reserves which can be used against domestic disaster, or made available to other peoples in time of famine.

"There are still many workers in Tanzania who are not receiving a wage sufficient to keep themselves and their families healthily fed and clothed. There are still too many of our people living in hovels, and who could not afford to pay an economic rent for a decent house even if one were available. We must deal with this situation. The lowest wages must increase still further.

“Tanzania has decided that it wants to get richer as fast as possible, which means (in terms of the farmer) that he wants to go on increasing every year the amount of land planted. The nation has decided, in other words, that it will spend as much as possible of the current wealth on things which will, in the long run, produce wealth. It does this by building factories, schools, roads, telephones, offices, houses, and so on, instead of increasing the amount of clothes which are available to the people now, or the amount of beer they can drink or cigarettes they can smoke, or even food they can eat.

“But once again we come to the question of choice. With this foreign currency we can either buy things we want to eat or wear now, or we can buy ‘investment goods’ like machines. For instance, we must choose between buying another car for the President or a tractor for a maize farm. The more we buy of the goods to enjoy, the less we can buy of the goods which will produce wealth in the future.”

“Firstly, that we cannot rely on outside help.

“But secondly, the last year shows that we can do more for our own development than we had thought possible. The investment which was carried out last year by Tanzanians, either directly or through their government and other institutions, was at a higher level than anyone could reasonably have expected.

“When a farmer sells his crop he finds that a whole list of organisations are taking a cut from his money. There are deductions for research, for education, for local government on perhaps two levels, for a co-operative society and co-operative union and so on, until in some cases as much as half his income is being deducted away! Services have to be paid for. But there is some evidence to support the view that in the past, and in some areas, the idea of meeting a financial difficulty by adding access to the local crop may have been too easily and light-heartedly adopted. If that is so, then correcting it is the responsibility of the people and their representatives in the bodies concerned.

“In practice we have allowed running expenses to increase much faster than we had planned. Now we must either reduce services, or provide them more economically. We must have more financial discipline within government and government institutions.

“This question of reducing government expenditure is very serious, and it is important that everyone understands it. For what is required is not simply an obedience to the letter of the law in this; people must understand the motive of these economy regulations, and they must support their spirit. This applies to everyone; but to politicians and civil servants

particularly. It does not always happen; last year I announced two minor economies – in hospitality, and in government cars. But I have noticed that occasionally expensive wines replace the spirits I banned, and that certain parts of a particular car are sometimes classified as 'spares' so that its price can be within the limit I set!

“When we go under these conditions our freedom is inevitably restricted, and in any case we are not getting on with our regular job – which is therefore being neglected. We cannot afford that.

“When a job has to be done, we must get the right person to do it; it is better to leave a vacancy unfilled or fill it with a competent expatriate than fill a key post with a citizen who is so incompetent that he prevents others from working properly.”

Key questions for the researcher: What is good leadership; what is bad leadership?

Some terms derived from Nyerere's texts to describe or portray leadership:

Good leadership:

leader of the people, honesty, vision, solidarity, dignity, socialist ;
for democracy, equality, tolerance, reliability, accountability, rule of law;
for self-reliance, education, health-care, basic needs, hard work;
for unity, consensus, 'African-ness', liberation, unification, peace ;

Bad leadership:

dictatorship, 'charlatans and crooks', traitors, 'landlordism', capitalists;
authoritarian rule, elitism, selfishness, rapacity, obstinacy, arrogance;
corruption, abundance, privilege, money-bags, egoism, hypocrisy;
tribalism, aggression, 'instigator', violence, separatist, colonialism;

5. Leadership picture: Understanding and Interpretation (“U and I”)

Nyerere: good leadership (main quotations)

“There are still too many of our people living in hovels, and who could not afford to pay an economic rent for a decent house even if one were available. The lowest wages must increase still further.”

“We must choose between buying another car for the President or a tractor for a maize farm. The more we buy of the goods to enjoy, the less we can buy of the goods which will produce wealth in the future.”

“In practice we have allowed running expenses to increase much faster than we had planned. Now, we must either reduce services, or provide them more economically. We must have more financial discipline within government and government institutions.”

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Good leadership is:

Knowing the resources, accepting the conditions (poverty!) and achieving the goals: better health, education, supply of basic needs. Money-saving instead of lavish spending. Good leadership focuses on supplying the basic needs and catering for the poorest. Leaders have to be self-disciplined and must set a good example; they have also to be self-critical and to admit mistakes.

Nyerere: bad leadership (main quotation)

“Some of the things we have done in the recent past, like buying big cars for the Regional Commissioners, were bad mistakes of this kind. They must not be repeated. Everyone knows that we are not rich.”

U and I

Bad leadership is:

Living like the rich and ignoring the fact of poverty. Misuse of wealth (money) for private issues are evils, which have to be eradicated. We remember hypocrisy in leadership: ‘to preach water and to drink wine’!

6. Researcher's reflection

Nyerere saw the need to improve economic development. Guaranteeing incentives for farmers could increase the production and create more wealth, and importantly, it could provide more food for everybody. On the other hand, he rejected the idea of introducing more free-market policy, which could easily lead to capitalism, the enemy of Ujamaa socialism. Nyerere was in a trap, and with him many of his close friends and consultants. They feared that more private (economic) initiatives would lead to more private income (profit) and create

different classes in society; they were not ready to pay such a high 'price' for more efficient production. The political philosophy and economic concept of *Ujamaa* and self-reliance policy was for Nyerere and the majority of leaders the only viable way; a free-market economy – capitalism – was no alternative. In the centralized *Ujamaa* model, there was little space for (democratic) experiments, despite Nyerere's vocation for 'rural socialism'.

There are only a few good examples of successful co-operatives; because of interventions by dogmatic party-leaders several of the very efficient and productive initiatives with grass-roots empowerment were 'disciplined', some even dissolved. However, another approach, the 'third way', a social-market policy was developed in Germany towards the end of the 1960s. It became the economic approach for social democrats in Europe for decades. However this could not become a realistic alternative for Nyerere and TANU. Social-market policy was part of the capitalist paradigm.

Tally sheet 6N

Speech 6N: Policy on Foreign Affairs (18 pages)

1. Basic data

Event/Reason: National Conference of TANU with African and international guests.

Date and venue: 16 October 1967; Mwanza, Victoria Lake, Tanzania.

Topic: Policy on foreign affairs (6th speech in list, random, 6N, pp. 367 – 384).

Summary: The Tanzanian way to socialism (socialist nation); the perspective for freedom and peace in Africa and Tanzania's/Nyerere's international policy. Nyerere talked about the African situation and burning problems (apartheid etc.), the need for regional and political unity and evaluates some international events and policies. He formulated the Tanzanian positions regarding some international crises.

Target group (Tz, A, Int.): TANU delegates, political delegations from regional African states and further guests. Special guests: President Kaunda of Zambia and President Obote of Uganda. About 2000 conference participants.

Source: Nyerere, 1968.

2. Coding (manifest)

14.05.04: marked keywords (all words and wild cards):

1. leader 4, government 27, people 27 (58) pink
2. democracy 5, participation 0, human 7, right 7 (19) green
3. development , poverty 0 education 12 (8) red
4. unity 12, peace 15, union 2 (29) blue

checked: 04.8.; 16.9., 18.10., 29.1.05, 13.02., 16.02.05, 14.7.05

Top keywords: government 27, peace 15, unity 12, education 12.

