

**THE CONCEPT OF SELF RELIANCE AND ITS
RELEVANCE TO FREEDOM IN AFRICA**

MA RESEARCH PROJECT

BY

MEIN K. W

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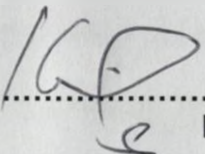
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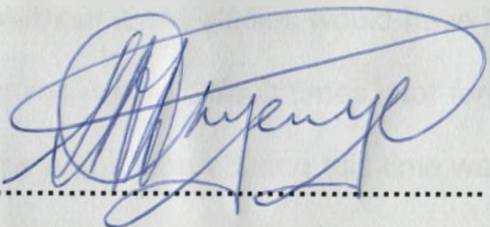
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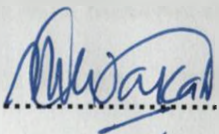
DECLARATION

This Research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university:

Signed  Date 7/11/2003
MEIN KISIERO WILSON

This Research Project has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors:

Signed  Date 7/11/2003
DR. SOLOMON MONYENYE

Signed  Date 7/11/03
MR. F.E.A.OWAKAH

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CONTENTS

Dedicated to my sister Milkah

ABSTRACT

Socialism has been a popular subject for socio-political philosophers for a long time, especially before the end of the Soviet era. In the 1960s, African nationalists treated it with so much passion. It gained currency for the reasons that it tried to safeguard freedom and development of the newly independent countries. It was taken within this context because it acted as an antithesis of capitalism, which was thought as an agent of neo imperialism. African socialism was differentiated from Marxism, in that, it was not derived from the western experience of class antagonisms. Instead, it was based on traditional African communalistic society; where wealth was shared through the principle of utilitarianism. Work was an important aspect of this system - the lazy did not find room to thrive in this system. However, those who were young, incapacitated or old were cared for. The principle of production and distribution was from "each according to his strength to each according to his needs."

This work continues to add to the ever-growing body of African socialism. It does not reinvent this concept; but studies it within a new philosophical perspective. It accomplishes this task by studying the concept of self-reliance as applied under Nyerere's Philosophy of Ujamaa. This work argues that the above concept has direct bearing to the philosophical concepts of freedom and development. Through Ujamaa, self-reliance gained a new perspective because it tried to provide Tanzanians with a new hope to self-rejuvenation and freedom through reduction of dependence on foreign aid and investment. This concept also envisaged a hard working people, whose goal was to produce enough wealth for

Baran, Vladimir Lenin among others. This chapter concludes that underdevelopment erodes freedom and independence of a country. It argues that we can learn a great deal from the theory of Ujamaa and self-reliance because they tried to free Tanzanians from an unequal relationship within the international system.

The third chapter continues to examine development in Africa through various theories of development such as industrialization, structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), international dependence revolution and neoclassical counter-revolution. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the nature of African development, especially what has been prescribed by the west. This chapter concludes that Africa is used as an experiment by global bodies such as the World Bank and IMF; which are not entirely interested in the development of the continent; but that of their own masters. This chapter augurs well with previous and subsequent ones. It points at continued frustration of African countries or Third World countries in pursuit of development.

The fourth chapter is the pinnacle of this work. It examines Mwalimu Julius Nyerere's ideology of Ujamaa and self-reliance, and how they relate to the philosophical concepts of freedom and independence. Through Ujamaa, we argue that Tanzania tried to achieve self-reliance in mobilization of its resources, especially its people to end frustrations associated with dependence on aid or money from rich countries for development. This work argues that the importance of Ujamaa is that, it tries to achieve more freedom of a country by reducing dependence on others, and we can learn a great deal from this

their country. Under Nyerere's Ujamaa, self-reliance was emphasized; when he argued that if an individual worked hard to be self-reliant, then his household became self-reliant. And if his household also worked hard to be self-reliant, then the village cell in which he lived became self-reliant and so on until it reached a point where the whole nation became self-reliant.

Self-reliance is an important concept under Ujamaa; it tries to reduce external reliance on foreign aid. This is in recognition of the fact that though political independence in Africa has been achieved; economic independence remains elusive.

This work is divided into five chapters; the first chapter provides a background to this study. It examines socialism ideology as understood by other scholars. It tries to establish the relevance of this ideology to the concept of freedom and independence. In the process, it brings Nyerere's Ujamaa and self-reliance concepts as examples of attempts to derive freedom and development in a country.

The second chapter examines the nature of development in Africa through the theory of underdevelopment. This theory argues that the international capitalist system is skewed in a manner that makes poor countries remain poor and dependent on the rich western countries. It is argued that unless poor countries, in this case those in Africa strive to change the nature of their development, then they will continue to slide into the abyss of poverty, dependency and underdevelopment. The underdevelopment theorists within here include; Paul

approach while trying to resolve issues facing Africa especially those related to development.

Finally, this work concludes in the fifth chapter that Ujamaa and self-reliance are important philosophical concepts, which help define new freedom and independence, not only in Tanzania, but in the whole of Africa and the Third World.

CHAPTER I

1.0 GENERAL BACKGROUND

Socialism in Africa advanced a system of thought in reaction to the eurocentric view of the world .The west has viewed itself as the epicenter of civilization, especially scientific advancement .It has continued to claim supremacy in political, economic and cultural spheres. Other cultures and civilization are mere embodiments or appendages. This attitude ultimately justified the occupation of backward countries and even encouraged racism. African socialism was therefore a reaction to the above situation, it was a means to stamp African dignity and existence in the brotherhood of all nations and races. It was a unifying continental doctrine that espoused African thought, ideals and practice. The great African thinkers of colonial and postcolonial Africa such as Modiba Keita, Kwame Nkrumah, Leopold Senghor, Sekeou Toure, Frantz Fanon¹, Tom Mboya and Julius Nyerere are founders of socialism. Each in one way or another intellectually contributed to the thoughts, systems and practice of this theory. Socialism in a way justified the existence of an autonomous African system of thought and practice and contributed to rebuilding a new African society that was emerging from the shackles of colonialism and racism.

¹ Frantz Fanon excited the freedom struggle movement in Algeria with his incisive prophetic thinking on colonialism in his books, *Wretched of the Earth* and *Black Skins White Masks*. He died in 1960 at the height of freedom struggle in Algeria

Though each one of these leaders laid claim to this ideology, an attempt for a single definition still eluded them; even with the conscious efforts of the Dakar colloquium of 1962 convened by Senghor. New African leaders attended the colloquium in order to define the concept and practice of African socialism in view of what was prevailing at the time. At this time, many African countries had shed yokes of colonialism and wanted to do away with all vestiges associated with it. Socialism proved as ideal and close to African thought and systems than capitalism. It was for this reason that these leaders convened at Dakar at the behest of Senghor. But these leaders could not reach a consensus on the concept of Socialism they thought represented the African thought and practice. By failing to do this, we can argue that entire socialist programme was put into jeopardy and thereby doomed to fail. Perhaps had a definition been agreed, then a more programmatic implementation of the socialist programme in the continent would have been derived. In the end, each one of these leaders went his own way: with a different meaning, understanding and application of the theory.

In order to understand this new inclination by African leaders; African socialism emerged for two main reasons: First, it was to protest the post-colonial experience, such as the problems of continental identity. Secondly, it was a tool for mobilizing masses to face the new challenges posed by independence, mainly poverty, cultural and economic

dependence on the west. Senghor's Negritude philosophy, for instance tries to explain Africa's uniqueness and cultural contribution to world civilization, while Nkrumah's "African personality" and "consciencism" philosophies, take into account the new African social reality distilled from Islam, Christianity and colonialism. The late former president of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere is the founder of ujamaa. His ideological and philosophical exposition is monumental; he combined theory and practice in his socialist programme of Ujamaa.

Ujamaa is a theory of African socialism, which begins by acknowledging the fact that Africa is traditionally socialist. Modern capitalism is viewed as alien and does not augur well with the virtues of brotherhood and close kinship ties that defined the African society. Capitalism, according to Nyerere encouraged and facilitated accumulation of wealth by one individual at the expense of other members. In his work, Ujamaa, *the basis of African socialism* (1962:), Nyerere points out that the meaning of African socialism, which he says, is rooted in the African customs and traditions. The *Arusha Declaration* (1967) mobilized the masses to implement African socialism. The contents of this declaration included the leadership code, the philosophy of membership, an officials statement about leadership, the party creed, policy of self reliance and the socialist charter (V.Y Mudimbe, 1972: 102).

