# THE VILLAGILIZATION PROGRAM: THE MAINSTAY OF NYERERE'S "UJAMAAISM"

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Abstract: This article aims to show that Villagelization program is the mainstay of Nyerere's "Ujamaaism." Nyerere's "Ujamaaism" based on communal life of traditional Africans, who lived in extended family, and embraced brotherhood and caring for each other. "Ujamaaism" has interwoven together, equality, freedom and human dignity. Nyerere attracted by this kind of foundation and linked it with the desire to bring development to the people. For him, villagelization program became the best way to push forward the development of the newly independent country of Tanzania. This was the vivid example for Nyerere to manifest "Ujamaaism" policy to the world. It is under villagelization program that the praxis of "Ujamaaism" elements was actualized. Despite different challenges of villagelization program, generally speaking, "Ujamaaism" left an important mark to Tanzania even today especially culturally and socially.

Keywords: Villagelization program, Nyerere's "Ujamaaism.", important mark, culturally and socially.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Nyerere introduced villagelization program because he observed that, population was very scattered and mostly was found in the villages. It is believed that up to 1970s, more than 2000 villages were found, under Villagelization program. The villages happened to be a robust choice to Nyerere because "Ujamaaism" among others focused to uplift the welfare of the poor especially peasants through agriculture. Based on the traditional life of people, agriculture and pastoralism were the basic economic activities, so Nyerere believed that Villagelization would be the best choice for them. It is within the villages Nyerere saw the opportunity to provide social services such as water, schools, hospitals and others. Furthermore, the World Bank Mission in 1959 instructed all underdeveloped countries including Tanganyika to have special program on how they could level up life standard of peasants through agriculture. Villagelization program shows the interplay of "Ujamaaism" as an idea as well as a practice. Villagelization program distinguished Nyerere's "Ujamaaism" from other utopian concepts, because Nyerere wanted to manifest the idea of "Ujamaaism" into people's lives. This is the reason why Nyerere, under villagelization program, established different initiatives, which aimed to bring development especially to the rural peoples.

#### 2. METHODOLOGY

The article used analytic method, which embraces carefully analysis of issues. In this article the method is used to analyze different concepts and practices that Nyerere conducted in the villages in order to make "Ujamaaism" vibrant.

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## The Concept "Ujamaaism"

Nyerere called his socialism concept Ujamaa to refer to the system that all members of the communities have equal rights and equal opportunities in which all can live at peace with their neighbors without suffering or imposing injustice, being exploited, or exploiting; and in which all have a gradually increasing of basic level of material welfare.<sup>1</sup>

However, the authors of this paper use the concept of "Ujamaaism" as it is coined and introduced by Lwiwa at al, instead of Ujamaa policy. According to Lwiwa at al, it is an addition of the suffix-ism to the root word Ujamaa in order to expand its meaning to encompass a related system, theory, or practice. Thus, the new word "Ujamaaism" is taken here to indicate that the root word Ujamaa represents a specific practice, system, or philosophy. It follows that "Ujamaaism" resonate well with Nyerere's philosophical and political ideologies centred on the practice of brotherhood that is sometimes loosely translated as family hood. The use of -"ism" at the end of the root word Ujamaa, suggests that the word is related to a belief (or system of beliefs) accepted as an authority by many traditional Africans. The suffix-ism at the end of the root Ujamaa raises the new word "Ujamaaism" to an appropriate noun like other common-ism words such as activism, atheism, alcoholism, capitalism, dualism, environmentalism, fatalism, globalism, hedonism, individualism, materialism, realism, sexism, vegetarianism, socialism.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, they argued that the new coined word of "Ujamaaism," could now be taken here, to refer to a kind of philosophy, which is actively lived by people who share some aspects of their culture and traditions, in daily socio-political and economic activities. In this study, the word "Ujamaaism" will be attached to Nyerere's concept of socio-political and economic philosophy because "Ujamaaism" is not just a word representing equal socio-political and economical philosophy, but rather it is a life.<sup>3</sup>