3. Context aspects

Historical and political context

In Tanzania a certain political and economic consolidation has happened; in 1967 the political ideology and policy of Tanzania (Ujamaa-Socialism) was published and 'planted' as the *Arusha Declaration*. This political model is based on equality as a human right, economic and educational self-reliance, and African unity with freedom and peace.

In the wider African context, however, conflicts and problems have increased. Near the end of 1965, Ian Smith in Rhodesia unilaterally declared the country's independence from Britain, refusing equal rights to the black majority. Tanzania and others therefore broke diplomatic relations with the UK who eventually accepted Smith's step. In 1966 Ghana's President Nkrumah, the "towering leader" (Mazrui, 1999) was toppled; his socialist politics played a role in that. Some of the 38 sovereign African states followed the capitalist way: for example Ivory Coast in West Africa, Kenya in East Africa. In North-East Africa and Palestine the Israeli 'Blitzkrieg' (6-day war) in June 1967, against Jordan and Egypt, aggravated the situation in North Africa and complicated Tanzanian relations with both Palestine and Israel.

In 1966 the OAU (at its third summit in Addis Ababa) and September 1967 (fourth summit in Kinshasa) showed cracks: in Kinshasa only 13 of 38 heads of state participated; Nyerere did not. Heile Selassie tried unsuccessfully to mediate because of the Biafra war. Tanzania (Nyerere!) was one of the few who supported Biafra's freedom in the separation-struggle in Nigeria.

Internationally the USA-led Vietnam War provoked in many countries (Europe!) massive, sometimes violent, demonstrations against the USA, and at home movements for equal rights for all Americans were formed and became powerful (e.g. the Black Panthers in

1966). Nyerere and Tanzania condemned the war. Violence flared and escalated in many countries, though not in Tanzania. The 'revolutionary banner' against war and oppression carried messages like 'freedom, human rights for everybody, socialism'.

China and the Soviet Union (USSR) increased their influence on the African continent and fuelled 'international solidarity' and promoted communism.

Nyerere context

Nyerere's standing within Tanzania was solid and well-rooted. The *Arusha Declaration* – the programme for a socialist development in Tanzania – was well received within TANU and societal groups and led to enthusiastic activities and cooperation within the young population (preferred by Nyerere) e.g. at the university in Dar es Salaam, as well as within urban communities and rural areas. Nyerere worked on the policy paper for 'self-governance in communities' as a needed supplement to *ujamaa* in order to support the (new) villages and to strengthen the numerous socio-economic initiatives expected to benefit people's development. Nyerere's ethical and political commitment to fight poverty was unbroken, and fundamental to success. From the TANU leadership and from other leaders he expected such a responsibility for the country. But not all leaders followed such principles, and part of the growing public service also became tempted to search for 'a better life' for themselves. Nyerere observed and intervened sometimes but dealt with such attitudes and behaviour as exceptions. The political philosophy *Ujamaa* was the only viable way; free-market economy – capitalism – was no alternative!

Very early on, Nyerere took sides in the Nigerian Biafra war (1966–70), therefore he contributed to a visible split within the positions of his neighbouring countries and within the OAU. He justified his viewpoint by basing it on the human and cultural rights of the people for freedom and peace, and set this against the oppressing violence of the dominant political and military power. He claimed adequate socio-economic development (participation in the wealth of the oil-profits!) for 'Biafra', as well as for its political self-determination within Nigeria. Nyerere stood firm and unswerving – but quite alone. He called for a powerful United Nations and he tied up closer contacts to China.

4. Coding (latent)

Selected speech statements (quotations – extract from Policy on Foreign Affairs)

“As the supreme body of the Party in a one-party state, this conference has to consider the direction in which we are moving, and decide whether the nation is on the right path. It has to lay down the principles of action, and give guidance and leadership to the people.

“Let me first look at some of the problems of non-alignment. We desire friendship with these non-Western nations as well as with Western states, and on the same basis of mutual non-interference with internal affairs. We shall not allow any of our friendships to be exclusive; we shall not allow anyone to choose any of our friends or enemies for us.

“I believe that two things are essential: first, an immediate and unconditional end to the bombing of North Vietnam. And second: a settlement should be reached on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreements. Neither North Vietnam nor the Vietcong can be forced to the conference table; that should by now be clear. The USA must recover from the delirium of power, and return to the principles upon which her nation was founded. Those millions of Americans who are now opposing their government's policies in this matter, and calling for peace, are working for the honour of their country.

“The establishment of the state of Israel was an act of aggression against the Arab people. It was connived at by the international community because of the history of persecution against the Jews. The Arab states did not and could not accept that act of aggression. We believe that there cannot be lasting peace in the Middle East until the Arab states have accepted the fact of Israel. But the Arab states cannot be beaten into such acceptance. Israel has had her victory, at terrible cost in human lives. She must now accept that the United Nations which sanctioned her birth is, and must be, unalterably opposed to territorial aggrandizement by force or threat of force.

“That is Tanzania's position. We recognize Israel and wish to be friendly with her as well as with the Arab nations. But we cannot condone aggression on any pretext, nor accept victory in war as a justification for the exploitation of other lands, or government over other peoples.

“There is, however, one further point I must make with reference to the United Nations ...That is the fact that the People's Republic of China is still excluded from the United Nations, and the Chinese seat occupied by representatives of a Government which was overthrown eighteen years ago. Tanzania will continue to advocate China's admission to her rightful place in the United Nations.

“We continue to support, and to seek to strengthen, the United Nations in its search for peace and justice; we maintain our belief in African unity as a vital objective for Tanzania and the whole continent...

“The total liberation of Africa must be a continuing concern of every independent African state. And legal independence is not enough; legally the Union [sic] of South Africa is a sovereign state ... Co-existence is impossible; for if the African peoples of South Africa and Rhodesia have no human right to govern themselves, then what is the basis of Tanzania's existence, of Zambia's, of Kenya's, and so on? If the principle of white supremacy is accepted anywhere in Africa it will seek to spread, and there will be no peace for any of us.

“We did everything possible to avoid the dangerous necessity of guerrilla fighting of black against white, for we are aiming at human dignity, not racial wars. But it is now quite clear that only the African people's own efforts can turn the tide in Southern Rhodesia.

“No one, for example, – and certainly not a neighbour – could have failed to rejoice when President Mobutu replaced Moïse Tshombe as the effective ruler of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. By that change Africa moved from the position where an African traitor was in charge of one of the largest, and potentially most powerful, of its states, to a position where an African nationalist and patriot took control.

“I do not think I will be misunderstood when I express Tanzania's interest in the unity and progress of our East African partner. Differences of economic and political organisation can certainly be accommodated within the arrangements for East African co-operation; yet it would be stupid to pretend that the feudalism and parochialism which were enshrined in the old Uganda constitution did not have some effect on the degree of unity which was possible between our three states. We must accept the full implications of the existing separate sovereignty of all African states. We have to recognise that whether or not we like the government and policy of another African state, it is still the government of that state, and has full freedom to make its own decisions.

“Socialism or capitalism is a matter for each separate nation; the interpretation of our common policy of non-alignment is a matter for each government and people – at least at this stage of our development.