Socialism the world over may be a “buried utopia”, however its ghost still haunts us and perhaps still needs some exorcising. Zygmunt Bauman (1976:1) says that to call socialism an utopia, is an indictment and an irrevocable dismissal of the idea as a figment of unrestrained fantasy, unscientific, at odds with reality and something which must be kept off from scholarly discourse. This phrase marks the end and not the beginning of an argument. This is a kin to throwing away the bucket with the baby. But this should not occur, given that during its existence, if we may use the soviet example and not the current Chinese type of socialism, we can argue that served humanity for one half of a century .It still serves one sixth of the world humanity in China and Cuba. So why should we demonize it? To throw away something, which cannot produce results in the immediate term, does not produce the type of society we want. Instead, it may lead to its annihilation! A Society does not advance blindly, or by chance but through the distillation of its ideas and even the purely idealistic type. If the thought of flying had not resulted from a flight of fancy, then we will not be flying today.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

One can argue that capitalism has ideologically triumphed over socialism. This means that socialism is an unworkable and even an “evil” ideology. In Africa, the theory faced a lot of opposition; only but a few leaders such as Nyerere went a head to realize it. In as far as capitalism claims to have

triumphed over socialism, it has a share of its problems. It is making poor countries poorer. This is due to the underlying weaknesses of the system, which encourage profiteering and competition on scarce resources. Under socialism, a society advances egalitarianism; while under capitalism, a society advances individualism. According to the utilitarian theory, the latter is a better social theory because its outcome is greatest happiness for the greatest number and minimized suffering for a few. Though socialism is no longer appealing, a number of things make it an attractive theory. We can argue that the ideas behind the philosophy of African socialism for instance are still relevant to the modern society. This is due to the fact that though the continent has all along pursued capitalism, it is still largely poor, dependant and embroiled in wars over its resources. This is attributed to the trappings of capitalism, which has in one way whittled away the little political freedom that had been achieved. As Oginga Odinga aptly put it, though in a different context and meaning, for Africa, we can say 'it is not yet Uhuru'.

Though Africa has achieved political independence, its autonomy is threatened. Unless economic freedom is achieved, political independence will be threatened. In order to know where we are and how we ended up here, we need to go back and understand how we got here in the first place. We can argue that Ujamaa is an inspiration to surmounting some of these social challenges.

1.2 STUDY OBJECTIVE

The broad objective of this work is to investigate into concept of self-reliance, which constitutes the core of Nyerere's philosophy of freedom and development. This can be understood through an analysis of socialism applied under Ujamaa.

1.3 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

1. To investigate into the doctrine of self-reliance which constitutes the philosophy of freedom and development under Ujamaa.
2. To investigate into the concept of African socialism as understood by Julius Nyerere under Ujamaa.
3. To relate the above concepts in search of freedom in Africa.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

Freedom and development are both indispensable. They are critical to the growth of man. Aptly articulated by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, the two are inseparable; one cannot talk of one without evoking the other. "They are like an egg and a chicken, without a chicken, you do not have eggs and without eggs, soon you do not have chicken". Man cannot fully exploit his potential unless he is free. Freedom is indispensable to the growth of man. To absolutely limit man's freewill is to be unfair and even immoral. But inasmuch as it is a right, it has its obligations. One can enjoy his freedom as long as it does not interfere with the liberty of another man.

The western world has over time continued to breach this right through its perpetuation of human suffering of the world through acts such as slavery and colonialism. Through the above, the developing world was deprived of its freedom to development². In his book, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* Vladimir Lenin particularly blames capitalism for the ills that bedevil the world³. Like Marx, Lenin predicted the fall of capitalism when the proletariat overthrew the bourgeoisie.

² M. Babu, *The Limits of populist Nationalism: The Case of Tanzania*, in Campbell & Stein (ed), 1991 p114

³ Lenin V.I, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, International Publishers, USA, 1939

Africa today faces a lot of problems, most of which are attributed to capitalism and colonialism⁴. Though political independence has been achieved, economic freedom is elusive. Poverty is also increasing at alarming rates, while dependence on aid continues and is eroding the purpose of independence. At independence, the evils of capitalism were harped by African leaders, leading to the acceptance of socialism an alternative to the full liberation of the continent and against any form of neocolonialism. The popular view among African leaders at independence was for the adoption of an African system of thought and practices. African socialism provided the best platform to advance this thinking.

Utilitarianism and socialism

Socialism is a utilitarian theory that advances the happiness of many and minimizes suffering of a few, is an appealing ideology based on moral grounds. Socialism is distributive and recognizes the value and input of each member. It protects the weak from being devoured by the insipid selfishness of a minority and basically strives to derive a happy society. It upholds the dignity of hard work. On the other hand, capitalism is thought to be individualistic or egoistic. It alienates the minority from the rest of the society on the basis of possession of wealth. It uses money as a measure of one's success or power in the society .The concept of socialism is not alien to Africa. Africa has been a traditionally communalistic society - without class. Even now, family ties in Africa are still cherished. In

⁴ Ibid p114

urbanized Africa, the extended family still comes together whenever there is a crisis. The extended family unit, close ties helped protect individuals from exploitation and where the poor, the disabled and the old were all cared. These ideals according to Nyerere were relevant and are still relevant to Africa.

Nyerere wrote extensively on socialism. His works on socialism include *Freedom and Unity* (1966), *Education for Self-reliance* (1967), *The Arusha Declaration* (1967) , *Man and Development* (1974). These works constantly point at the erosion of freedom and any meaningful hope of development among Africans. The modern capitalist economy is the scapegoat. Besides , Nyerere rejects money as the basis of development on moral grounds. Money is used to dominate the weak, which is immoral. Because there was none of it in traditional African society, Africans coexisted with one another without so much of conflict. No man in this context exploited another on the basis of possessing more wealth.

Money is an instrument of dominating others. It is easily exchanged or transformed in many ways to achieve any end. It is used to buy both friends and foe. The Arusha declaration elicited Tanzania's hopes and challenges under a new socialist dispensation. The hope for a new economic order and freedom was through reliance on the internal strength

of the people and not money as the basis of new development. This is lucidly captured in Nyerere's image of an oppressed society. He says:

"We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed exploited and disregarded. Now we want a revolution – a revolution that brings to an end our weakness, so that we are never again exploited, oppressed, or humiliated⁵.

As argued before the ethical compulsion drove men into socialist thinking and on this basis socialism is utilitarian. In his MA Thesis, FEA Owakah argues that *Ujamaa* advanced the workings of a just society, where from "from each according to his strength" and "to each according to his needs" *Ujamaa* upheld the this principle of hard work, but it also provided a place for the weak and protected the from being exploited. It affirmed the right and ability of the weak in society to have control over societal forces including economic systems, which meant that man, was in control of his nature. Socialism like democracy is a creed based on the philosophy of optimism about human nature⁶.

Ujamaa had its adherents and critics. Issa Shivji for instance said that though *Ujamaa* argued for an egalitarian society, it was blind to the fact

⁵ Nyerere

⁶ FEA Owakah, MA thesis, University of Nairobi p 76

that there was a continued growth of classes in Tanzania⁷. The ordinary farmer in Tanzania was for instance very poor compared to the town dweller or his rural compatriot-the progressive rich farmer or the *kulak*. No effort was being expended to reverse this trend. It was meaningless, he said, to gloss over the existing class conflict in the country in a socialist theory. This, he said, led partly to the failure of the ujamaa programme. Ahmed Babu blamed the failure of *Ujamaa* on the contradiction between development and social logic⁸. He added that It is contradictory to redistribute what has not been produced. The argument is that goods must be produced first before they can be redistributed.

Boesen, Moody and Hyden all argue that Ujamaa's failed because of a lack of a comprehensive revolutionary strategy and a lack of an official criteria for its evaluation⁹. The popular thinking shared by these scholars for the adoption of a Marxist framework of theory for a society claiming to be espousing socialism, of which Tanzania did not.

2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Ujamaa is socialist theory that advocates for social justice. It advances the argument that with freedom comes development and with development comes even more freedom. This work assumes this thesis: That a

⁷ Issa Shivji, *The Silent Class Struggle* in Campbell and Stein, 1991:69

⁸ *ibid* p22

society's quest for development is a quest for its social justice critical to its creative spirit.

2.3 HYPOTHESIS

That Ujamaa is a theory of social justice, which achieved freedom of Africans through socialism and self-reliance.

2.4 JUSTIFICATION

This work investigates the concept of liberty or freedom advanced through ujamaa and self-reliance. It examines development under an ujamaa context and how it attempts to free man under neocapitalism . Through philosophical discourse, we can understand political, social and economic attributes or reality in a society. This work employs philosophy in its discourse by providing an exposition of politics of economic development.

2.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

This work examines and analyses freedom and development within a philosophical context. It will not therefore portend to examine this within a purely economic perspective.

⁹ ibid: 16

2.6 METHODOLOGY

This work will employ the philosophical approach through analysis of available literature: books, journals, thesis and articles or reports.