#### Tangnyika Before The Implementation of "Ujamaaism."

Tanganyika like many other African countries was under colonial rule of German, and later on under British as a trustee country. The level of poverty and other social problems were at high level, something that led Nyerere to take further initiatives to react on it. For instance, Edwards reports:

One of the early economic challenges of the new independent government was replacing the colonial administration by African civil servants. This process of "Africanization" was particularly difficult given the limited number of Tanganyikans with college degrees. From today's perspective it is difficult to grasp fully the depth of this skills shortage. According to former Governor of the Bank of Tanzania Edwin Mtei, in the late 1950s, "... there were only ten Government secondary schools in the whole of Tanganyika. Tanganyikans that had gone to university and obtained degrees could be counted with on your finger nails: they were not more than ten, and we knew them all."4

This shows that colonialists did not prepare Tanganyikans for independence; this caused Nyerere to be one of few Tanganyikans having the university degree, and no wonder that he emerged as a superman and the think tank in his community.

Moreover, Nyerere started earlier to mobilize hard work and to avoid the parasitism culture, even before the Arusha Declaration and "Ujamaaism." For instance, Mazrui reports, it goes back to Arusha Declaration. It goes back to the slogan of Uhuru na Kazi means Freedom and Work, which accompanied the country into the independence." Furthermore, Mazrui continues, "Finally in October 1966 the ethos of hard work in Tanzania culminated in the national service, compulsory for sixth form and university graduates and for products of comparable educational institutions." He concludes "the national

<sup>6</sup> Mazrui, "Tanzaphilia A Diagnosis by Ali Mazrui," 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Julius Nyerere, *Ujamaa–Essays On Socialism*, (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968), 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Apiov Lwiwa, Geroge, Ndemo Dynesius Nyangau, "The Synthesis of Ujamaaism of Nyerere and Habermas' Critical Social Theory," East African Journal of Arts and Social Sciences, vol. 6 no 1 (2023), 2-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Apiov Lwiwa, et al., "The Synthesis of Ujamaaism of Nyerere." 2–3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Edwards Sebastian, Is Tanzania a Success Story? A Long Term Analysis, http://www.nber.org/papers/w17764, NBER Working Paper No. 17764, 1050 Massachusetts Avenue: Cambridge MA 02138, 2012), 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ali Mazrui, "Tanzaphilia A Diagnosis by Ali Mazrui," Transition, Jun-Jul., (1967), No. 31, pp 20-26, (USA: Indiana University Press, 1967), 24.

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service was to consist, in part, in nation-building forms of toil like digging and construction, in which a person was to spend two years in the service before starting a regular career."

However, some scholars compare the idea of villagelization with the issue of land use plan, in which not only Nyerere, but also even colonial government had that kind of program. Kikula for instance, argues that "the villagelization programme clearly demonstrate the problems which can occur when traditional land use systems are changed, in the name of development, without a sufficient planning of alternative land use practices. He maintains "the concentration of previously scattered rural populations in Africa and other developing countries has been undertaken both by colonial regimes and later by independent government administrations [such as] Cameroon, Zambia, Kenya, Nigeria, Zaire and Tanzania. According to Kikula, "the concentration of the population was carried out for a variety of reasons including humanitarian, military, ecological, economic and political perspectives." Nonetheless, Kikula argues "Tanzania's villagization programme undertaken between 1970 and 1976 is unique in that it involved the largest number of people in history of settlement in the third world." Furthermore, other scholars like Moore, thinks that the colonialists established rural resettlements that were small and localized. This goes even after independence of Tanganyika in 1961, according to Moore, scattered homesteads were still typical of the traditional or indigenous settlement pattern.

Moreover, it is argued that in 1959, the World Bank Mission was to improve the standards of its people by increasing agricultural productivity, providing different social amenities, such as tap waters, electricity, medical care, transport, schools and so on, as the mission demands first the resettlement plan as the pre-condition of transforming or modernizing peasant's agriculture. No wonder why Nyerere, soon after independence, he had put rural improvement policy ahead.

