Julius K. Nyerere, 
Africa’s Titan 
on a Global Stage
CAROLINA ACADEMIC PRESS
AFRICAN WORLD SERIES
Toyin Falola, Series Editor

Africa, Empire and Globalization:
Essays in Honor of A. G. Hopkins
Toyin Falola, editor, and Emily Brownell, editor

African Entrepreneurship in Jos, Central Nigeria, 1902–1985
S.U. Fwatshak

An African Music and Dance Curriculum Model:
Performing Arts in Education
Modesto Amegago

Authority Stealing:
Anti-Corruption War and Democratic Politics
in Post-Military Nigeria
Wale Adebanwi

The Bukusu of Kenya:
Folktales, Culture and Social Identities
Namulundah Florence

Contemporary African Literature: New Approaches
Tanure Ojaide

Contesting Islam in Africa:
Homegrown Wahhabism and Muslim Identity in Northern Ghana, 1920–2010
Abdulai Iddrisu

Democracy in Africa:
Political Changes and Challenges
Saliba Sarsar, editor, and Julius O. Adekunle, editor

Diaspora and Imagined Nationality:
USA-Africa Dialogue and Cyberframing Nigerian Nationhood
Koleade Odutola

Food Crop Production, Hunger, and Rural Poverty in
Nigeria’s Benue Area, 1920–1995
Mike Odugbo Odey

Globalization: The Politics of Global Economic Relations and International Business
N. Oluwafemi Mimiko
In Search of African Diasporas: Testimonies and Encounters
Paul Tiyambe Zeleza

Intercourse and Crosscurrents in the Atlantic World: Calabar-British Experience, 17th–20th Centuries
David Lishilinimle Imbua

Julius K. Nyerere, Africa’s Titan on a Global Stage: Perspectives from Arusha to Obama
Ali A. Mazrui and Lindah L. Mhando

Alexius Amtaika

Narratives of Struggle: The Philosophy and Politics of Development in Africa
John Ayotunde Isola Bewaji

Perspectives on Feminism in Africa
‘Lai Olurode, editor

Felix Ekechi

Satires of Power in Yoruba Visual Culture
Yomi Ola

The Tiv and Their Southern Neighbours, 1890–1990
Emmanuel Chiahemba Ayangàor

The Women’s War of 1929: A History of Anti-Colonial Resistance in Eastern Nigeria
Toyin Falola and Adam Paddock

The Yoruba Frontier: A Regional History of Community Formation, Experience, and Changes in West Africa
Aribidesi Usman

Women, Gender, and Sexualities in Africa
Toyin Falola and Nana Akua Amponsah, editors
Julius K. Nyerere, Africa’s Titan on a Global Stage

Perspectives from Arusha to Obama

Ali A. Mazrui

Lindah L. Mhando

Carolina Academic Press
Durham, North Carolina
Contents

Series Editor’s Foreword iii
Preface xv
Chronology of Major Events xix

Part One • Encounters of the Titan:
Political Ideology and Personality

Chapter 1 • Introduction 5
  Personality of the Titan 8
  Political Theory and Institutions 11
  Polities and Political Economy in East Africa 12
    Between Pan-Africanism and Prelude to Globalization 14
  Globalization and Political Economy 16
  Epilogue and Global Connections 18
  Notes 20

Chapter 2 • Post-Tribal Nyerere to Post-Racial Obama:
Comparative Vision in Political Leadership 23
  From Tanganyika to Tanzania 24
  Strategies of Detribalization 27
  Towards Deracializing Obama’s Mind 33
  From Black Power to Barack Power 36
  Conclusion 38
  Notes 40

Chapter 3 • Nyerere, African Politics And I 41

Chapter 4 • The Mwalimu: Method and Mission 47
  The Thinker and the Activist 47
From Shakespeare to September 11 49
Conclusion 52

Part Two • Political Theory and Institutions

Chapter 5 • Tanzophilia: A Political Diagnosis 57
Opium of Afrophiles 57
Political Hygiene 60
The Courage of Betrayal 61
The White Marxist’s Burden 63
Conclusion 66
Notes 67

Chapter 6 • Ujamaa Vijijini: Geo-Political Rural Development 69
Introduction 69
Pre-Villagization 70
Why Villagization? 71
Population Distribution 72
Villagization and the Aftermath 74
Rural Displacement and Unfruitful Development Efforts 77
Effects on Rural Income 79
Rural Development, Demographic Trends and Migration 80
Conclusion 83
Notes 84

Chapter 7 • Of Religion, Modernity, and Politics 87
Introduction 87
Nyerere on the Role of Religious Institutions 87
Tanzanian Secularism 90
Kadhi Courts 91
OIC Issue 92
Religious Fundamentalism: The Strands in the Pathway 93
Islamic Fundamentalism Lately 94
Feminism in Islam(s) 96
Speaking for Islam? 98
Pedagogies of Dissent / Terrorism and Violence 98
The Clash 99
Islam and Liberal Democracy 100
Modernity 102
Chapter 8 • Post-Ujamaa: Women, Patriarchy, and Economic Liberalization

Introduction

Women in the Economy and Economic Recovery Efforts
Social Differentiation and Economic Liberalization
Gender and the Economic Crisis
Micro-Entrepreneurship
Patriarchal Mode of Human Reproduction in Jeopardy?