CHAPTER II

3.0 UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

The cause of underdevelopment in Africa is attributed to colonialism and dependency. Colonialism and imperialism brought under control vast nations of Africa, which were exploited aided by finance capital from Europe. Vladimir Lenin¹⁰ says that imperialism resulted from increased finance capital in the west, which needed new frontiers, to fuel its growth. "Imperialism", Lenin said, "is capitalism in that stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital had established itself."¹¹ The characteristic feature of imperialism and logically capitalism is precisely that it strove to annex not only agricultural regions, but also even highly developed industrial regions.

Under imperialism, capitalism was marked a new phase in which internal exploitation had reached its limits and could not provide the needed pace of growth to sustain the system. There was a need to create new frontiers and markets, which could accelerate this growth. Colonies in Africa provided this easy opportunity and were co-opted into an exploitative relationship to suck out their resources.

¹⁰ Lenin. V.1, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, International Publishers, USA, 1939.

¹¹ Ibid: 19.

Marx, Lenin, Bukharin and Luxembourge are principle Marxist originators of the theory of imperialism and capitalism.¹² Marx said that the initial plundering of the backward regions as part of the process of primitive accumulation of capital.¹³ Paul Baran argued that though the penetration of backward areas by the west was supposed to spread the blessings of western civilization into every corner and nook of the globe, it did not do so, instead it spelled in actual fact the ruthless oppression and exploitation of the subjugated nations.¹⁴ There was destruction of the traditional economic and societies by wholesale seizure of land for capitalistic production for export and opening up of domestic market to imported goods.¹⁵ The colonialists, in their mission, used naked force.

Huge chunks of fertile land, for instance, were alienated from Africans in order to expand capital production and exploitation. Africans were then forced into crowded nonproductive settlements called reserves. Force was employed in the process to compel Africans provide cheap or free labour. In Kenya, they were restricted from moving wherever they wanted by use of *kipande* system. The resources of African countries were then plundered and pilfered and goods they produced through their free labor were then sold to the colonialist's countries to fuel their growth.

¹² Collin Leys, *Underdevelopment in Kenya*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1975:2

¹³ Ibid: 2

¹⁴ Paul Baran, *Political Economy of Growth*, John Calder, London, 1957:6

¹⁵ Collin Leys, 1975:2

Africa provided cheap primary products for the west and a market for their products. In the manner in which black slaves in America built America by working in cotton and sugarcane plantations, Africans were doing exactly the same in their countries to develop Europe. It is the labour and the exploitation of Africa that Europe and America boasts much of what they are today. It is true that they would have developed to the level they are today, but it is not true that they would have accomplished this feat in such a short time. Their success as we see it now would have been delayed for much longer. The wealth plundered from Africa fueled this faster growth.¹⁶ The colonialists took as much as they could because they were transient. They did not bother to establish strong systems that benefited the local people. But even if they did, it was to their immediate benefit. Most goods and profits from the plunder were repatriated to their countries. Consequently there was loss of revenue from the colonized country from an exploitation relationship, leading to backwardness and underdevelopment experienced in Africa today.

Baran accounts for the backwardness in underdeveloped countries to the following:

1. Mode of utilization of surplus.
2. Dependence on agriculture.
3. Excessive consumption from economic surplus.

The mode of utilization of surplus in Africa is blamed, for it is rarely reinvested in productive enterprise, but consumed almost entirely. This is by encouraging

¹⁶ The same can be said of Japan, which thrived on its colonies of Asia such as Korea.

prolific spending by the employees of multinationals; who are persuaded in every way in advertisement to encourage conspicuous consumption instead of reinvesting in productive enterprise. Dependence on agriculture is also another cause of backwardness. Most agricultural products exported to Europe are unprocessed or semi processed, and usually fetches very low value. Besides, price fixing by buyers in the west make these exports vulnerable to price fluctuation usually towards their lowest. The appropriation of surplus is also through investments in industry, infrastructure, banking, insurance, agriculture etc. Profits and returns from these investments are usually repatriated to the west thereby denying African economies an opportunity to a sustained economic development. Arguments advanced by proponents on transfer of surplus say that this transfer is legitimate and should not be regarded as an encroachment upon the underdeveloped countries, for whatever is transferred would simply have not existed in the absence of foreign investment.¹⁷ Another argument says that the operations of foreign enterprise passes apart of its output to the host population in reward for services rendered, which increases to some extent its aggregate income. It is also argued that foreign enterprise stimulates the construction of roads, railways, power stations and payment of taxes.

A counter argument against the first one is that development in Africa would have occurred at its own pace and at its terms, had it not been invaded and forced it into an exploitative relationship. With time, Africa could have exploited its own resources, which would have benefited itself and not somebody else. The

¹⁷ op. cit. p.185.

second argument is misplaced because often than not, Africans were not paid what was equivalent to their labour. They were just paid barely enough to survive. It is argued that the development of infrastructure was merely an instrument used to facilitate the movement of capital from the exploited country to the west. In any case, he adds, these were built only in productive areas while the rest of the country never benefited. Most profits of foreign enterprise are also repatriated and taxes are rarely paid in full, but usually evaded by declaring less profit and more loss.

The rich capitalist countries have managed to make Third World countries dependent on their economies by deliberate fixing of primary producer prices, usually at an exploitatively low price. These countries then re-export processed goods to developing nations at a dearer price. The resultant is that Third World countries have to dig deeper into their pockets. These are sometimes ten or twenty times than the original product! African countries do not have a choice but to buy western technologies for they do not have their own. Even if they did, the west has its own way of exploiting them by imposing trade quotas or tariffs or high standards on those goods. For instance, it patents its technology, which is a right anyway, but this makes poor countries to buy it at a high cost in order to meet very high international standards. Placed in this dominant relationship, it is not easy to get out of it. Africa has been forced to catch up with the world that is moving too fast from it! Under the present circumstances, it has no hope of ever

catching up with it, unless the current structure in the international system is changed.

3.1 Africa beset from centuries of exploitation

Reading and listening to statements made by the western press or the world Bank, IMF and to some extent, the UN, they all conclude that: “ Africa is a poor continent, in fact, the poorest continent on earth” (Chacha Mwita, *Nepad’s Begging mission and Africa’s Poverty Myth*, Sunday standard, July 21, 2002). The above is the worst lie ever told. Chacha goes on to list how rich Africa is,” consider that Africa has 99 percent of the world’s chrome deposits, 85 percent of platinum, 70 percent of tantalite, 68 percent of gold and a safe percentage of oil, not to mention other significant deposits of other minerals”.

He continues to say that Africa has one of the most favorable climates in the world. Where anything can flourish “without half the pains of genetic modification or engineering”. The agricultural, tourism, creative, marine, mineral, cultural – potentials of Africa are limitless. Africa is not poor, its people are by centuries of exploitation. Considering that Africa has been colonized for about 3 centuries , if we even include slavery it is obvious that this experience has far reaching consequences to posterity. Million of Africans were lost through Trans – Atlantic slave trade. Basil Davidson ¹⁸, says that before slave trade began to be made illegal in the nineteenth century, about one in seven of all captives shipped for Americas were dead before the voyage was over. According to Forbes’

calculation, during the 26years “ it is found that 103, 000 slaves had been emancipated, “ by the worships of the naval blockade, “ while in the same period, 1, 795,000 were actually landed in the Americas” ¹⁹. Considering that this happened in 26 years, how about in the 300 years it existed? The numbers runs into millions, considering that the population of Africa was still very low compared to now. Most of these captives had been seized in the Ivory Coast, Togo, Nigeria and a few even from the coasts of East Africa as far as our country, Kenya.

Adding on colonialism and neocolonialism, Africa has been weakened even further, where its resources have been stolen. The Belgium theft of Congolese resources cannot be gainsaid, so were attempts to scuttle their independence. Belgium's admission to their involvement in the murder of Patrice Lumumba, Congo's first prime Minister and their prop up of mobutu's regime in order to plunder its resources for over 30 years after independence is an example of what we are saying. In a country split by tribal rivalry, Davidson²⁰ says that Patrice Lumumba embraced a plat form calling for freedom and unity of the Congolese. His party, the National Congolese Movement became the most powerful party in the Congo, receiving the popular support of a people that at last had hope. Lumumba was a true African leader, he could not be bought, discarded or have his faith shaken by jail or Belgium brutality. ²¹

¹⁸ Basil Davidson, 1990: 12

¹⁹ Ibid: 24

²⁰ ibid: 147

²¹ Ibid: 147

Kuria wa Githiora, (*should Africa play second fiddle in global capitalism?* Standard, July 25, 2002,) argues that Africa is helplessly dragged into the global free trade championed by the international monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and world trade organization; where her national resources are further exposed to deep exploitations by international capitalism, which intensify, the woes of the already impoverished but hardworking common citizen. Africa will never witness any meaningful development under capitalist accumulation and profit- seeking, which breed dissension, selfishness, greed, tribalism, extinct chauvinism and the like. The exposure of the regions market to western capitalist class, Kuria says is the major source militating against the development of the region. The solution to these woes is abolishing the system that created them. This is insurmountable, for the west will not easily relent to which made them what they are today. How will they sustain their economies if they do not get cheap resources from Africa to fan their growth? How will their industries survive when 99 per chrome deposits are found in Africa and when limited to them? Or when oil becomes too expensive? They will reel into a depression at the slightest disruption of this lifeline – which comes cheaply from poor Africa! Githiora further argues that another problem for the transition into a new world order is the state of the development of productive forces in Africa, “which may turn out even the best of intentions into “caricature”. Under development, he adds that, this will such persist if the existing economic structures and relations of production are maintained, and if dependence of Africa on International capital continues. “Overturning of the existing relations of production” he says “ is necessary for

combating under development". He concludes his argument by painting a gloomy hope for Africa, which has little hope for development if the property relations of production, and distribution and marketing system remain in the west. This requires a radical break from the international system, which nurtures this type of development.