Similarly, Hyden confirms that Tanzania is suitable illustration of this point given, that President Nyerere's government in 1967 based his development decision strategy on the local peasantry. Peasants in Africa such as Ethiopia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania owned the means of productions so that to enhance them to produce more. <sup>14</sup> The ruling class established state farms or created settlements in which the peasants are more easily accessible to bureaucratic intervention. Hyden, for instance quoting the Tepicht argument contends, "the collective agricultural production in Poland and other east European societies the relations of production did not totally change with the introduction of state farms." <sup>15</sup> He continues "the state farms in Africa such as the prisons owned farms they were difficulty to use as surplus–generating institutions incase where labor-intensive method have been used." <sup>16</sup> This shows that collective productions of agriculture were not a very good approach for "Ujamaaism" to take for eradication of poverty.

#### **Arusha Declaration**

After independence, Nyerere tried to bridge socio-political and colonial gape that was created against Africans. This gape, excluded Africans almost in all spheres of life, politically, economically, culturally as well as socially. Colonialists did not offer chance for Africans to have meaningful development; as a result, Nyerere introduced Arusha Declaration in order to accommodate the new policy of "Ujamaaism" in 1967, so that he can officially start to establish it in Tanzania. Nyerere addressed the TANU national conference in 17<sup>th</sup> October 1967, argued that the Arusha declaration did not mean to bring

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Mazrui, "Tanzaphilia," 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. Idris S. Kikula, *Policy Implications on Environment–The Case of Villagesation in Tanzania*, (Dar es Salaam: DUP Ltd, 1996), 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Cf. Kikula, *Policy Implications*, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Cf. Kikula, *Policy*, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Cf. Kikula, *Policy*, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> John Moore, "Traditional Settlement," in L. Berry ed., Tanzania in Maps, (Dar es Salaam: University of London Press, 1971), 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Cf. Kikula, *Policy*, 13–14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Cf. Goran Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania-Underdevelopment and An Uncaptured Peasantry*, (London: Heinemann Education Book, 1980), 9–10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Cf. Hyden, Beyond *Ujamaa*, 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Cf. Hyden, Beyond, 25.

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any miracles but rather it was an intent to live a certain kind of life and to act in a certain of manner for desired ends. <sup>17</sup> Nyerere identified the purpose of "Ujamaaism" as follows; firstly is for the question of self-reliance. Nyerere said: "let us look on question of self reliance, for I believe that this has been widely misunderstood-by ourselves more than by others. <sup>18</sup> He continues, "Some of our people have spoken and acted as though it meant self-sufficiency in manpower and financial resources." <sup>19</sup> He concludes, "Self-reliance policy meant to make a maximum use of the available resources."

However, This vision was noticed from the beginning, for instance, when Nyerere became the first prime minister of independent Tanganyika. Omari confirms: "...Once the first free government is formed, its supreme task lies in building up the country's economy so as to raise the living standards of the people, eradicate disease, banish ignorance and superstation." This relates with the steps, which Nyerere took to fight for three main enemies—poverty, disease, and ignorance that Arusha Declaration focused to deal with. <sup>22</sup>

#### **Creating the Leadership Code of Conduct**

One of the aims of Arusha Declaration was to create the code of conduct that among other things was to shape and reshape the way leaders should behave and act in public offices. It is in this code of conducts whereas, leaders were forbidden to manipulate, loot, embezzlement and bribe, to have two jobs and to got paid salary in both; to do business and other conducts that were against the "Ujamaaism" policy. Evarist wrote:

The code emphasized five main points: first, it stipulated that "every TANU and government leader must be either a peasant or a worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of capitalism and feudalism." The practices of capitalism that are rejected here are private ownership of the means of production and individual's "accumulation of wealth for the purpose of gaining power and prestige." Secondly, "no TANU or government leader should hold shares in any company." Holding shares in a company was a capitalist practice and like the first code of conduct, the intention was to prevent leaders from owning means of production and thus creating a class of their own. Thirdly, leaders were not allowed to "hold directorship in any privately owned enterprise," since this was an incentive to engage in capitalist practices, which as shown, were not. Next, leaders were not permitted to "receive two or more salaries," presumably because this was interpreted by the leaders as a form of wealth accumulation incompatible with creating a classless society. Finally, no leader was allowed "to own houses which he rents to others" because collecting rent from tenants would also be a capitalist practice of wealth accumulation considered by Ujamaa to be detrimental to the creation of a classless society considered as a whole, the Leadership Code of conduct was a measure to curb the development of classes and reduce conflict between them. 23