Conclusion

Notes

Chapter 9 • Tanzania as a Case of Heroic Failure: Socialist Effort and Moral Decline

On Culture and Corruption
On Violence and Ostentation
Toil and Social Health
Anti-Waste and Anti-Parasitism
On Frugality as Cleanliness
On Morality and the Party System
Is Corruption a Form of Treason?
Arusha Declaration
The Control of Temptation

Conclusion

Notes

Part Three • Politics and Political Economy in East Africa

Chapter 10 • Of Five Loaves and Two Fishes:

Tanzania, Immigration and the Refugee Crisis

Tanzania’s Initial Contact with the Refugee Crisis
Independent African States and the Refugee Question
Refugees and Settlements
Tripartite Agreement and the Refugee Settlements
African Liberation Struggle

Economic Decline and Change in Good Samaritan’s Heart
CONTENTS

Implications and a Way Forward 170
Conclusion 171
Notes 172

Chapter 11 • Tanzania versus East Africa:
A Case of Unwitting Federal Sabotage 175
Three Junes to a Burial 176
Tanganyika versus EASCO 178
Federalism and the One-Party System 183
Federalism and Revolution 188
Notes 190

Chapter 12 • On Poets and Politicians:
Obote’s Milton and Nyerere’s Shakespeare 195
John Milton and Milton Obote 196
Towards a Dialogue with a President 197
Divine Kingship and Royal Deity 199
William Shakespeare and Julius Nyerere 203
Divine Kingship and Royal Presidents 206
On Values and Words 209
Conclusion 213
Notes 217

Chapter 13 • Racial Self-Reliance and Cultural Dependency:
Nyerere and Amin in Comparative Perspective 221
Dependency and Cultural Schizophrenia 222
From Economic Nationalism to Socialism 224
Socialism and Cultural Schizophrenia 226
General Amin: From Submission to Aggression 228
The Socialist And the Soldier: A Conclusion 233
Appendix — Exodus, 1972 235
Notes 238

Part Four • Between Pan-Africanism and Prelude to Globalization

Chapter 14 • From Slave Ship to Space Ship:
Africa Between Marginalization and Globalization 243
The Space Ship: Escape From Globalization 248
Chapter 15 • Comparative Black Leadership:
Walter Rodney, Julius K. Nyerere and Martin Luther King, Jr. 249
Rodney and the Mwalimu 250
Between the Dual and the Plural Society 252
The Revolutionary and the Reverend 254
Between Dreams and Deeds 258
Marxism-Leninism and the Jesus-Gandhi Nexus 261
Conclusion 263
Notes 264

Chapter 16 • Nationalists and Statesmen:
From Nkrumah and de Gaulle to Nyerere and Kissinger 267
The General and the Osagyefo 268
The Professor and the Mwalimu 272
The Tensions of Pan-Africanism 274
Conclusion 278

Chapter 17 • The Left and the Super-Left in Tanzania 281
Refining Nyerere’s Thought 283
The Principles of Arusha 286
1. Egalitarianism 286
2. Public Ownership and Control 287
3. Socialism and Self-reliance 287
Socialist Discipline versus Radical Dissent 290
Conclusion 293
Notes 296

Chapter 18 • Socialism as a Mode of
International Protest: The Case of Tanzania 301
Conclusion 311
Notes 312

Chapter 19 • Tanzania Today and the Road to Global World 315
Migration and Slavery 316
A Broad Overview 1960s–1980s 317
“Mwalimu” the Teacher 320
Conjecture and Vision 322
The 1990s 323
What then? 325
CONTENTS

Tanzania Today and the Ties that Bind 326
Conclusion 327
Notes 328

Conclusion • Tanzania in Comparative Perspective: A Political Experiment in a Cultural Laboratory 335
Between Development and Modernization 338
Identity and Indigenization 338
The Idiom of Relevance 341
Diversity and Integration 344
Counterpenetration: A Global Strategy 349
Conclusion 350
Notes 352

Appendix • The African Symbolism of Julius Caesar 353
Notes 362

Bibliography 363
Index 375
Series Editor’s Foreword

The *Carolina Academic Press African World Series*, inaugurated in 2010, offers significant new works in the field of African and Black World studies. The series provides scholarly and educational texts that can serve both as reference works and as readers in college classes.