The interest of multinationals of the west is not in Africa; it is the wealth of Africa. Unlike Githiora, who advocates for a radical break from capitalization, Mwitia does not. Capitalism, he argues, is not about cannibalism as communist learning intellectuals have taught us, but it only cannibalizes those willing to be cannibalized by it. To some extent, African leaders share most of the blame for these incessant woes. Wars are continually organized and fought on frivolous pretexts such as resources or power, not to mention corruption the west takes advantage of this to steal amid the existing confusion. Mining goes on in Congo, never mind that the country is permanently at war with itself. These African leaders are thoughtless, egoistic and mindless. They do not care about the suffering of the multitude if only their misery keeps them. "Africa", Mwitia concludes, "is not poor". "We are only two things: Rich and, either blind or stupid". Our leaders do not see beyond the scope of their own comfort, as long as they are happy, then every one else egoistically do not count".

The new Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is a welcome, but it emphasizes too much reliance on aid, forgetting the fact that it is the same aid

that which has impoverished the lot of us. Aid is a very strong weapon, in fact, the West do not need to employ force any more on poor countries as long as their development is pegged on their aid. In fact contrary to what Lenin said, is now at its highest; not by imperial occupation, but by capital occupation. Capital occupation is doing much more than armed conquest did a century ago. Loans borrowed by poor countries make them subservient and vulnerable to the dictates of those they borrow the money. Now, the western capitalists did not need to occupy these countries by force, for they need to do so by using their capital. Now they relax while their investment matures and paid for by poor Africans and need not go through the hassles of armed conquest, unless there is a strong motivation for them to do so.

3.2 Self-reliance, freedom and independence

This work advances the argument that through self-reliance, while relying on its vast resources, Africa can get out of its present poverty, underdevelopment and dependency. As argued before, Africa is not a poor continent. By way of mobilizing its resources and reducing too much reliance on western economies, it will then be able to direct the direction and pace of its development. It is not that the western pattern is bad, it may have its strengths, but in as much as it does, it has its weaknesses too, for it makes capital the center of everything. It also encourages neocolonialism of the third world through foreign investment and aid. More so, it is credited for breaking down the traditional African communalism and replacing it with individualism. Not that this is bad, but it encourages widespread

poverty, suffering in abandon and collapse of other support systems cherished in a traditional society. At the moment, most economic and political decisions are made and pushed for implementation by quasi-state organizations such as IMF and World Bank, which are agents of re-colonization. If any country goes against its policies, which are to advance the interests of the west, just like Zimbabwe discovered, it becomes isolated and aid is cut off. Reliance on aid has gone too far with some countries borrowing up to 70% of their budgets from external sources to finance their activities! One of the principle causes of dependency and underdevelopment in Africa has therefore been aid and foreign investment. The colonial powers did not leave behind fully-fledged and viable African nations.²² Within its new frontiers, what it took apart; it did not put together again. Foreign investment also plays a big role in underdevelopment and dependency in Africa. Foreign investments sometimes undermine the ability of African governments to make their own decisions. Investors in Africa are made to believe that their parent country should first clear the country they are dealing with. If the country is perceived to be hostile and makes decisions that do not please their country, then new investments are withheld and old ones moved away. Foreign aid comes with strings attached and sometimes-tough conditionalities. For instance, recipient countries are forced to use the money given to buy the needed goods, skills or technology from the donor country, usually above uncompetitive market rates. Underdevelopment theorists argue that colonial rule thwarted the real development of Africa. Had Africa not been colonized it would perhaps have embarked upon a path of development with

²² Mohiddin Ahmed, *African Socialism in Two countries*, 1981:1

indigenous roots, and with its growth controlled and directed by Africa's own needs."²³ Mwalimu Nyerere at one time warned about the dangers involved such as surrendering sovereignty of a country to the foreigners. It is stupid, he said, to rely on foreign aid and on the west to develop us. Instead, they have made us economically dependent:

*Independence means self-reliance. Independence cannot be real if, a nation depends upon gifts and loans from another for its development. Even if there was a nation, or nations, prepared to give us all we need for development, it would be improper for us to accept such assistance without asking ourselves how this would affect our independence and our survival as a nation.*²⁴

Reginald argues that self-reliance in Africa ought to be necessary and made possible. Critics Tanzania's Ujamaa, he says, especially its failure, forgot to explain the nature of the dominant capitalist system and he notes:

In one sense the critics who evolve theories of imperialism and transnational as attaches on TANU'S ideology are beside the point – since 1964 the official view of the international economic system has been one of imperial dominance and penetration, leading to a class system of states

²³ Ibid: 11

²⁴ Nyerere J. K, Arusha Declaration, in Ujamaa, Essays on Socialism, Oxford University Press, Dar-es-Salaam, 1968:24

*as well as within them and used as vehicles of unequal exchange and exploitation.*²⁵

Tough conditions include opening up market to imports, favourable taxation and no restriction to profit repatriation. But the money approved is repaid and the burden for doing that is too heavy to bear. In real sense as statistics indicate Africa and the Third World are donors, not net recipients of aid. For instance, out of the 2002/3 national budget of Kenya, Kshs. 340 billion, Kshs. 98 billion is going to service foreign debt. We have not received aid equivalent to this figure for the past one-decade. Which means that we are paying an average 1US\$ billion per annum to foreigners while it receives very little from them. Who is the donor here? Besides, African currencies and those of developing countries have been devalued several times since the aid was received. It means that, Africans or other similarly poor countries have to tax themselves even more to pay for aid borrowed almost 40 years back when their currencies were almost at par with international ones. For instance, 40 years ago, the value of the Kenya shilling against the US dollar was 7 to 1, but now it is 80 to 1. Because the money was borrowed in dollars, it has to be repaid in dollars. But the dollar has not been devalued! African economies are therefore sliding into an abyss.

²⁵ Reginald Green, *Towards Socialism and Self-Reliance – Tanzania's strive for sustained Transition* projected, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Sweden, 1977:25

Summary and conclusion

African countries are beset by internal and external weaknesses necessitated by western capital. The later uses its dominance to exploit the poor countries by employing aid and foreign investment to make poor countries continue to remain poor and subservient. The purpose is to continue what they started –colonialism, which enabled them progress and be where they are now. The argument therefore is Africa should awaken to this conspiracy and pull itself out of this western hegemony of imperialism and underdevelopment. The west will not do this for Africa, as it still needs it resources to further develop it own economy. Africa has these vast resources, which it should use them to optimum advantage. Through self-reliance, the agenda for development in Africa can be restored and thereafter the dignity, freedom and independence of the continent and its people to make rational decisions that matter to them.

CHAPTER III

4.0 NATURE OF DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

4.1 Models of development in Africa

During colonialism, African countries were pushed into western liberal capitalist system, which emphasized a laissez-faire market system in which the state had little or no control of the market forces. Capitalism is egoistic and seeks to advance the monopoly of capital exposing poor countries to theft of their resources. At independence, African socialism was a popular ideology because it was thought to reverse a trend towards capitalism and individualism. At independence, African leaders tried to justify socialism in their own countries. They argued that because Africa and Africans were traditionally socialists, it was therefore workable to retrace and adopt the system in a modern state. Kwame Nkrumah in his book *Philosophy and Ideology for decolonization* reasoned syllogistically that if traditional Africa enjoyed communalism, then socialism should be introduced to independent Africa.²⁶ He argued that Africans lived communally without social classes. The new model of African development would be ideally socialist. Leopold Senghor also argued within this context. He tried to create a classless Senegalese society based on African communal life and humanism.²⁷ Nkrumah's aim was "to remold African society in the socialist direction; to reconsider African society in such a manner that humanism of

²⁶ Kwame Nkrumah, *Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization*, adopted from Byaruhanga R. A. (M.A Thesis), Department of Philosophy, University of Nairobi, 1991:8.