It shows that, Nyerere aimed to create classless society that no any gap between leaders and citizens. Maybe this could be one of the reasons why many leaders in his government did not support "Ujamaaism" policy. Actually, this embraced homogeneity thinking among the leaders, as the conduct wanted all leaders to think and act according to "Ujamaaism" leadership code of Arusha Declaration. Under this code of conduct, leaders were not allowed to question or to think different to what "Ujamaaism" believed, as it is argued by

Nyerere himself encourages people to accept change of leaders because they believed that there was no any good leader than him, as they wanted him to contest for the sixth term of presidency. Nyerere said. "I do appreciate the expressions of trust and loyalty which inspired many of the calls for me to submit my self for a sixth time...but this time our conferences

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Nyerere, *Ujamaa–Essays*, 145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Nyerere, *Ujamaa*, 145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Nyerere, *Ujamaa*, 145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Nyerere, *Ujamaa*, 146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Cuthbert Omary, "The Management of Tribal and Religious Diversity" in Mwalimu The Influence of Nyerere, (Dar-es-Salaam: eds, Collin Legum and Godfrey MMari, Mkuki na Nyota, 1995), 18–23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Donatus Komba, "Contribution to Rural Developemnt: Ujamaa and Villagisation" in Collin, Legum and Geofrey. Mmari, (eds), Mwalimu: the Influence of Nyerere, (Dar-es-Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 1995), 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Evarist Cornelli, "A Critical Analysis of Nyerere's Ujamaa," (UK: University of Birmingham Research Archive ethesis repository, 2012), 175.

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will choose a different, a new name will be submitted for the people's approval."24

This statement of Nyerere, confirms social and political influence Nyerere has to the people. As one of the declassified CIA's document about Nyerere, entitled "Nyerere under Fire", shows that during Nyerere's resignation as a president, there was a great pressure especially to his party, military and citizens in general, about who would be a fit successor of un questioned loyalty to Nyerere. Similarly, the same scenario happened when Nyerere resigned the prime minister's office whereas Nyerere argued that, "Because I wanted to stop the identification of Tanganyika with Nyerere. The attitude that Nyerere and Tanganyika were synonymous was a false basis for a new country to start making its way."<sup>26</sup>

However, one might wonder the aim of Nyerere on this, but as I try to understand him I think that Nyerere knew the power of the state under "Ujamaaism" policy he was about to began, and this is not new thing because unlike Europe, whereas the private and public realms shares a common moral foundation. Ekeh argues that "what considered morally right or wrong in the private realm is also considered morally right or wrong in the public realm.<sup>27</sup> He continues, "for a long time Christian belief provides common moral foundation for both private and public ethic. According to Ekeh, for Africa, there is monolithic public realm morally bound to the public realm.<sup>28</sup> However, it is argued that there are two public realms connected to postal-colonial Africa with the different links with the private realm. It continues that at one level is the public realm in which primordial groupings, ties and sentiments influence and determine the public behavior of individualism.<sup>29</sup>

This primordial public realm is moral and operates on the same moral imperatives as the private realm. The author goes on to explain that at another level there is a public realm that associated with colonial rule such as those who based on civic rules like the military, the civil services, the judiciary, the police and so on.<sup>30</sup> Actually, this kind of public realm, has no moral links to private realm, this is the reason why Ekeh, argued that it is amoral since it lacks the generalized moral imperatives operatives in the private realm as well as in primordial public realm. This is possible that Nyerere was setting a good agendum to making sure that the country had one moral tie for him to easily penetrate the "Ujamaaism" policy.