Studies in the series are anchored in the existing humanistic and the social scientific traditions. Their goal, however, is the identification and elaboration of the strategic place of Africa and its Diaspora in a shifting global world. More specifically, the studies will address gaps and larger needs in the developing scholarship on Africa and the Black World.

The series intends to fill gaps in areas such as African politics, history, law, religion, culture, sociology, literature, philosophy, visual arts, art history, geography, language, health, and social welfare. Given the complex nature of Africa and its Diaspora, and the constantly shifting perspectives prompted by globalization, the series also meets a vital need for scholarship connecting knowledge with events and practices. Reflecting the fact that life in Africa continues to change, especially in the political arena, the series explores issues emanating from racial and ethnic identities, particularly those connected with the ongoing mobilization of ethnic minorities for inclusion and representation.

Toyin Falola
University of Texas at Austin
Preface

The 1961 Tanzanian independence imbricated issues of equality, gender, class and citizenship in changing definition of the nation. Julius K. Nyerere, Africa’s Titan on a Global Stage: Perspectives from Arusha to Obama is a historiography that examines the physical and discursive spaces within Tanzania’s politics of social transformation. Elaborating on the relationship between social-cultural, structural change and political economy, we explored the continuous state regulation and the citizenship to consider how the pursuit of equality is inhibited by cultural beliefs and gendered bodies.

This book carries forward previous efforts on the study of modern Africa, with particular emphasis to Tanzania. The book attempts to fill in gaps and highlight pragmatic issues of how cultural notions of nationalism, sovereignty, morality and political economy of leadership are: (1) embedded in discourses and practices of Ujamaa (African family-hood) as a model for class and democracy in Tanzania involving the peasants as the largest population and (2) question how “citizenship” is lived, negotiated, experienced, and (re)produced as well as (re)inscribed by the state, informs current debates about class formation.

Ideas, norms and cultures arise from multiplicity and dispersion, and are important ingredients in the construction and reconstruction of political communities at whatever level. The narratives in this collection, in essence, are an outcome of long conversations between the authors, attesting to a different phase in postcolonial thinking, and perhaps paving way to more discourses, and dialogues among interlocutors. This collection of essays intended to synthesize both, the social history of Tanzania and the dialogue of postcolonial thinking in perpetual quest for new horizons of political economy of the leadership of one of Africa’s statesmen.

The essays in the volume stand on their own, having been written at different times; they appeared as semi-autobiographical work and received different levels of emphasis over the period. All descriptions of the social world are filtered through subjective lenses of multiple frameworks of interpretation, be they the perception of the observer, language of the narrator or the assumptions of the reader. This book therefore, is not merely an add-on to the political econ-
omy of Nyerere’s leadership styles and intellectual history debate. Rather, each chapter employs a comprehensive response to the challenge posed by Nyerere’s revolutionary ideas, his cultural assertiveness and the invention of radical theology in Tanzania. These essays basically respond to and engage the challenge and debates emanating therefrom, illustrate the dynamic process and draw to the interdisciplinary scholarship of authors, whose research and writing is not limited to a single genre, theme or period. This volume is a sankofa to the authors’ journey to their own roots. Lindah Mhando has written on Mazrui’s admiration of Nyerere. For Mazrui, Nyerere’s intellectual stature commanded the respect of the northern hemisphere. He admired Nyerere’s character of simplicity, as well as his courage and originality of thoughts, i.e., the Arusha Declaration (1967). Lindah Mhando distilled Mazrui’s ideas and related them to her own. She then sent a draft to Ali A. Mazrui for consultation and further examination. Ali A. Mazrui allowed her to choose the format, arrange the themes and consult the presses. The final product is this volume.

In the essays, we have shaped the interpretation of social history of Tanzania by analyzing Nyerere’s political career and policies. To bring forth this debate is not to dismiss the reality of Tanzania socialist efforts but rather to determine how, why and when they can be used as heuristic discourses for Ujamaa’s pragmatism or modern socialistic ideas. The focus here is on, but not limited to, how political leadership shaped and conditioned social relations among the people of Tanzania, their cousins in the continent and the world at large. These issues have been digested, discussed, debated and distilled for nearly forty years. The proliferation of journals and monographs about Nyerere spawned by the intellectual enthusiasm has been unprecedented. Indeed, it is the existence of people like Nyerere that offered us (the authors) an intellectual challenge.