²⁷ Bagonko, S.N. African Socialism in E. Africa, in Amayo G. N. (ed), *Historical Association of Kenya Annual Conference, 1977*, University of Nairobi:4

traditional African life reasserted itself in modern technical community".²⁸ Modibe Keita of Mali and Sekou Toure of Guinea spoke to the same end so did the Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 in Kenya. All these statements hinted at a socialist society that was removed from the western capitalist system, but with the rejection of static Marxist socialist ideology.

Socialism idealized economic, political and socialist development of African countries within traditional African context. Whereas a majority of African countries did not adopt it; most of the policies reflected its aspects such as nationalization carried in the mid sixties, and creation of parastatals to pursue the same policies. In these centrally planned economies, the government assumed a major role in the production and marketing of goods and services on behalf of its people. This was supposed to protect them from exploitative foreign multinationals, which were creating monopolies and controlling the lives of Africans. The states therefore organized production in a manner that benefits from it were "fairly" (ideally of course!) distributed to the people and reduced competition for monopoly of a purely capitalistic model it meant to replace.

For Tanzania, capitalistic aspects of competition for trade, exploitation, monopoly of the means of production and exchange were severely limited. In Kenya, the state still retained and controlled the economy. But in both systems nationalization and Africanization (in the case of Kenya – Kenyanization) of the economy was undertaken and this was made as a policy. For Kenya, the

²⁸ Ibid:4

Sessional Paper no. 10 of 1965. But while Kenya's policy was meant for replacing European and Asian personnel with Africans, Tanzania's was cautious against such a move, but moved to nationalize the economy instead. It was short of skilled and educated manpower and therefore desperately needed these skills from foreigners. Tanzania's system empowered Africans in decision making in Ujamaa villages; where they were able to decide their own development priorities; for instance the right to choose what to plant, where and when. The state encouraged the farmers by offering support such as marketing and infrastructure development etc. The government of Tanzania controlled the economy through nationalization, foreign exchange, marketing, interests, and export and import businesses. The government played a major role in the economy. It regulated all major economic activities and minimized private participation. The government generally undertook nationalization and Africanization as stated in its "socialist" policies, the private sector was largely given a free reign. Africans were empowered by being offered loans to buy out foreign companies in order to Africanize them. But though pursuing a mixed economy model of development, whereby the government and the private sector played their roles in development, the Kenyan government intervened more often by regulating the business atmosphere in order to reflect its own policies. Price controls, licensing, foreign exchange controls etc achieved its objectives, that of a centrally planned economy.

4.1 Industrialization model.

When the cost for imports for commonly used goods became prohibitive, African governments embarked on a policy to replace imported goods with locally produced ones. Industrialization was a strategy that would have enabled African economies become self-sufficient and reliant through import substitution strategy. Rapid industrialization is seen as a key strategy towards reducing dependency on goods and services made by the west. This is because there was limited foreign currency. Import substitution as a strategy has enormous benefits such as job creation and income increased income for the government from taxation. Though import substitution was accomplished in some aspects, it came to naught due to dependence on technology and skills from the west. However import substitution did not necessarily make things cheaper; in fact goods from the west were comparably cheaper and threatened the survival of local industries. Inefficient production was protected from competition through heavy taxation on imported goods. This became a major undoing because these industries did not quickly learn to stand on their own.

4.2 Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs)

During the mid 80s, the World Bank and IMF pushed for the liberalization of the African economies, which they said, had underlying weakness, which resulted into inefficiency, under performance and uncompetitiveness. Through liberalization, it was envisaged that African economies would open up and

enhance efficiency than through protectionism. Liberalization was supposed to inject into the economies a new regime of efficiency, competitiveness and profit maximization and IMF and World Bank also pushed for reforms in the public sector such as the civil service and parastatal sectors. These two bodies prompted governments in Africa to divest from production, especially where they had invested heavily in parastatal sectors, were deemed corrupt, under performing and bloated. The parastatal reform programmes were aimed at cleaning up these organizations through government's divestitures and private sector investment or takeovers. Many strategic parastatals were sold. Though this was done, the opening up of African economies to the outside world hurt the young economies terribly. Infant industries under protectionism collapsed immediately liberalization opened up the economy. It is argued that, SAPs were done in haste without considering the effects they would have on the small African economies. Opening up these economies to more developed ones led to the demise of many local infant industries. More so, it is unfair to say that African countries should open up their markets while the west continued to close their doors against exports from Africa. It is here that the underdevelopment theory gains more currency. It justifies the theory that African countries will continue to remain dependent on the western economies, which direct the pace and their direction of growth. Through liberalization, the role of the government is reduced while that of the private sector is increased. Liberalization dealt a major blow to Africa's hopes of nurturing its own growth. There is no way that African goods would compete effectively with those from the west through a hastened

liberalization. The west has very advanced technology, which have enhanced efficient production systems.

4.3 International Dependence Revolution.

This model, was popular in the 1970s and viewed developing countries as beset by institutional, political and economic rigidities, both at the domestic and international levels. Developing countries, according to this view are caught up in a dependence and dominance relationship with rich countries. One theory, which tried to explain the reason for dependency, is the neo-colonial dependence model. This model was an indirect outgrowth of Marxist thinking.²⁹ According to Tordoff, it attributes the existence and continuance of underdevelopment primarily to the historical evolution of a highly unequal international capitalist system of rich country – poor country relationships. Tordoff further says that the existence of unequal power relationships between the centre (developed nations) and the periphery (Third World), renders the attempts by poor nations to be self-reliant and independence difficult and sometimes impossible.³⁰ Walter Rodney, one of these theorists explains:

Throughout the period that Africa has participated in the capitalist economy, two factors have brought about underdevelopment in the first place, the wealth created by African labour and African resources was grabbed by the capitalist countries of Europe; and in

²⁹ Ibid: 91.

³⁰ Ibid: 91.

*the second place, restrictions were placed upon African capacity to make maximum use of its economic potential – which is what development is all about.*³¹

According to Rodney there are two factors, which are responsible for underdevelopment in the Third World. First, the operation of the imperialist³² system bears the major responsibility for African economic retardness by drowning African wealth and secondly, by making it impossible to develop more rapidly the resources of the continent through skewed structures and policies such as unequal terms of trade and exchange with the west. Rodney argues that Africa's economies are integrated in the world economy, but only in a manner, which ensures that they are dependent on the big capitalist countries.

4.4 Neoclassical counterrevolution

This model became popular in the 1980s, whereby developed nations called for freer markets, dismantling of ownership of enterprises by state, statist planning in developing nations, and government regulation of economic activities. This model advanced the argument that too much government involvement in public enterprises and in regulating the economy was the major reason for underdevelopment in the Third World. There was an urgent need to restructure the economy whereby the government reduced its role in the economy and left it to market forces of supply and demand, efficiency, increased production and

³¹ Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Tanzania Publishing House, Dar es Salaam, 1972:34.

equality. The neoclassicists³³ obtained controlling votes on the boards of the world's two most powerful financial agencies –the World Bank and the IMF. The central argument of the neoclassicists is that underdevelopment results from poor resource allocation due to incorrect pricing and too much state intervention by overly active Third World governments.³⁴ The leading writers of this school included Lord Peter Bauer, Deepak Lal, Ian Little, Harry Johnson, Bela Balassa among others.

Weaknesses of dependence theories

Dependence theorists do not offer enough formal or informal explanation about how countries can initiate and sustain development. They merely find fault in the systems without giving viable alternatives. The revolutionary campaigns, which they championed such as nationalizations of industries and state run public enterprises, were negative and reversed development.

³² Or neocolonialism

³³ Included Britain, France, Japan, Germany, Canada and USA

Summary and conclusion

We have examined the theories of dependency and underdevelopment as argued by development theorists such as Paul Baran and William Tordof. They argue that aid, western capital and trade relations between Third World countries has undermined the latter's development. The west continues to practice what we would call master slave type of morality, where the poor African countries remain subservient. According to Nietzsche, in his moral theory of Master and Slave Morality,³⁵ the master (in this case the west) "esteem life in terms of feelings of fullness, of overflowing power; by contrast, the slave type of morality which characterizes the oppressed (Africa in this case) and all those who suffer from life in some way, results in a pessimistic suspicion about the whole human condition. Nietzsche says that the eye of the slave turns unfavorably towards the virtues of the powerful; he confirms these qualities, which will serve to ease his existence such as pity, patience, industry and humility. It is only through the act of slave rebellion in morality that the slave becomes free. According to Frantz Fanon, Africans will therefore not come out of this inferior position unless they overthrow the west's hegemony in all its facets. Fanon's was a rebellious type of approach, which confronted capitalism in its all forms. He argued that though political freedom in some African countries had been realized, it was far too early to celebrate as neocolonialism through capitalism was being entrenched. It was still far from saying that Africa is free because it is still economically dependent on the west. The west stubbornly pursues the feaster morality and continues to

³⁴ Ibid. p.95.