“All independent Africa, for example, calls for the complete trade boycott of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. But if Lesotho or Botswana tried to implement it they would

be condemned to complete economic collapse – and might even be militarily occupied by South Africa as well. In neither case could the rest of Africa do anything effective to help.

“We have to accept that close contact between any two men, or any two nations, has certain implications. It means greater opportunities for co-operation for mutual benefit. It also means greater possibilities of conflict. Tanzania, for example, has feelings of warm friendship for the government of Guinea under the leadership of President Sekou Toure; its feelings are less warm towards certain other West African states.

“For we are all neighbours of one another. If Tanzania works in harmony with Kenya and with Zambia, then Kenya and Zambia are linked together. If Kenya then co-operates with Ethiopia, then Tanzania and Zambia are both linked to Ethiopia – and so on throughout our continent. This is the way forward for Africa now. We can have our all-African meetings, both political and technical. But experience has shown that the success and the effectiveness of these meetings depends upon good neighbourhood relations in all the different parts of Africa.

“We in East Africa have, I believe, learned this lesson. The conference of eleven African states which was held in Nairobi in March 1966 under the able chairmanship of President Kenyatta, had the sole purpose of increasing understanding and co-operation between East Africa and its neighbours. It achieved that purpose; indeed the Tanzania delegation was unanimously of the opinion that we had never attended a more useful and constructive political gathering.

“The East African Treaty of Co-operation marks a vitally important step forward for Uganda, Kenya, and ourselves. We have now agreed on a thorough and complete reform of the arrangements for economic co-operation which we inherited from our ex-colonial masters; we have established what can become a real common market, and really effective instruments for joint economic services ... Tanzania is one of eleven nations involved in discussions which could lead to the creation of an Economic Community of Eastern Africa.

“We have a long way to go and a great deal of hard work to be done before any of us will derive practical benefit. But, if we succeed, we may in time be able to do away with internal tariffs from the Sudan, south and east, up to Zambia.

“Dar es Salaam is also, of course, an increasingly important port for Zambia – along with Mtwara in the south. Delegates will have heard with the same joy as President Kaunda and myself that there is a real prospect that the railway linking our two countries will now be

built. The engineering survey will start soon; after that we have, from the People's Republic of China, such assurances of further practical and financial help that completion need not be doubted.

“Only in the case of South Africa, the racist colonialism of Portugal, and the Smith regime of Southern Rhodesia, does such settlement of differences seem inherently impossible. With those countries we can never negotiate until they abandon their present rejection of the basic principle of human intercourse – the equality of men.”

Key questions for the researcher: What is good leadership; what is bad leadership?

Some terms derived from Nyerere's texts to describe or portray leadership:

Good leadership:

leader of the people, honesty, vision, solidarity, dignity, socialist;
for democracy, equality, tolerance, reliability, accountability, rule of law;
for self-reliance, education, health-care, basic needs, hard work;
for unity, consensus, 'African-ness', liberation, unification, peace ;

Bad leadership:

dictatorship, 'charlatans and crooks', traitors, 'landlordism', capitalists;
authoritarian rule, elitism, selfishness, rapacity, obstinacy, arrogance;
corruption, abundance, privilege, money-bags, egoism, hypocrisy;
tribalism, aggression, 'instigator', violence, separatist, colonialism.

5. Leadership picture: Understanding and Interpretation (“U and I”)

Nyerere: good leadership (main quotations)

“That is Tanzania's position. We recognize Israel and wish to be friendly with her as well as with the Arab nations. But we cannot condone aggression on any pretext, nor accept victory in war as a justification for the exploitation of other lands, or government over other peoples.”

“There is, however, one further point I must make with reference to the United Nations ... That is the fact that the People's Republic of China is still excluded from the United Nations, and the Chinese seat occupied by representatives of a Government which was

overthrown eighteen years ago. Tanzania will continue to advocate China's admission to her rightful place in the United Nations."

"All independent Africa, for example, calls for the complete trade boycott of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. But if Lesotho or Botswana tried to implement it they would be condemned to complete economic collapse – and might even be militarily occupied by South Africa as well. In neither case could the rest of Africa do anything effective to help."

"We in East Africa have, I believe, learned this lesson. The conference of eleven African states which was held in Nairobi in March 1966 under the able chairmanship of President Kenyatta, had the sole purpose of increasing understanding and co-operation between East Africa and its neighbours."

"Dar es Salaam is also, of course, an increasingly important port for Zambia – along with Mtwara in the south. Delegates will have heard with the same joy as President Kaunda and myself that there is a real prospect that the railway linking our two countries will now be built. The engineering survey will start soon; after that we have, from the People's Republic of China, such assurances of further practical and financial help that completion need not be doubted."

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Good leadership is:

A policy of non-alignment but not of neutrality!

Formulating clear and reliable political positions which are based on the values of the United Nations. Capability and courage to assess major political developments and events worldwide (Vietnam, Israel-Egypt, Biafra, South Africa) with consistent ethical principles, based on human dignity and self-determination. Double-standards and tactical hypocrisy undermine political credibility with both enemies and friends.

To promote consequently regional bodies and geographical and political unity (EAC) to gain momentum as a political player. For viable political-economical co-operation, an infrastructure (railway between Tanzania and Zambia) is essential.

To implement pragmatic policy whenever it is needed. To favour peace-solutions which can stand on their own (Israel-Palestine) and to balance the different interests, not favouring

one-sided solutions which have no sustainability (e.g. a boycott of South Africa by Lesotho or Botswana).

Nyerere: bad leadership (main quotations)

“I do not think I will be misunderstood when I express Tanzania’s interest in the unity and progress of our East African partner. Differences of economic and political organisation can certainly be accommodated within the arrangements for East African co-operation. We have established what can become a real common market, and really effective instruments for joint economic services ... Tanzania is one of eleven nations involved in discussions which could lead to the creation of an Economic Community of Eastern Africa.”

U and I

Bad leadership is:

Creating unrealistic expectations in crucial policies; underestimating political and economic complexity. In particular the idea of an easy merger between socialist national economies (Tanzania, later Uganda) with the free-market economy of Kenya was illusionary: they are two contradictory approaches. The big ‘common market’ project was only a dream as long as the transformational conditions were not clearly discussed and a consensus reached.

Such political ‘wishful thinking’ carries risks, which can cause disappointment with the leadership and the people and generates political and economic damage in the case of failure. On the other hand, visions often motivated the leadership to follow; a vision somehow gives direction and guidelines for leadership and can contribute to a high motivation in implementing difficult policies, e.g. ‘villagisation’ and self-governance.

6. Researcher’s reflection

Nyerere’s international standing as an extraordinary leader was informed by his human vision, his ethical and political commitments, and his bright knowledge about African affairs and international politics. His convincing commitment to fight poverty and struggle for African freedom and unity was unbroken, and fundamental to further success. From the TANU leadership and from other leaders he expected such a responsibility for their country (see ‘leadership code’ in section 2.4.4.1.). But not all leaders followed such principles, and part of the growing public service also became tempted to search for ‘a better life’ for

themselves; corruption became a serious issue. Nyerere observed and intervened sometimes but dealt with such attitudes and behaviour as exceptions.

Nyerere's weakness or failure in handling an adequate economic policy, might have to do with his rejection of capitalism as a whole. He probably did not study the differences between 'free-market' and 'social-market' economies and their political and social impacts.