## "Ujamaaism" In The Villages

In fact, Nyerere's "Ujamaaism" aimed to uplift the life of small peasants who lived in small and scattered villages, it is without no doubt that; villages were the perfect platform to accommodate the practice of "Ujamaaism." Having this in the mind, as Edwards contends: "The next section of Part Three is titled "Let us pray and heed to the peasant," and explains with great clarity that the main problem with "import substitution" industrialization is that those that benefit from it (urban dwellers and industrial workers) are not the ones that suffer the costs of the policy. Peasants pay for industrialization. This shows that urban development or capitalists are developing by exploiting peasants who lived in the villages. Moreover Edwards continues, "[T] here are various forms of exploitation. We must not forget that people who live in towns can possibly become exploiters of those who live in rural areas... he then asserted that there are two possible ways of dividing the people in our country. We can put the capitalists and feudalists on one side, and the farmers and workers on the other. But we can also divide the people into urban dwellers on one side and those who live in the rural areas on the other. If we are not careful we might get to the position where the real exploitation in Tanzania is that of the town dwellers exploiting the peasants."

Despite all efforts initiated by Nyerere to build villagelization program, in as Nyerere's "Ujamaaism" embeds it, the program did not be able to manifest the success "Ujamaaism." Edwards asserts:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Nyerere, Ujamaa, 2–3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Cf. Director of Intelligence, "*Tanzania: Nyerere Under Fire*," Declassified in Part-Sanitized Copy for Release-(CIA-RDP85S00317R000300070003-8, USA, 2012), iii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Humphrey, "Aspect of Nyerere's Political Philosophy," 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Hyden, Beyond, 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Cf. Hyden, Beyond, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Hyden, Beyond, 27–28.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Hyden, Beyond, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Edwards Sebastian, "Is Tanzania a Success Story,"? A Long Term Analysis," NBER Working Paper No. 17764, 1050 Massachusetts Avenue: Cambridge MA 02138, 2012), 15, http://www.nber.org/papers/w17764,

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Nyerere's socialist policies, however, did not work. The collectivization of agriculture backfired, the villagization process that forced peasants to move to villages designed by planners was strongly resisted by the population, the parastatal sector became a huge financial burden and a source of corruption, and grandiose industrial projects became mired in inefficiencies. Worse yet, in the mid 1970s significant shortages of all sort of goods developed, and black market activities became rampant.6 The collapse of the Tanzanian economy in the late 1970s and early 1980s happened in spite of the involvement of donor countries – in fact, it is possible to argue that this disintegration happened *because* aid agencies were heavily involved in supporting (and even helping design) Nyerere's *ujamaa* Socialism economic policies. In many ways, the Tanzanian experience between 1968 and the mid 1980s provides a stark example of the excesses of foreign assistance. During that period the international aid community supported the wrong policies – including the taxation of peasants and agriculture --, encouraged corruption, and generated economic dependency.<sup>32</sup>

However, one might wonder why did villagelization was the must strategy for Nyerere to build "Ujamaaism"? As it is argued that the nature of Tanganyika (later on Tanzania, during those time was characterized by small scattered villages, with un even population. Nonetheless there were just few urban and sub urban in which small business were conducted, but generally in those small villages, people involved in agriculture, fishing, huntering and pastoralism. Not only they involved in these activities, but also they lived in communal society and in compound household. Please remember that in traditional Africa's societies an individual should attach him or herself with the community. Due to this nature, it is obvious that the economy of these people were small, so no wonder that Nyerere decided to emphasis the practice of "Ujamaaism" in the villages. This is the reason why Nyerere established the rural development plan, and he proclaimed openly his aim to uplift the economy of the poor because people in the villages lived in poverty. Nyerere said that, pursuing this path means that Tanzania will continue to have a predominantly rural economy for a long time to come. He maintains that and as it is in the rural areas that people live and work. So he thought that it is in the rural areas that life must be improved. In order to attain this goal, Nyerere argued that the improvement in village life would not, however, come automatically. It will come only if we pursue a deliberate policy of using the resources we have-our man power and our land-to the best advantage, Nyerere continues to argue that our village life, as well as our state organization, must be based on principles of socialism and that equality in work and return which is part of it. He must be a sour state organization, must be based on principles of socialism and that equality in work and return which is part of it.