³⁵ Nietzsche, on the Genealogy of Morality, Edited by Keith Ansell – Pearson, Cambridge, 1994.

impose its will on us. It is time Africans realized waging a rebellion, especially in the manner we relate to the west in terms of trade and investment, we can be able to redirect our development. The theories of dependency argue that African countries have littler or no control over forces.

CHAPTER IV

5.0 UJAMAA – AFRICAN SOCIALISM & SELFRELIANCE

Granted right, man is an egoist and only pursues what is in his best interests. If we argue along such egoistic terms, we say that colonialism and capitalism are purely egoistic. But of the two, it can be argued that capitalism has its advantages by generating wealth much quicker. On the other hand, socialism, which advanced a utilitarian theory “failed” and it may mean that socialism, as a social theory cannot achieve a happy and a prosperous society, which capitalism does?

Granted, capitalism should have achieved this happy in along time; but this has eluded even the most prosperous capitalist world. We still have many poor, unhappy and dejected people amongst them. Some of these countries have tried to balance the needs of a minority with those of the majority through social welfare programmes, once a preserve of socialist countries. It means that man is naturally propelled and is inclined to socialism and there should be no pretence from the capitalist west that it can never exist. In some countries such as Norway, social welfare is largely practiced.

The assumption of this work is that socialism is a social theory, which comes in many forms and cannot be wished away .In the developed world; there are still pockets poor people who are benefiting from the social programmes. Perhaps

Marx's prediction on the outcome of a socialist society through contradictions existing in the capitalist ideology would take much longer than Marxists envisage it. We should not therefore claim that socialism as a theory failed, a theory does not, only in the manner of interpretation or its application. Socialism should not therefore be claimed to have demised. It still remains in different forms and interpretation, only that some countries would not like to call it by its name.

Ujamaa is a socialist theory advanced by mwalimu Julius Kambarega Nyerere; to independently choose the path to development, for his country Tanzania and escape the pattern of western development, which led to dependency. It was due to the realization that though Africa had achieved political independence, economic independence is yet to be realized. It is due to this that many African countries were persuaded to socialism at independence; which in a way departed from selfish and egoistic type of society that thrived under colonialism and capitalism. The works of Marx, Lenin and the "experiment" of The Soviet Union also provided this justification.

A lot has been written about Nyerere and socialism in Tanzania. While some writers or politicians understood him, others misunderstood and castigated him and his theory of Ujamaa. Like Sengor's or Modiba Keita's, Nyerere's was a socialist philosophy committed to humanism. The ideals of communism as argued by Nyerere were much closer to those traditional Africa. Equally socialism practiced in the west found sympathy in Nyerere . This is because it espoused a

system that was close to that of traditional Africa, such as communalism and egalitarianism. More so, communist countries, he argued had never indulged in expansionism like capitalist countries. They were therefore much more humane than their capitalist counterparts. He observed thus:

*The big communist states are likely to indulge in attempts to having experienced infiltrate societies as the big capitalist states. The major difference which I see at the moment is that the eastern powers are not used to controlling Africans... the real truth is that capitalism by nature is expansionist. Communism on the other hand is evangelical... and Africans have some experience of the things that can follow evangelism.*³⁶

On the other hand, capitalism creates inequalities - a class of a privileged minority, while the majority, without had no access to the means of production and exchange remained poor and disadvantaged. This is unethical and anti-social.³⁷ This realization by Nyerere came after his personal experience, his contemplation of the condition of his people and his religious faith³⁸. "It was eclectic in which classical liberalism and Fabian socialism were prominent than Marxism."³⁹ The sudden outgrowth of capitalism in Tanzania after only a few years of independence was an indictment of a society of people who were alienating themselves from each other; contrary to the traditional African society's

³⁶ Ibid.:250

³⁷ As noted before Nyerere accepted this condition prior to independence. After 1961 Nyerere's thinking began to take a new shape.

³⁸ Cranford Pratt, 1976:63.

ethics and this was a society he never grew in. The emergence of an exploitative relationship; where the rich with means of production and exchange bought the labour of those without. Though Tanzania was relatively without clear-cut or glaring social stratifications, there were signs that these could merge and as Nyerere argued, would later entrench themselves. There was therefore a need to act with much decisiveness to arrest it in its embryonic state.

Consolidation of socialist ideas

Ujamaa: The basis of African socialism provided the basis and direction as Nyerere called it to the type of socialist society he envisaged. As argued, socialism is not alien to Africa and has been practiced for generations based on the extended African family unit. Ujamaa was supposed to build on Africa's traditional past; which Nyerere said was not necessarily going back to that glorious African past, but borrowing from what was essential. Equity, justice, freedom were three salient ingredients to the system and characterized or defined a just, happy society bereft from exploitation of one man by another. African socialism is therefore a theory of social justice as argued by Owakah (MA thesis 1994). Land for instance was communally owned and one was allowed to use it as much as he could, but not bar another from using it, or sell it to another. Capitalism was contrary; it encouraged the disposal of property or ownership of an important resource such as land. The new society in Tanzania would borrow and retain these. Gender disparities, which he considered unethical but admissible, would be discarded in the new Ujamaa.

³⁹ Ibid: 63

5.12 Socialism and democracy

To be socialist, is to be democratic. To be democratic is to adopt an attitude, which respects opinions held by others. Like democracy, socialism upholds justice and fairness. Without a democratic attitude, then justice may not be effectively dispensed in a society. Democracy urges us to respect each other, cooperate and allow the opinion of others to find room. Socialism is also humanism; it is humility in this sense, for to give up something for someone is to be human. It is therefore the altitude of mind, which judges whether one is democratic, or not. One is democratic if one applies those principles that are fundamental to democracy. For instance, the attitude regarding the purpose of wealth one acquires, or which he intends to get makes one a capitalist according to Nyerere. If one uses or even imagines that he will use wealth to dominate others, whether he gets it or not, then is capitalism. "Destitute people", he said, "can be capitalist – exploiters of their fellow human being." "A millionaire," he continued, "can equally well be a socialist, if he may value his wealth only because it can be used in the services of his fellow men."⁴⁰ . But to get a millionaire who was a socialist was contradictory in terms, because he is a product of an exploitative relationship.

In Africa, one was considered wealthy depending on the size of his family and how he was generous with his "wealth". No one went hungry while his neighbour hoarded food. The organization of society was in such a way that there was

hardly any room for parasites. Colonialism destroyed this; it produced a land owning and exploitative class, alien in Africa. By arguing for socialism, it was not a desperate case of going back to a glorious African past, but building a modern Africa on its experiences. A society ought to build its future based on its experiences. But contrary, Africa now, is a society that it being built day by day on western culture, leading to an even deeper cultural, economic and political relationship with the west.

5.13 Rejecting doctrinaire Marxist Socialism

The Marxist socialist society, built on the outcome of an inevitable conflict between man and man is not African in experience. Africa, according to Nyerere, had not benefited from class antagonisms like those of Europe in order to constitute a Marxian analysis. It was also defeating to remove one foreign ideology and replace it with another even more alien concept. The real foundation of socialism, he said, was in African traditions and experiences and ujamaa provided a good framework for achieving these objectives:

“Ujamaa” then or “familyhood” describes our socialism. It is opposed to capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of the exploitation of man by man, and it is equally opposed to doctrinaire socialism, which seeks to build happy society on a philosophy of inevitable conflict between men and man.¹¹

⁴⁰ Nyerere J. K., *Ujamaa, Essays on Socialism*, 1968, p.1

The publication of the Arusha Declaration in 1967 was the culmination of ideas built over time .It was “an intent” as he put it and stated the direction of Tanzania's development⁴¹. It was also due to the realization that no nation can develop out of the charity of another. Tanzania was relying too much on western aid, which was eroding the purpose of nationhood .If left unchecked then many decisions were going to be made in not by the people but from the west.

Rejection of money

Money and those who possess it symbolize the power they wield. It is used by those who possess it in plenty to subdue the weak ones. Since Tanzania was poor, it was borrowing a lot of money from rich countries to develop its economy and to become strong. This was not possible. Rich countries were not going to allow this and were dictating their own policies to the country. The people, he said, and not money is the basis of development. It was therefore possible to develop by mobilizing the energy and resourcefulness of the people without too much reliance on outside help. This is the basis on which Nyerere rejects money. In order to break from this dependency, Nyerere rejected money as the basis of development. Instead, the labour of the people and the resources in the country such as good land were instruments of development. He explains this notion:

We are trying to overcome our economic weaknesses by using the weapons of the economically strong. -Weapons, which in fact we do not possess. By our thoughts and actions it appears as if we

cannot bring about the revolution we are aiming at. It is as if we have said, "money is the basis of development. Without money, there can be no development."⁴²

Equally he abhorred the manner in which government officials and TANU officials were preoccupied with the idea of how to get money for development:

Our government and different groups of our leaders, never stop thinking about methods of getting finance from abroad. And if we get some money or even if we just get a promise of it, our newspapers, our radios and our leaders, all advertise the fact in order that every person shall know that salvation is coming or is on the way.⁴³

5.14 Africa's dependence on foreign aid

It is difficult, if not almost impossible for a country to entirely rely on foreign aid for its development. A country that allows this becomes even poorer, and if it does not wake up to the realization that development needs to be self-directed and self generated, then it is destined to remain poor.