Regarding the East African Community: Nyerere's powerful optimism for regionalisation and good neighbourliness to unite Africa was quite limitless. It was a rather naive perception or hope, to shape the 'real common market' under different political and economic systems: capitalism and socialism and within a variety of culturally different states

Tally sheet 7N

Speech 7N: Things We Must Correct (8 pages)

1. Basic data

Event/Reason: Republic Day broadcast.

Date and venue: 9 December 1968; Tanzania.

Topic: Mistakes and weaknesses of Tanzanian government policy and of the leadership (7th speech in list, random, 7N, pp 72–79).

Summary: Nyerere talks about some grave mistakes of the political and socio-economic development of Tanzania. He particularly points out that the principle of equality is at stake (because of tribalism, colour discrimination); intrigues within the leadership gather momentum – local government intrigues and problems of co-operation. Also weak agricultural production. A very political and educational speech about the basics of socialism and the policy of self-reliance.

Target group (Tz, A, Int.) Tanzanians, especially leaders of TANU and of the Parliament of Tanzania; and international organisations, and diplomats.

Source: Nyerere, 1973b.

2. Coding (manifest)

18.08.04: marked keywords (words and wildcards):

1. leader 1, government 15, people 31 (39) pink
 2. democracy 0, participation 0, human 3, right (0) green
 3. development 2, poverty 0, education 12 () red
 4. unity 3, peace 0, union 3 (7) blue
 - (5. economy, -ic:)
- checked: 18.8., 27.11., 27.12., 29.1.05, 18.02., 14.07.05

Top keywords: government 15, education 12, unity 3, human 3

3. Context aspects

Historical and political context

Tanzania had intensified the economic and political co-operation in the central and East African region, from Congo to Zambia. Particularly with Zambia, and her socialist President Kaunda, an intensive collaboration took place. For example the Tazama pipeline, an oil pipeline between the harbour of Dar es Salaam and the Zambian town of Ndola, was an impressive joint investment in the region and a proof of African capacity in technical and industrial modernisation. (The embargo on Rhodesia was the cause for the Zambian oil-support crisis.)

Besides a certain political and economic consolidation in Tanzania, a new culture of leadership with new leaders was emerging, which did not agree with the humble living conditions and the principles of (Nyerere's) modesty. Some of these leaders were oriented towards a capitalist and western lifestyle, and a belief that the real benefit for work was money.

Even though the political ideology and policy of Tanzania (Ujamaa-Socialism) was published and 'planted' in the *Arusha Declaration* in 1967, a small group of leaders did not agree with this socialist model. Tanzanian socialism was based on equality as a human right, on social justice and economic and educational self-reliance, coupled with African unity, freedom and peace. On the other hand, *ujamaa* was founded on a policy of supply for basic needs, which did not allow leaders to articulate further needs and to strive for more (capitalistic) individuality in their personal lives.

Internationally, the year 1968 was defined by escalations in dangerous situations in the East-West conflict: the ongoing cruel USA-led Vietnam war provoked protests and further violence in many countries, especially in the USA and Europe. A violent student protest in France against the out-dated authoritarian educational system (Paris, May 1968) spread over Europe and even further.

The Soviet Union (with satellite states Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and East Germany) invaded Czechoslovakia with military troops (in August 1968) and ended the 'Prague Spring', halting the transformation of the communist government and society to a socialist democratic one. This communist military intervention led to controversial debates within the communist movement and to the split of parties in Europe where a group of new democratic parties ('euro-communists') emerged. The process of democratisation in all sectors of life had started.

Nyerere context

Nyerere's two extended tours in 1968 – to West Africa (Ivory Coast and Liberia) and to Asia (China and North Korea) – were more than symbolic, and pointed out to his political priorities. The visit to Ivory coast, for example, was undertaken to promote the aim of African unity, despite different political preferences – the formerly French-colonised country followed a rather market-oriented policy. The visit to China served the development of co-operation between the two countries, and intensified China's economic support for Tanzania. China's industrial investments and financial assistance, for example the 'Friendship Textile Mill' which opened in July 1968, and the initiation of the Tanzania-Zambia ('Tanzam') railway project, were important contributions to Tanzania's self-reliance policy.

Nyerere's reputation was solid and well-rooted. The *Arusha Declaration*, the programme for a socialist development in Tanzania, was generally well received within TANU and societal groups and led to enthusiastic activities and co-operation within the young population at the university in Dar es Salaam as well as in the urban communities and rural areas. Nyerere also discovered serious structural problems in the backbone of rural development, the *ujamaa*-village policy. He writes as early as October 1968 in a paper for the leadership of the National Executive Committee Meeting in Tanga, that "no one can be forced into an *ujamaa* village", and adds, "An *ujamaa* village is a voluntary association of people who decide of their own free will to live together and work together for their common

good” (Nyerere, 1973b: 67). On the other hand, many peasants were forced by TANU leadership to move into *ujamaa* villages.

Nyerere's ethical and political commitment to fight poverty was unbroken and still fundamental to the success of the new socialist society. He expected such a responsibility for the country from TANU leadership and other leaders of the society. But not all leaders followed such principles; part of the growing public service became tempted to search for a 'better life' for themselves. Nyerere observed that the TANU leadership was quite diverse in its interests and motivations.

4. Coding (latent)

Selected speech statements (quotations – extract from 'Things We Must Correct')

“One thing which makes me very happy is to see how our young men and women in positions of responsibility in government and parastatal organisations improve their work year by year. Sometimes I am afraid when I see how these young people are working, because it seems to me that they are in danger of damaging their physical or mental health by the amount and the intensity of the work they try to do. Many primary school teachers are therefore left without the money they have earned, and which they need, to keep themselves and their families. I am grateful to these teachers that they have not gone on strike.”

“The last thing I want to talk about today is unity. Our country is one of those in Africa which is highly praised for its unity. We have no tribalism, no religious quarrelling, no colour discrimination, and we oppose discrimination and oppression on grounds of tribe, religion, or colour, wherever it exists.

“The most basic belief of our Party is about the equality of man, and its first canon is a statement of our humanity and our African-ness. TANU believes that all men are equal; and every TANU member, of his own free will, accepts the statement: 'All men are my brothers, and Africa is one.'

“There are two things I want to say. The first is to ask any citizen who has some evidence of tribalism, to pass that evidence in confidence to anyone whom he trusts and who will be able to get the information either to me, to the First or Second Vice-President or to Chief Mang'anya. I promise you that we shall deal with anyone who practices tribalism.

“In order to be a political leader, a man does not have to have any particular educational qualifications. But the work of the civil servants and people in the parastatal organisations

does require education – indeed, year after year we spend large amounts of money on education just so that later on our young people will be able to do the work of government and public institutions.

“For the time being we use foreign experts and those few Tanzanians who had the good fortune to go to school during the colonial times. It so happened that the Tanzanians who had the opportunity for higher education under the colonialists were mostly Wahaya, Wachagga and Wanyakyusa. And because most of the education was provided by missionaries, most of these people are also Christians. That was our inheritance.

“Anyone who refuses to accept a very obvious truth like this, and says that the reason is tribalism, must provide us with the evidence for his statement. If he cannot provide any evidence, we must conclude either that he is a fool, or that he is stirring up tribalism deliberately. He is the sort of person who begs work on a tribal basis, and when he is refused because he does not have the capabilities, he pretends he was refused on tribal grounds.