In the flow, we let our different ideas enrich the analysis of the book. The order is not coincidental. Mazrui’s significant contribution to the proliferation of journals and monographs about Africa’s leaders and Nyerere in particular, has been generated by the intellectual enthusiasm that has been unprecedented throughout his career. His writing is both easy and difficult. It requires a significant amount of time to exude large amounts of data that is not already known, been debated or already taken further from various musings of Amilcar Cabral, Aime Cesaire, Frantz Fanon, Martin Bernal, George Padmore, W.E.B. Dubois, Edward Said, Valentine Mudimbe, Basil Davidson, Drusilla Huston, and the like. As a gifted essayist, Mazrui’s unique writing style is a combination of insights, spirited arguments and engaging conversational style, both illuminating juxtapositions and provocative insights.
No single volume can fully do justice to the contribution of socio-history of Tanzania and Nyerere’s vision of political theory of Tanzania. But this book whittles a unique corner in African intellectual and political history in the era of globalization. It is indeed a modest contribution that merits the attention of, not only readers in Africa, but also of a broader audience interested in social history, the genesis of civil rights and the political economy of leadership. In this volume, the authors revisit some of the familiar old themes that are still relevant today. We have not tried to reach a complete consensus on every detail of our interpretations on nation-building in the age of globalization. This is the confirmation of and challenge to recent scholarship and our ability to point scholars in new directions and encourage them to take up where we leave off.

This book therefore opens up new imprints in not only the historiography of Tanzania but also the debates on political and ethical values that lie ahead of the leadership in the world system. Lessons from Tanzania’s social history are well beyond its geo-spatial location and pose a series of pertinent questions. How, for instance, do we interpret leadership radicalism and cultural dependence? Who else deserves a place in the pantheon of new age African intellectuals, and who will tell their stories? How does our framework challenge the familiar narratives to the current global situation?

This book is the product of an unusual division of labor, and took longer than anticipated when it was first conceived. Lindah Mhando brought up this idea to Mwalimu Mazrui after a long debate with her late uncle Norman Hiza, who convinced her that there is a gap in the scholarship of Mwalimu Nyerere’s political ideas and the leadership debate among the countries that tried to implement Socialism in Africa. Ali A. Mazrui humbly accepted the suggestion. To her naïveté, she thought both Mwalimu Nyerere and her late uncle Norman Hiza would be able read the manuscript; unfortunately, death robbed them both of their lives before the completion of this project. Astonishingly and ironically, Mwalimu Nyerere and Mwalimu Mazrui bear interesting resemblance. They are both prolific writers, poets, visionaries and accomplished debaters. They are both many things to many people. It is therefore emerged from collections of some of the major debates on Nyerere over the past forty year. Later on a small book, entitled The Titan of Tanzania: The Legacy of Julius K. Nyerere, was prepared when Mazrui was about to deliver a lecture at the 2002 Barbara Ward Distinguished Lecture at the Society for International Development’s World Congress in Dar es Salaam. He presented copies of the book to then President of Tanzania, Benjamin W. Mkapa.

We have no doubt that the return of global debates on social and nation-building involves dialogues of political communities at different levels. This
kind of thinking will have as great an impact on current and future generations of thinkers, as it had on many students of Africa’s social history and political theory decades ago. As a postcolonial project, it stresses on humanity in the making that emerged, once the colonial figures of the inhuman and of racial difference have been swept away. It is a reminder to the world that development and enrichment of the West is part of the same dialectical process through which Africa was impoverished. We are also confident that this time around, the debate will reach a much larger audience and will be widely discussed in classrooms, forums and publications that take both the past and the future seriously. Why? Because for all of its illuminating insights, bold proclamations, subtle historical correctives and fascinating detours along paths still unexplored, Nyerere’s socialist thesis’ entire scaffolding rests on the fundamental question: Where do we go from here?

We both have debts of our own to others who have helped in this effort. Over the years, this study has received the support of several institutions and individuals. We are extremely grateful to the anonymous reviewers for making insightful comments and suggestions. We feel special gratitude to Toyin Falola, his help was indispensible.

Ali A. Mazrui is particularly indebted to the staff of the Institute of Global Culture Studies, the State University of New York at Binghamton, Binghamton, NY, USA, and to his wife and sons. The final copy-editing in the Institute was completely done by Jennifer Winans.

Lindah Mhando is deeply indebted to the immense and indispensable technical support and generous help provided by Shalahudin Kafwari and Goretti Mugambwa from the inception of the project. Their assistance is invaluable. This project was a labor of love and support from St Cloud State University, Pennsylvania State University and colleagues, for the valuable comments on the manuscript; the Mhando family for unfailing patience and encouragement, and mama Leah, for her wisdom and prayers.

Finally, we wish to acknowledge the spirited encouragement of our editors at Carolina Academic Press, for their patience, flexibility and guidance in seeing this work to completion. While many people have thus been involved in one way or another, the authors bear the sole responsibility for the final outcome.

Ali A. Mazrui  
Binghamton, New York

Lindah Mhando  
State College, Pennsylvania