Getting aid in African is a fulltime job of our leaders -and has led to massive debts owed by these countries to the developed world. This has eroded their

⁴¹ Ibid p 12

⁴² Ibid. p.22

freedom and has reversed any form of development achieved in the last 40 years. No aid is given in good faith, it is always given in anticipation for something else - whether immediate or long term. Even if African countries stopped aid; it is going to take decades to repay what has been borrowed. African countries should awaken to this fact that the world has conspired against them.

Self-reliance, freedom and development

According to Ahmed mohiddin, the principle of self-reliance underlines Nyerere's philosophy of freedom and development¹. In the *Arusha Declaration*, it is envisaged so because it performs the dual functions of eliminating exploitation and nurtures socialism. Through self-reliance a nation could maintain its freedom and independence ². It was not only the preferred means of implementing socialism and an aspect of socialism itself. ³ Self-reliance in Tanzania was therefore going to an evolutionary process, which began from an individual to a household, to a en house cell in an Ujamaa village , to the district and then to the nation at large. If an individual worked hard through ujamaa, he became self-reliant and if a household in an ujamaa cell worked hard, then it became self-reliant. This translated into a self-reliant village and then the entire nation. Ujamaa emphasized hard work, where goods were produced jointly and roles allocated In the former Soviet Union or China, communism urged the people to

⁴³ Ibid. p.22

¹ Ahmmed Mohiddin, 1981:88

² ibid: 89

³ ibid:89

produce enough and lessen dependence on the west. It led to a concerted drive for industrialization and by making life good for everyone.

Both socialism and self-reliance have something in common, because they addressed increasing inequalities in Tanzania. While socialism addressed growing internal inequalities, self-reliance on the other addressed external inequalities. The internal inequalities resulted from the modern capitalist economy, which was creating new classes at a fast rate and socialism would “slow down” it down. On the other hand self-reliance reversed external inequalities, where over reliance on donor funds had become a bane to Tanzania’s problems. For instance in 1967, up to 59% of the development budget was sourced from external sources and the budget deficit was increasing each day and there was an urgent need to slow down this trend.

Development is people centered

Development cannot be real if it is not that of the people. The development of things such as roads, buildings or hospitals cannot be development, if they are not meant for the people. Development is of the people not things. Things are only tools of development, “ a new road”, he said , “ extends man's freedom if only he travels upon it”.⁵ Development brings freedom provided it is the development of the people. “ The people”, he added, “ cannot be developed, they can only develop themselves.”⁶

⁴ Julius K.Nyerere , Freedom and Development, 1967:1

⁵ *ibid.*,2

What does Nyerere mean by the above? An expensive airport or a university built in a remote backward village cannot be development if those who benefit are not the local people. The local villager cannot be emancipated by a new university or airport in his village if he does not relate to it, for it does not serve his interest. In a situation where there are even more pressing needs than the construction of a graveled road or a tarmacked road, which will facilitate and ease movement in the villages, will be much more important and development of the people.

A good primary school or secondary school would be a good substitute to the university in the case where the needs of the village are for basic education. But this does not mean that the above facilities are not important to the village. They are in some ways, for they can increase the incomes of the local people. Nyerere says that any proposal must be judged by the criterion whether it serves the purpose of development and that purpose is the development of the people. He says that the proposal should: ⁷

1. Establish if the people understand their own needs
2. If they understand how these needs can be met
3. If they have the freedom to make their own decisions and to carry them into effect.

⁶ *ibid.* 2

The purpose of development is the greater freedom and well being of the people, it cannot result from force, for something resulting from force never endures, but remains as a source a source of resentment from those oppressed by it. The factors essential to development are:

1. Leadership through education
2. Democracy in decision making
3. Discipline

The Ujamaa village was this new conception based on the post Arusha Declaration, which underscored the fact that what was needed was the development of the people not things and that the people can only develop themselves through self-reliance. Leadership only provided direction and helped people identify their priorities.

The ujamaa villages were encouraged to grow on the basics of self-reliance, " for self reliance was the means by which people develop". Leaving the people to grow through their own strength enables them become self-reliant. But employing force or doing things for the people all did not result into their development.

Nyerere's philosophy of development is therefore man centered. Unless one is free to think, speak and make rational decisions, there can never be any development of that person. Though money and wealth may transform a person, rarely do they improve the way he thinks. Even with that wealth, a man will not be

developed if he is controlled in the way he thinks. In conclusion, Nyerere did not view development in terms of things, but in terms of the people. Real development comes about when the people are free to discuss issues and to ponder over them and make rational decisions over the same.

5.2 Achievements of Ujamaa

By 1972, Tanzania had managed to provide the bulk of government expenditure from internal sources than it had done previously.⁴⁴ This comprised approximately 74 per cent of the total development expenditure. In *Ten years after Arusha Declaration*⁴⁵ Nyerere admitted that Tanzania was not yet a socialist society or self-reliant one. It could take up to 30 years for one to derive this state. Nevertheless a number of things had been achieved which included the following:⁴⁶

1. Stopped and reversed a national rift towards the growth of a class society based on ever increasing inequality and exploitation of the majority for the benefit of a few.
2. Established some attitudes necessary for the development of socialism; no exploitation of man by man, cooperation rather than competition, concern for the well being of all, than for a few.
3. Establishment of institutions to advance socialist policies.
4. Progress towards providing basic health, education and transportation.

⁴⁴ Ibid: 5

⁴⁵ Nyerere J.K, *The Arusha Declaration – Ten Years After*, Government Printer, Dar es Salaam, 1977, p.2.

5. Contribution to freedom struggle in Africa (Southern Africa).

Though national growth declined in subsequent years, there was a more meaningful growth because the benefits were evenly spread across the country. By 1977, it can be argued that exploitation had been greatly reduced to manageable levels.

Democracy under ujamaa

It was exhibited through regular meetings and participation of the people in decision-making in the implementation of Ujamaa programmes. Decisions were debated before they were implemented and on consensus. If not, then the will of the majority prevailed. No one was forced, but persuaded. Members of the cells also debated on their priorities such as what to plant, when to do and who was supposed to perform a particular task.

5.21 Problems encountered

Nyerere cited some problems encountered while implementing self-reliance and socialist policies⁴⁷. These included:

1. Intermittent shortages of simple goods and necessities for the people.
2. Crops not being collected or paid for in time as soon as they were delivered, leading to discontent.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p.2-3.

⁴⁷ Ibid:3

3. Inefficient transport services.
4. Bureaucracy.
5. Reduced standard of living for some people.

Ujamaa policies empowered the worker to have a say in the running of the factory or enterprise, which led to fall in production due to their increased power and therefore an inability by the management to control them. There was increased laxity among the workers whose production he said had plummeted from approximately Shs.18, 876 per worker in 1967 to an average of Shs.16, 540 in 1974. There were also no producer incentives to motivate these workers to produce more. Some leaders merely talked of *ujamaa* in theory but not in practice. Instead they continued to hoard wealth making the programme difficult to implement.

Though *Ujamaa* provided an opportunity to end a dependent relationship with the west through self-reliance and socialism, some critics pointed out that this was halfway done. Issa Shivji, a fervent critic of Nyerere and *Ujamaa* argues that Tanzania should have gone further by adopting a Marxist type of society because it offered the best conditions under which an egalitarian society could be achieved. He observed that *Ujamaa*:

...was not supported by an explicit social theory. It was essentially an amalgam of glorious description of the post (historically flawed for sure), a powerful statement of an idealist policy without a

*political programme and a grandiose vision of the future without a grand theory of society*⁴⁸.