“Africans cannot say that they are truly free if they are the shadows, puppets or the stooges, of other countries. Freedom is equality, and the first step is for us ourselves to recognise our equality with other countries.

“I am not saying that we are better than the Europeans, the Asians, or the Chinese. I have never said this, and I shall not say it, because it would be a lie. And when I say these things, I am not saying that the people of other countries dislike us or wish us ill. I have never said this, and I shall not say it, because it is not true.

“Some of our people have ill-will towards Europeans or Asians, not because of any sin these people have committed, but just because they are Europeans or Asians. My brothers, do not pay any heed to these whisperers. Treat people according to their own actions, as individuals, not according to their colour.

“Take, for example, the Asians here. A socialist country usually divides people into two categories. The first are the exploiters – the capitalists and feudalists – and the second are those who are exploited – the workers and peasants.

“Those whom a socialist country abhors are the capitalists and feudalists, but the thing which socialists attack is their exploitation, not the people themselves. It is absolutely taboo for a socialist country to divide people according to their colour and afterwards to persecute them because of their colour, even if they are peasants or workers.

“Last year, when we nationalised the banks, the capitalists thought we would fail to keep them running because they knew that there were no Africans with the knowledge necessary to run a bank properly. And immediately the big banks withdrew all their managers, because they knew that if the banks failed to work, our entire economy would collapse, and therefore the *Arusha Declaration* would fail. But although there were no Africans who had the knowledge to keep these banks running properly, fortunately there were Asians who had this knowledge. So we immediately appointed the best qualified Asians to be managers. Then, instead of collapsing, the banks continued to operate, and work went ahead very well. And after a few weeks we began to reduce the salaries and perquisites of the civil servants and workers in nationalised industries.

“In fact, these people deserve the gratitude of our country, because together with other Tanzanians they enabled us to support the *Arusha Declaration* with deeds. Yet now a Wazanaki goes to the bank to borrow money: he is refused a loan because he does not have any security or for some other good reason. And afterwards he comes running to me or to the Chairman of TANU, saying that the Asians favour each other and that we should make Wazanaki managers of the banks.

“Even if we did not believe that all men are our brothers, there is a Swahili saying: ‘Better an unbeliever who helps than a Muslim who is no good.’ But, in any case, we are socialists.

“It is possible that not all socialist countries in the world believe as we do that all men are our brothers; but all socialists, and all who call themselves socialists, believe that all workers are brothers, regardless of their colour, religion or citizenship.

“If we have really accepted the principle that all men are our brothers, and that Africa is one, we will also believe – and more easily – that all Tanzanians are brothers and that Tanzania is one.

“But unfortunately things are not going so well as regards Local Government. At first we thought that the reason was the shortage of good and experienced local government employees, and in the last few years we have made great efforts to send more educated and better quality people into the local government service. This has reduced the problem, but in some places good local government workers are unable to do their work properly because of interference and intrigue by the Councillors. For these reasons the troubles in local government are continuing, even in those places which have good employees.

“Again, in the new constitutions of Local Councils, the President is given power to nominate a certain number of councillors. Many of those who were chosen are experienced in different fields, and they were appointed in order that they should help their fellow councillors on matters of planning and development. When I investigate, the answer is very often that their reluctance to attend stems from the fact that Council meetings are not relevant to development, but that the time is spent on political intrigue, in discussing allowances, or in abusing the local government workers. I am now asking, with great seriousness, that those in charge of local councils should make an effort to change these habits.

“For a long time many councils have just been doing educational work; they have given up almost everything else. But now some of them are even proving incapable of looking after primary education. The greater part of the money for teachers’ wages is paid by the central government, but instead of setting this money on one side to pay the teachers their money as it becomes due, many councils are spending this money on other things.”

Key questions for the researcher: What is good leadership; what is bad leadership?

Some terms derived from Nyerere’s texts to describe or portray leadership:

Good leadership:

leader of the people, honesty, vision, solidarity, dignity, socialist;
 for democracy, equality, tolerance, reliability, accountability, rule of law;
 for self-reliance, education, health-care, basic needs, hard work;
 for unity, consensus, ‘African-ness’, liberation, unification, peace ;

Bad leadership:

dictatorship, ‘charlatans and crooks’, traitors, ‘landlordism’, capitalists;
 authoritarian rule, elitism, selfishness, rapacity, obstinacy, arrogance;
 corruption, abundance, privilege, money-bags, egoism, hypocrisy;
 tribalism, aggression, ‘instigator’, violence, separatist, colonialism;

5. Leadership picture: Understanding and Interpretation (“U and I”)

Nyerere: good leadership (main quotations)

“One thing which makes me very happy is to see how our young men and women in positions of responsibility in government and parastatal organisations improve their work year by year.”

“In order to be a political leader, a man does not have to have any particular educational qualifications. But the work of the civil servants and people in the parastatal organisations does require education.”

“I promise you that we shall deal with anyone who practices tribalism.”

“It is possible that not all socialist countries in the world believe as we do that all men are our brothers; but all socialists, and all who call themselves socialists, believe that all workers are brothers, regardless of their colour, religion or citizenship.”

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Good leadership is:

Assessing and evaluating realistically the efforts and achievements or the deficits and failures of governmental organisations and institutions. Motivating the many committed young women and men and expressing gratitude and praising their selfless co-operation and hard work. Equally important is to give guidelines in keeping with the political principles of equality, unity and freedom, and undoubtedly to reject tribalism and racism – to act against the slightest whispers. Good leadership demands also early addressing of the real problems, for example the growing conflict between the local government workers and the councils.

Nyerere: bad leadership (main quotations)

“Many primary school teachers are therefore left without the money they have earned, and which they need, to keep themselves and their families. I am grateful to these teachers that they have not gone on strike ... The greater part of the money for teachers' wages is paid by the Central Government, but instead of setting this money on one side to pay the teachers their money as it becomes due, many councils are spending this money on other things.”

“... in some places good local government workers are unable to do their work properly because of interference and intrigue by the Councillors. For these reasons the troubles in local government are continuing, even in those places which have good employees. When I investigate, the answer is very often that their [the expert employees'] reluctance to attend stems from the fact that council meetings are not relevant to development, but that the time is

spent on political intrigue, in discussing allowances, or in abusing local government workers.”

U and I:

Bad leadership is:

Undermining government policy in education; accepting that primary school teachers did not get their pay. Political intrigues, bribery and corruption are supposed to spread if there is no system of control or coercive measures. Needed are, for example, for the local government level, law enforcement, public transparency in finance and decision making, democratic participation for the citizens to express their (opposing) opinions.

6. Researcher's reflection

Some indications of bad leadership emerged within the Tanzanian government, particularly on village levels, though not only in rural areas. Money played a decisive and seductive role. The situation deteriorated between government workers and employees (sometimes experts) on the one hand and the often uneducated but powerful councillors on the other. Such a conflict still exists in the year 2004 in Tanzania, even with increased accountability and transparency of public offices. The objective of self-governance of communities, the policy of decentralisation (1972), and free and fair local government elections since 1993 (exception: Zanzibar) has not been able to protect Tanzania from becoming an increasingly corrupt country. In the year 2002, the international organisation Transparency International (TI, 2004), ranked the country as one of the ten most corrupt countries. Tanzania has improved since then. In 2004 it was placed within the group “90-96” out of 146 screened countries with an indicator of 2,8 (9,7 is Finland, the best; the worst Haiti scored 1,4).