#### **Education and Self-Reliance Policy**

Nyerere believed on the power of education to shape and reshape mindset of people. This can be seen through the way he introduced the policy of education for self-reliance as a working economic and political policy of "Ujamaaism". Nyerere believed that education should embody the vision and goals of "Ujamaaism" socialist society that is equality, dignity to humanity and working together without any exploitation.<sup>36</sup> Education for self-reliance aimed to build self-reliant personnel from the level of an individual, family and finally to family level. This would make the whole country to become self-reliant, against capitalists aids, grants and loans. Nyerere wrote:

If every individual is self-reliant then ten house cells will be self-reliant; if all the cells are self-reliant the whole ward will be self-reliant; and if the wards are self-reliant the district will be self-reliant. If the districts are self-reliant, then the region is self-reliant, and if the regions are self-reliant, then the whole nation is self-reliant and this is our aim.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Edwards Sebastian, "Is Tanzania a Success Story,"?, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Cf. Matthew, Todd Bradley, "*The Other*": *Precursory African Conceptions of Democracy*" Source: International Studies Review, Wiley on behalf of The International Studies Association,

vol. 7, no. 3 (Sep., 2005): 418, pp. 407-431 https://www.jstor.org/stable/3699757.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Nyerere, *Ujamaa–Essays*, 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Nyerere, *Ujamaa–Essays*, 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Cf. Julius, Nyerere, "The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance," (Dar es Salaam: Publicity Section, 1967), 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Nyerere, *Ujamaa*, 34.

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This shows that Nyerere was robustly believe that education was a strong tool to liberate people, not only their mind but even from poverty. Self reliant to Nyerere goes hand in hand with the idea of internal political freedom; he was against the interferences of external aids, loans and grants, as he perceives it as colonialists' techniques to continue to exploit Africans.

Furthermore, Nyerere convinced that the colonial education introduced the attitude of human inequality whereas it underpinned the domination of the weak by the strong, in the areas like economy. Nyerere argued that it did not mean to transmit the values and knowledge of Tanzania society from one generation to another, but rather to replace the traditional knowledge with different knowledge. So according to Nyerere, colonial education was inadequate and inappropriate for the new state. Nyerere argued further that so little education had been provided that in December, 1961, we had too few with the necessary educational qualifications even he concluded that on top of that, education was based upon race, whereas the whole moral case of the independence movement had been upon a rejection of racial distinctions. However, despite good aim of Nyerere in education, I argue that Nyerere used this chance to create homogeneous thinking to the people due to the way people directed to communal thinking. For instance, Nyerere argued, "this is what our educational system has to encourage. It has to foster the social goals of living together and working together, for the common good...all members' shares fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group. Nyerere says, that education system of Tanzania must emphasize cooperative endeavor, not individual advancement". Hence, any actions that seemed to make a robust outstand of a person's thinking ability, Nyerere called it an intellectual arrogance.

#### **Nationalization of Private Properties**

The Arusha declaration opened the way for Nyerere to make difficulty decision on economic policy. In Nyerere's "Ujamaaism," the government controls all major means of production and economy, unlike capitalism in which the private sector controls the major means of production with minimal intervention from the government. Nyerere meant by nationalization that the government would have economic power to restructure the economy and reach expected goals of "Ujamaaism." Nyerere decided to nationalize different companies. Through nationalization the government took all private properties to the government for equal share and distribution of economy to all people in the society. Nyaki hints that the idea of nationalization of private property was an influence from Pope Leo XIII, through the encyclical letter called "the Condition of Labor" (Rerum Novarum) in which the Pope suggested the importance of church and people of God to work together by their private properties in order to build the just property.

Soon after Arusha declaration, from 5<sup>th</sup> February the government nationalized all major banks, large industries and part of the trade sector especially 60 percent dominant of Sisal industry.<sup>43</sup> It was clear that by starting with nationalization of Banks Nyerere meant to control the economy and to enhance cash flow to reach to the bottom line of the economy where majority of the people like peasants were mostly found.