Shivji called for the definition of class in Tanzania before *ujamaa* could constitute a genuine social revolution. Ahmed Babu also supported these sentiments. In Marxism the capitalist society, supposed to be replaced by socialism, had itself replaced mercantilism. On the other hand, mercantilism had replaced feudalism, while feudalism had replaced slavery. This was therefore a historical synthesis, whereby the thesis - existing mode of production or reality, is confronted by the antithesis, which is a new mode of production and reality to produce a new form of production and reality. The Marxists predicted the fall of capitalism, through its own weakness which resulted from increasing inequalities between two classes - the owners of the means of production – capitalists, and those who sold their labour- workers in order to earn an income. It was expected that a revolution necessarily would result from consciousness of the workers, who would then overthrow the capitalist in order to establish a just “and an egalitarian society, whereby the means of production, exchange and distribution were shared in common. Goods were to be produced through an input of each according to his strength, but whose outputs would be distributed according to one. This is the type of society that pro Marxists in Tanzania wanted. Shivji cited the real cause of Tanzania’s problems in the very nature of the neo-colonial economy. “Expanding state bureaucracy”, he said, “and the inefficiency and corrupt

⁴⁸ Issa Shivji, *The Politics of Liberalization in Tanzania*, in Campbell and Stein, Harare, 1991. P.69.

parastatal sector, derived its resources from increased exploitation of the peasantry.” Lack of better incentives to the Ujamaa peasant farmer, resulted into low production, and therefore exports plummeted. Some peasant farmers for instance opted for a black market rather than the exploitative cooperative *Ujamaa* schemes.

A.M. Babu says that all those measures hailed as populist such as heavy subsidies on farm inputs such as fertilizers and even maize meal (*sembe*), hailed socialist led to the collapse of *Ujamaa* scheme⁴⁹. “When the inevitable disaster occurred in mid 1970s, Tanzania was singled out as an example of the “failure of socialism” in Africa⁵⁰”. “One commentator”, he says, even described this tragedy as a “heroic failure”. But “what actually failed”, says Babu, “was not socialism, but reckless socialist policies which ruined the country almost irreparably⁵¹. The main reason why *Ujamaa* failed in achieving self-reliance was lack of an attempt to change the colonial structure of the economy such as the export of cash crops. Manufacturing was also largely emphasized, but using borrowed technology and when the crunch came when there was no money to buy inputs and spare parts from abroad to service these machines. “The economy”, he concluded,

⁴⁹Abdulrahman Babu Mohammed was the leader of the radical wing (Marxist) of Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP). He was paid a retainer by the Chinese News Agency in order to report on developments in the country. Just before independence of Zanzibar, Babu’s radical wing broke away from ZNP to form *Umma* Party (Masses).

⁵⁰ Babu A.M, *The Limits of Populist Nationalism: The Case of Tanzania*, in Campbell and Stein:121-122.

⁵¹ Ibid p2-3

“emphasized consumption and ignored production. *“To call such an economy socialist is to give socialism a different meaning”*.”^{52,}

Issa Shivji argued that the “failure” of *Ujamaa* because it did not constitute a revolution as the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and not workers and peasants exercised power⁵³. Nyerere was part of this bureaucracy, and was not therefore committed to a socialist revolution in the real sense. Rald blamed the failure of *Ujamaa* on the following; that Tanzania was moving away than towards an extended African family unit system as espoused in its commitment to socialism⁵⁴. For instance, the artificial creation of *Ujamaa* villages and the cash crop economy displaced many people from their dwellings and raised discontent among those moved. O’Neil and Mustafa also blamed the failure of *Ujamaa* on the excessive force used during the creation of *Ujamaa* villages, while establishing these villages, millions of peasants were moved into new villages sites with widespread destruction of property, the use of force and considerable dislocation of agricultural production⁵⁵. Nyerere however apologized for this outcome blaming the leader’s over zealousness while implementing the programme. Goran Hyden says that the reason why socialist results under *Ujamaa* programme were meager was due to “lack of a revolution strategy

⁵² *ibid* p2-3

⁵³ Rukhsana A. Siddiqui, *Socialism and Ujamaa Ideology in O’neil and Mustafa*, 1990:37

⁵⁴ Rald, 1970:21.

⁵⁵ *op. cit*:13.

bolstered by bureaucratic control"⁵⁶. He says that it is doubtful whether *Ujamaa* ideology did in fact include any strategy at all or "whether the problem had anything to do with Tanzania's poverty⁵⁷." Boesen et al summarized the problems that led to the failure of *Ujamaa* as: Lack of comprehensive revolutionary strategy and a lack of official criteria for evaluation of *Ujamaa* villages. They observed that: "...the weaknesses of *Ujamaa* ideology... are its underestimation of the need for a through analysis of class structure and class, formation as the basis for socialist rural development strategy in post colonial Tanzania⁵⁸."

More doctrinaire Marxists blamed the revolutionary strategy used by Nyerere, which they say, should have critically analyzed class structure and class formation in Tanzania. This should have then assisted in the revolution strategy, but this is not clear how. It should be noted that Nyerere was well aware of this when he said that there were no classes in Tanzania to constitute a Marxian analysis. Social conditions and their analysis and restructuring would not have necessarily resulted into socialism. It was the vision of a more equitable system.

⁵⁶ Boesen et al, 1977:16.

⁵⁷ Ibid: 16.

⁵⁸ Ibid p19

Summary and conclusion

We have so far examined socialism as practiced under ujamaa. In the beginning, we noted Tanzania emerge from independence as a weak and a poor country dependent on its colonial master-Britain. Having fought colonialism, many African leaders perceived capitalism as to neocolonialism. On the other hand, socialist countries were not known to have practiced colonization. Their ideology was therefore more human because it advanced freedom. As a social theory it is humanistic and distributive. Ujamaa's principle of self-reliance was one of the concepts that rallied the people to produce things themselves and reduce dependence on the west. Self-reliance began at micro level, which was a individual to the nation at large.

Though Ujamaa faced alot of challenges and was disbanded as a policy for the development of Tanzania, we can learn a great deal from the thoughts and ideas behind it. Though Nyerere did not achieve self reliance and more freedom for Tanzania, this teaches us that Africa should recognise the fact that if they do not strive to become economically independent through being reliant on their resources, the hope and aspirations of independence will remain a mere mirage. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere was a pragmatic and utilitarian leader. His philosophy of *Ujamaa* envisaged a society that was bereft if inequalities resulting from the exploitation of a majority by a minority. He viewed that end of all societies as their happiness and harmony, where humanity was the real focus.

CHAPTER V

6.0 GENERAL CONCLUSION

This work brings us to the conclusion that a free country is self-reliant. This is a country that does not fully depend on aid or charity other countries. Aid should be treated as a catalyst to the effort of the people not a panacea for development. Neither should we borrow in excess because this increases the burden for repayment and erodes the basis of our development. For instance, a road built with foreign aid has an average lifespan of between 15-20 years, but the loan repaid lasts almost 30 years! The cost involved is enormous. As countries in Africa borrow more and more money, they risk sinking deeper and deeper into poverty and dependency. Any minor crisis will fuel an even greater one and when aid is cut it triggers of a host of other crises eroding achievements made over a long time.

We should stop thinking of development in Africa in terms of aid. As a matter of fact, we must try to rely on our own resources. Africa should not model its development on that of the west, because we cannot easily catch up with them. These countries are too far ahead of us; having started off earlier than us and benefited from our resources. Just as Collin Leys says, the starting point of

underdevelopment was the period in which Africa began to be progressively incorporated into a permanent relationship with the expanding capitalist system.⁵⁹ A radical break with the international capitalist economy is therefore required in order to end dependency. Walter Rodney cites the causes of this underdevelopment as a result of unequal terms of trade, "one party (developed) fixes the prices of products while the underdeveloped one is at its mercy."⁶⁰ As long as foreigners own land, banks, factories, insurance companies, means of transport, newspapers, power stations etc., then for so long will the wealth of Africa flow outwards into the lands of those elements.⁶¹ He notes:

*Dependent nations can never be considered developed. It is true that modest conditions force all countries to be mutually interdependent in order to satisfy the needs of their citizens; but it is not incompatible with economic independence because economic independence does not mean isolation. It does however require the capacity to exercise choice in external relations and above all requires that a nation at some point must become self-reliant and self-sustaining*⁶²

The causes of dependency and backwardness are imperialism and its agents, the comprador bourgeoisie. By formulating the principle of self-reliance in the philosophy of *Ujamaa*, Nyerere tried to overcome this situation. He envisaged an economically free Tanzania through self-reliance on its own resources.

⁵⁹ Collin Leys, 1975:8

⁶⁰ Walter Rodney, 1972:31

⁶¹ Ibid: 31

⁶² Ibid p.31.

However, his efforts were watered down by the nature of the international system such as low producer prices and expensive imports among others.

We in Africa must therefore stop thinking that aid will develop our economies to the point at which we will be self-reliant. We must be self-reliant using our own resources, however limited they are. This does not mean that we isolate ourselves from the international system. This means finding our dignity, our freedom and independence to make our own decisions. Though we must run while others walk, we must be careful and know in which direction we are going. It should not be too fast, neither should it be too slow. Nyerere summarizes this;

For self reliance... means choosing the path to development which does not depend upon outsiders. It means recognition of international involvement and willingness to give and to receive help: it means a recognition that outside assistance can help speed up development a long the path which we have chosen.⁶³

⁶³ Nyerere J. K, After the Arusha Declaration, Presidential Address to the national Conference of TANU, Mwanza, 16th October, 1967:5

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