Nyerere also discovered serious structural problems in the backbone of rural development, the *ujamaa*-village policy. He writes in October 1968 in a paper for the leadership of the National Executive Committee Meeting in Tanga, that “no one can be forced into an *ujamaa* village”, and adds, “An *ujamaa* village is a voluntary association of people who decide of their own free will to live together and work together for their common good” (Nyerere, 1973b: 67). But many peasants were forced by TANU leadership to move into *ujamaa* villages, what particularly in the 1970s lead to stronger criticism and sometimes to an undermining of the basic idea of *ujamaa* .On the other hand, the criticism of peasants

and inhabitants of *ujamaa* villages caused an often authoritarian and restrictive reaction by the local or regional political leadership of TANU, who felt that their influence and power to control the 'adequate implementation' had been jeopardized. Nyerere tried to influence party leadership (TANU, later the CCM – Chama Cha Mapinduzi – the party of the revolution) in the direction of honesty and accountability; he tried to diminish the influence of 'patrimonial' leadership. Nyerere hardly used law enforcement or other coercive means to discipline leaders and to make certain his policy and politics. Therefore he sometimes failed: African tradition often is built on families, clans and patrimonial leadership – something that Nyerere knew.

Consequently the coherence of the extended family survived as a strong obligation, continuing to be influential in social systems; but I doubt whether such an ethical attitude as 'solidarity' (with the poor) was widely spread and whether it showed any increased importance.

Tally sheet 8N

Speech N8: Adult education year (4 pages)

1. Basic data

Event/Reason: New Year's Eve Broadcast.

Date and venue: 31 December 1969; Tanzania.

Topic: Adult Education Year 1970.

Adult Education Year; (8th speech in list, random, 8N, pp 137–141).

Summary: Nyerere talks about education as precondition for social and economic development. The year 1970 has been declared as the year to attack the ignorance of adult citizens. The speech deals with some aspects of education and learning as tools to tackle people's problems. Nyerere, himself a teacher (*mwalimu*), explores the significant role of education for society and for each human being: "To live is to learn; and to learn is to try to live better!"

Target group (Tz, A, Int.): all Tanzanians, especially leaders of TANU, and teachers.

Source: Nyerere, 1973b.

2. Coding (manifest)

5.5.04: marked keywords (all word forms & wild cards)

1. leader 0, government 7, people 6 (13)
2. democra 0, participa 0, human 0, right 0 (0)
3. development 1, poverty 2, education 27 (30)
4. unity 0, peace 0, union 0 (0)

checked: 10.02.05, 17.02., 19.02., 14.07.05

Top keywords: education 27, government 7, poverty 2

3. Context aspects

Historical and political context

In 1969 big changes took place on the international scene. An exciting event was the US-led mission (Apollo 11) to the moon – for the first time, astronauts walked on the moon. The USA again took the lead in technological and military research from the USSR: the ‘space-age’ was initiated. Nyerere later says “While they are walking on the moon, we are walking kilometres to fetch water.”

The ongoing student revolution in Europe and elsewhere contributed to a change in political culture and democracy: for example the discourses of critical analysis and critical pedagogy gained momentum, and inspired intellectuals on the left as well as others. Student-led solidarity movements e.g. Africa-liberation groups (pro Frelimo, ZANUF, anti-apartheid etc.) emerged and promoted the idea of active contribution in the liberation struggle. In Tanzania young European researchers and scientists volunteered to support and stabilise the socialist experiment of *ujamaa*.

In Germany in 1969 a change in political leadership, from conservatives to social-democrats, contributed to a new policy approach of ‘democratisation of all sectors of society’. Chancellor Willy Brandt and the government focused on a new concept of conflict reduction, peace and a détente policy (*Entspannungspolitik*) with communist countries in East Europe and the USSR – including East Germany. North-South co-operation became an international concern and political issue, particularly for the ‘Socialist International’, where European socialist and social democratic parties (in Sweden, Austria and Germany) put their focus on the African continent. In 1969 FES started its development project in Tanzania

(mainland) – the official development service of the communist government of East Germany was still working on the island of Zanzibar.

In Tanzania, the new wave of European democratic culture influenced parts of the political and economic leadership. Some of these new leaders did not agree with the humble living conditions and the principles of (Nyerere's) modesty and claimed a 'better life', more openness for the political system and the country as a whole. Some were oriented towards a capitalist and western lifestyle, and a belief that the real benefit for work was money.

Nyerere context

Nyerere's reputation was on the increase, though more in Europe and North America than on the African continent. October 1969 he was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Law by the University of Toronto, Canada. In a remarkable speech (Stability and Change in Africa, Nyerere, 1973a:108–125) he once more unfolded the challenges for Tanzania on the way to Ujamaa-Socialism, and stressed the tasks of the African freedom struggle.

Nyerere did understand that the transformation of the whole society of Tanzania needed much time. He saw the challenges of teaching the essentials of socialism and realised that it would take a lot of hard work to implement its ideas, provide the needed goods and implant the spirit of equality. There was no shortcut to a socialist society, the deficits were numerous: patriarchal, partially-feudal structures at village level, and generally only few well-educated people to manage all sectors on the way to a stable socialist society with a committed leadership. He saw leadership problems and feared that some leaders could misdirect people and manipulate them against socialism. As a teacher Nyerere believed in the power and influence of education.

Kweka, a Tanzanian social scientist, describes that period of Nyerere's as "deep concern": "Nyerere emphasised the need for adult education which would enable people to understand these things, and hence to transform the existing leadership into a people's leadership whereby the leaders fear the judgement of the people. At the same time he felt there was a great shortage of educated people, of finance, and of committed, modern and thinking socialists" (Kweka, in Legum and Mmari, 1999:73).

4. Coding (latent)

Selected speech statements (quotations – extract from Adult Education Year)

“The importance of adult education, both for our country and for every individual, cannot be over-emphasised. We are poor, and backward, and too many of us just accept our present conditions as ‘the will of God’, and imagine that we can do nothing about them.”

“The first job of adult education will therefore be to make us reject bad houses, bad *jembe*, and preventable diseases; it will make us recognise that we ourselves have the ability to obtain better houses, better tools, and better health.

“The second objective of adult education is learning *how* to improve our lives. We thus have to learn how to produce more on our farms or in our factories and offices. We have to learn about better food, what a balanced diet is and how it can be obtained by our own efforts.”

“The third objective of adult education must therefore be for everyone to understand our national policies of socialism and self-reliance. And we must learn about the plans for national economic advance, so that we can ensure that we all play our part in making them a success, and that we all benefit from them.

“But what is adult education? Quite simply, it is learning – about anything at all which can help us to understand the environment we live in, and the manner in which we can change and use this environment in order to improve ourselves. Education is not just something which happens in classrooms. It is learning from others, and from our own experience of past successes or failures.

“Education is learning from books, from the radio, from films, from discussions about matters which affect our lives, and especially from *doing* things. This question of learning by doing is very important. The best way to learn to sew is to sew; the best way to learn to farm is to cultivate; the best way to learn cooking is to cook; the best way to learn how to teach is to teach; and so on.”