Nyerere used banks like the Tanzania Rural Development Banks (TRDB) established in 1972.<sup>44</sup> Also Tanzania Investment Bank was not behind on attracting the foreign capital to Tanzania. Its attraction was massive to the "world" to catch up with the speed of changes.<sup>45</sup> As we see, the great emphasis was put on rural development and the small-scale farming as well as industries. Developing the small-scale industries in rural areas was the responsibility of Small-Scale Industries Development

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Nyerere, *Ujamaa*, 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Nyerere, *Ujamaa–Essays*, 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Nyerere, *Ujamaa*, 47–48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Cf. Nyerere, "The Arusha Declaration," 239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Cf. Sanga, Ndemo and Muhenda "*The Philosophical Background*" American Research Journal of Humanities and Social Science, Vol. 02, Issue-07, pp. 30-45, (2019): 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ibhawoh, Dibua, "Deconstructing Ujamaa," 64-65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Kasimila, "Mwl. J.K. Nyerere and His Efforts in Poverty Eradication," (Morogoro: Mzumbe Book Project, 2012), 25.

<sup>45</sup> Kasimila, "Mwl. J.K. Nyerere," 25.

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Organization (SIDO) established in 1973. ASSINCE then it was official that, the economy was under the State for monitoring, control and management. However, this decision brought mixed emotions both internally and externally. Some countries supported it but some international corporation banks like Barclays, Standard, and National and Glindeys, were against it, afraid that the nationalization could spill over to other African states. Although many companies were nationalized, there were tricks played that most of those companies joint ventured with other international companies as a result the decision-making still remained in foreigner's hands. Examples of nationalized companies were: Tanzania Millers, Chande Millers, Pure Food Products Ltd, G. R. Jivraj, Noormohamed Jessa, Kyela Sattar Mills (Mbeya), Associate Traders Ltd. (Mwanza), and Rajwani Mills (Dodoma). The government nationalized other companies some of which had begun the conversations for smooth transition. They included:

The National Insurance Coperation Ltd, Smith Mackenzie and Co. Ltd.; Dalgety (East Africa) Ltd.; International Trading and Credit Co. of (Tanganyika) Ltd.; Twentsche Overseas Trading Co. Ltd.; African Mercantile Co. (Overseas) Ltd.; Wigglesworth and Co. (Africa) Ltd.<sup>49</sup>

There were other firms affected by nationalization during "Ujamaaism," such as Beer Breweries: Kilimanjaro Breweries and Tanzania Breweries; British American Tobacco, Bata Shoe Company, Tanganyika Metal Box, Tanganyika Extract Company; Tanganyika Portland cement. <sup>50</sup>Later, the government went further to nationalize even church sponsored schools and colleges. The government promised to pay full and fair compensation for the assets acquired and to consider the rights of employees. <sup>51</sup>Although the government nationalized many companies and cooperation, it did not close door for private investors who wanted to invest in sharing with the government, or alone or in cooperation. But the policy was clear not to welcome people to invest to some industries like those, which could produce deadly weapons.

#### 3. CONCLUSION

Conclusively, the Villagelization program tried to reflect the policy of Nyerere's "Ujamaaism," despite the challenges faced it. The main goal of Nyerere was to help peasants and poor people in rural areas, this would not have happened without agriculture sector, because as we have seen that most of the people soon after independence, lived in scatted villages. Nyerere wanted to build "Ujamaaism" that would introduce equality, freedom and development to the people. This objective according to him would easily attained by putting people together in the villages. Nyerere thought that it was not difficulty for Africans to dwell in the villages because that was the kind of life they used to live in communal and extended family. As the main stay of "Ujamaaism," Villagelization program, aimed to bring social services such as schools, tape water, electricity, and hospitals and so on, nearby people. Unfortunately, this program did not achieve most of his objectives due to various reasons. But one thing is clear that villagelization policy left social and cultural legacy like unity, peace and generosity to Tanzanians. These are values that should be preserved for the prosperity of the country.

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<sup>46</sup> Kasimila, "Mwl. J.K. Nyerere," 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Ibhawoh, Dibua, "Deconstructing Ujamaa," 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Nyerere, "The Arusha Declaration and TANU'S Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance," (Dar es Salaam: Dare es Salaam Publisher, 1967), 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Nyerere, "The Arusha Declaration," 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Nyerere, "The Arusha Declaration," 22–23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Nyerere, "The Arusha Declaration," 22.

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