“I know that there are some of my literate fellow citizens who never read at all. Their purpose in going to school was to get a certificate which they could use to get work. After getting the certificate and using it to obtain employment, they just put the certificate on the wall so that everyone can see it. But they never use the knowledge of reading and writing; they never read at all. This is a big mistake which arises out of colonial attitudes of mind.

“A very pleasant thing about adult education is that we can learn what we want to learn, what we feel would be useful to us in our lives. At school, children are taught the things which we adults decide they should be taught. But adults are not like children who sit in

classrooms and are then taught history, or grammar, or a foreign language. As adults, we can try to learn these things if we wish; we do not have to do so. Instead, we can learn more about growing a particular crop, about the government, about house-building – about whatever interests us. We can build on the education we already have, using the tools of literacy or a foreign language, or an understanding of scientific principles. Or, if we never went to school, we can start by learning about the things of most immediate importance to us – better farming methods, better child care, better feeding. We do not even have to start by learning to read and write!

“For the rest of the world is advancing all the time. Other countries are using new methods of production, and are organising themselves for their own benefit. They will not wait for us! Unless we determine to educate ourselves we shall get left behind again; we shall be at the mercy of other nations and peoples. Independence which is subject to the decisions of other peoples is not independence; it is an illusion.

“The Government and the Party are simply organisations of citizens – a coming together of people for certain purposes. Neither the government, nor TANU, can do anything apart from the citizens; nor could these organisations do everything which has to be done in our country. Every one of us, through improving his own education, can begin to make improvements in his own life, and therefore in the lives of us all. Through educating ourselves more, each one of us can help to make our country stronger, and our children's lives better.

“We all have to be students; that is, we all have to be willing to learn, and anxious to use every method of learning that is available to us. We have to listen to the radio, learn from government workers, from people who themselves have had an opportunity to learn more, and of course from books and magazines and newspapers. And, as I said at the beginning, we have to learn from doing.”

Key questions for the researcher: What is good leadership; what is bad leadership?

Some terms derived from Nyerere's texts to describe or portray leadership:

Good leadership:

leader of the people, honesty, vision, solidarity, dignity, socialist;

for democracy, equality, tolerance, reliability, accountability, rule of law;

for self-reliance, education, health-care, basic needs, hard work;
for unity, consensus, 'African-ness', liberation, unification, peace.

Bad leadership:

dictatorship, 'charlatans and crooks', traitors, 'landlordism', capitalists;
authoritarian rule, elitism, selfishness, rapacity, obstinacy, arrogance;
corruption, abundance, privilege, money-bags, egoism, hypocrisy;
tribalism, aggression, 'instigator', violence, separatist, colonialism.

5. Leadership picture: Understanding and Interpretation ("U and I")

Nyerere: good leadership (main quotations)

"Other countries are using new methods of production, and are organising themselves for their own benefit. They will not wait for us! Unless we determine to educate ourselves we shall get left behind again; we shall be at the mercy of other nations and peoples. Independence which is subject to the decisions of other peoples is not independence; it is an illusion."

"The first job of adult education will therefore be to make us reject bad houses, bad *jembe*, and preventable diseases; it will make us recognise that we ourselves have the ability to obtain better houses, better tools, and better health."

"Education is learning from books, from the radio, from films, from discussions about matters which affect our lives, and especially from doing things. This question of learning by doing is very important. The best way to learn to sew is to sew; the best way to learn to farm is to cultivate; the best way to learn cooking is to cook; the best way to learn how to teach is to teach; and so on."

U and I (Nyerere and researcher – fusion of horizon)

Good leadership is:

Contributing to democratic participation and decision-making via adequate education and directly supporting cultural, social and economic development. Motivating people to accept change and cope with new situations. Offering and promoting adult education countrywide contributes to more equality. Helping followers (or leading people or

colleagues) to become self-confident, active and enterprising. Providing adequate methods and tools for tackling problems and mastering challenges. Education is a basic tool for better understanding and for appropriate acting, in private life and in the world of work. One recipe is 'learning by doing'. Literacy – reading and writing – is becoming a pre-condition for personal self-confidence and for professional competitiveness. 'Critical education', as an objective for good leadership, corresponds to human dignity. It can also contribute to a common identification of the leaders and the led, which often results in intense and sustainable co-operation and contribution. Adult education is interconnected with the idea of lifelong learning.

Nyerere: bad leadership (main quotations)

"We are poor, and backward; and too many of us just accept our present conditions as 'the will of God', and imagine that we can do nothing about them."

U and I

Bad leadership is:

The behaviour of abusing the power of leadership for cementing the status quo, often for gaining and/or securing privileges, and withholding equal rights for women and men. Misusing tradition and religious beliefs in order to justify or verify a specific situation or development; this happens often in traditional 'closed' and remote groups. False modesty or sheer laziness and reluctance. Such conduct, a bad leadership trait, seems to be quite widespread.

Also fatalistic thinking and acting (or only 'waiting') is still an often-practised bad conduct of leaders.

6. Researcher's reflection

Nyerere, the teacher (mwalimu), knows that education – learning and teaching – is crucial for the dignity of human beings. He himself as leader is the best example: education (not only schooling!) changed his life fundamentally (see Chapter 3, paragraph 1). Leadership needs education: life-long learning and critical pedagogy. Tanzanian socialism has been based on education to achieve equality as a human right. Education is essential to gain real independence as a society and to enjoy the fruits of freedom as equal partners in a changing

world. This speech is an extremely convincing appeal for education, and a heartfelt confession of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere's lifelong passion.

Education is crucial for the dignity of human beings and for the growth of a state or nation. He as a leader is the best example: education (not only schooling) changed his life fundamentally (see Chapter 3). Leadership needs education: life-long learning embedded in critical pedagogy and vocational and professional training. Tanzanian socialism has been based on education to achieve equality as a human right. Education is essential to gain real independence as a society and to enjoy the fruits of freedom as equal partners in a changing world. As a teacher, Nyerere believed in the power and influence of education until the end of his life. His most sustainable legacy and strongest contribution to social development was his achievements in the sector of education for women and men, girls and boys. Still in 2002 the Human Development Index (HDI, UNDP, 2004:180) shows a significant value above the average in Sub-Saharan Africa for the Adult literacy rate (77.1) and the Education index (0.62); otherwise Tanzania ranks below the average and, sadly she is on the decline since 1990. Tanzania ranks in 2002 only as 162 from 177 countries (least: Sierra Leone).

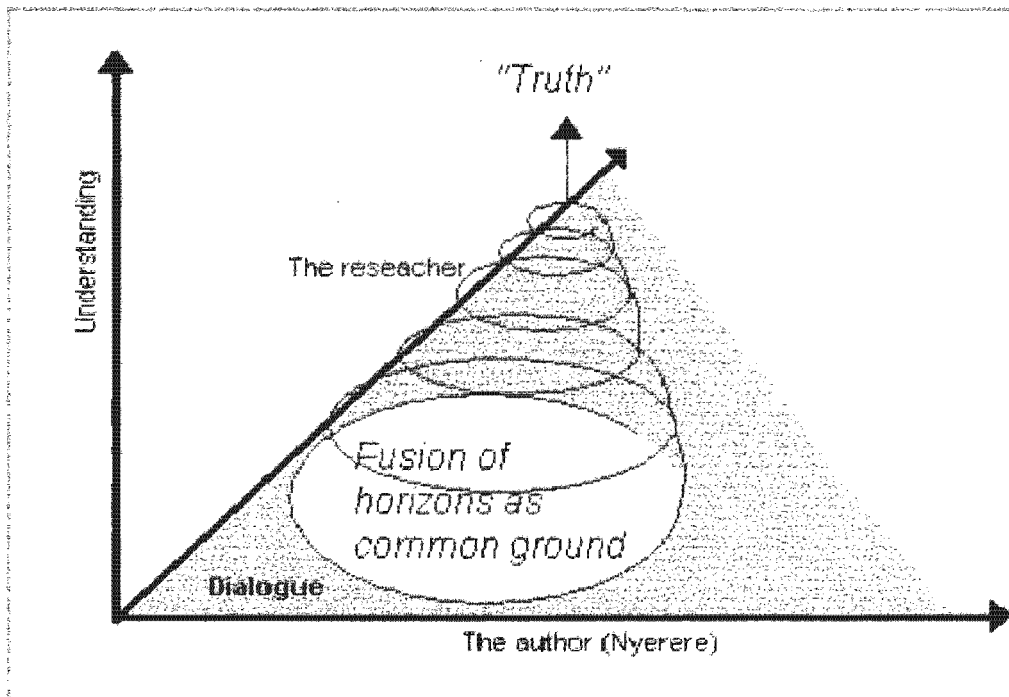
However, Nyerere saw leadership problems in the building of a new society and he feared that some leaders could misdirect more people and manipulate them against socialism. Nyerere was in a trap! On the one hand, he tried to disseminate the socialist messages of Ujamaa. It was quite a strict exercise to learn and to accept or obey the rules of a class-less society. On the other hand, he supported democratic development and socialism, which is an "extension of political democracy" (Nyerere, 1973:179).

Appendix 4

Hermeneutical circle or "spiral of understanding"

Adaptation of the 'Circle of Understanding' into a 'Spiral of Understanding', based on H.-G. Gadamer (1979 and 1990):

- The researcher has a pre-understanding of the historical, political and cultural context where the 'text' takes place (language). The 'horizons' of both partners can merge in dialogue. The 'fusion of horizons' forms a common ground. The author (Nyerere's text) and the researcher meet on such common ground. The dialogue can start. The 'fusion of horizons' is the base for further (a spiral) mutual – the researcher and the text – understanding.
- Aiming at a mutually consented possibility of 'truth', researcher and author further the dialogue. The researcher reads and re-reads the text: reading the whole to understand the part, then reading the part to better understand the whole in a "new light", and vice-versa etc.
- Each step (reading, re-reading etc.) leads to a new stage of understanding (new point on the spiral). If the process of understanding the partner's language (text) grows, the real conversation can take place. The spiral heads to the "truth".



P. Häussler 10/05

Appendix 5

Comparison of the profile of a "good leader" by Nyerere with that by YLTP

(Workshop- results, 2003)

1. Introduction: Nyerere's concept of a competent leader

Nyerere was, during his whole life, a strong supporter of life-long learning and "education for all" and a decisive promoter of training activities he believed in the positive impact of knowledge and skills for leadership. As early as August 1961, to the inauguration of the first higher learning institution in Tanzania, Nyerere stated:

"Leadership has many aspects but, most of all, it is the qualities of the mind which establish a man among his fellows. The ability to think logically, the capacity to express himself clearly and concisely, that mastery of his job which enables him to understand fully the implications of his decisions, all these are the hallmarks of the competent leader"(Nyerere, 1966:124).

2. Objectives: to find common traits of "good leaders"

How did we get the results and what do they show? The trainees in 2001 (in one group) had to develop a "profile of a good leader" and in 2003 (in three groups) the trainees had to "draw a picture of an ideal leader"⁸⁰. The groups used different pictures with symbols and texts to answer the questions. Two members of the FES-secretariat compiled the results of the group-works and listed their terms and concepts, which have been interpreted by the researcher; photos have been taken from the group-works to avoid mistakes in transforming the hand-outs into YLTP documents. The following presentation shows the simplified result of YLTP group-works and compares these results with Nyerere's leadership perspective.

The objective of the analysis is twofold: first, to find out which leadership traits and characteristics are commonly mentioned by all groups of trainees; second, to highlight mutually mentioned terms and concepts by the trainees and by Nyerere, in order to investigate areas of resemblances or differences between the two perceptions of "good/ideal

⁸⁰ YLTP, 1st February 2003, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

leaders". The starting point (basic terms) of the exercise is the set of terms expressed by the first group of trainees; these serve as 'terms of reference' for the following exercise.

a) The common traits and characteristics of the "good/ideal leader" by participants in YLTP:

- * Knowledgeable, knowledge, competence, knowledgeable
- * Creative and innovative, creative, creativity, creative
- * Self-evaluating, analytical, critical, critic
- * Ready to accept ideas, listener, information seeker, accept criticism
- * Accountable, not corrupt, integrity, integrity
- * Decisive, decision making, determined, stable

(Each of the horizontally listed four terms correspond with the results of the four YLTP groups: first [2001], second to fourth [2003].)

b) Nyerere's traits and characteristics for the "good-leader"⁸¹ :

- * charismatic
- * humble and reliable
- * knowledgeable, outspoken
- * listener, information seeker, self-critic
- * integer and accountable
- * decisive ,committed and hard-working
- * visionary, philosophic
- * social and "servant" rather than master
- * participatory and democratic
- * stubborn and persistent

3. Results: common perceptions between Nyerere and participants in YLTP

The following terms are a cross-cutting of YLTP-perceptions and Nyerere-perceptions of the "good leader".

- * Knowledgeable
- * Listener
- * Accountable
- * Decision maker
- * Self-evaluating and critical (mentioned by Nyerere and three of the groups)

⁸¹ see Chapter 5, *New African* (2004) and Bagenda and Haussler (2003)

Diverse characteristics which are important for “good leaders” are:

- * For Nyerere: to be servant rather than master, to be democratic
- * For YLTP: to be creative and innovative

We can assume that besides the above five core-characteristics, the other traits - 'democratic' and 'creative' - can equally be accepted as common characteristics of Nyerere and YLTP. Therefore we showed evidence that Nyerere and YLTP have similar pictures or perceptions of the good leader. These results and conclusions are strengthened and confirmed by the results of a non-representative pilot-study, run in 2003 with about 200 students from the University of Dar es Salaam (as detailed in Session 1.2.)⁸². The most important qualities of the “good leaders” – Nelson Mandela and Julius Nyerere - named by the students were “accountability and transparency, management skills, knowledge and social responsibility”. For both Nyerere and the YLTP's trainees, the economic competence of "good leaders" did not play a significant role.

4. Recommendations for YLTP

I recommend to YLTP (FES Tanzania) to give more emphasis to the subject matter "economy", to economic theory as well as to micro and macro-economic examples, with practical exercises of Tanzanian life and her global interlocking. I also recommend to YLTP to include in the future more topics and methods that could contribute to “creativity and innovation”, “self-evaluation and self-criticism” and to understand the “leader as servant”. These traits as new additions to the curriculum would probably find interest and motivation within the group of trainees and trainers; discussing the aspect of a ‘leader as servant’ supports the idea of democratic leadership and contributes to social development.

⁸² Bagenda and Häussler, 2003