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EDITORS' NOTE

Our esteemed readers would be pleased to know that *Tanzania Zamani* is now available in the EBSCO digital database. We are moreover pleased to inform our readers that article abstracts from *Tanzania Zamani* are also available on the University of Dar es Salaam website at [www. udsm. ac. tz](http://www.udsm.ac.tz). The present release, Volume IX No. 2, 2017, is the second special issue based on papers initially presented at the Conference of the Historical Association of Tanzania (HAT), which was held at the University of Dar es Salaam in November, 2015. It is noteworthy that publication of this issue marks the end of the series from the 2015 Conference. The bulk of the next issue will therefore be based on papers presented during the 2016 HAT Conference.

The four articles included in this issue cover a diversity of themes and issues, but are bound together by Tanzania's postcoloniality as a temporal and spatial context. Oswald Masebo's opening article presents an aspect of intellectual history in an African postcolonial society. It analyses thematic developments and changes in research and teaching of History at the University of Dar es Salaam since the 1990s. Through a systematic examination of staff and students' research outputs, together with the curriculum innovations made at the department during the period under review, Masebo documents the development of new

thematic areas in History teaching and research. He identifies these as histories of environmental changes and resilience, diseases and healing, social identities, war and diplomacy, and cultural heritage and tourism. The author discusses the social contexts for the emergence of these themes and relates them to earlier theoretical tendencies and thematic coverage of research and teaching at the Department of History, University of Dar es Salaam, as highlighted in the 1993 Isaria Kimambo's inaugural lecture titled *Three Decades of Production of Historical Knowledge at Dar es Salaam*.

The second article by Joseph Butiku dwells on the ideological and philosophical thrust of Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the founding president of Tanganyika and the United Republic of Tanzania. The author, Joseph Butiku, is not an academician but rather an activist and advocate of Mwalimu's political and social philosophy. His article, though not crafted as an academic argument, has a unique contribution to the understanding of Tanzania's history and Nyerere's place in it. Having been in close working relationship with Nyerere, Butiku is well positioned to share some of the latter statesman's attributes and philosophical dispositions that are not mentioned or well articulated in easily accessible historical documents. Working from that privileged position, Butiku draws on personal recollections and written

records to articulate Mwalimu's key philosophical positions. In brief, the article reveals Nyerere's own exposition of who he was; the ideas and principles he stood for, and the way he elaborated and used them in mobilizing the people of Tanzania for independence. The author also underlines some of the sacrifices Nyerere made in keeping with what he said he was, for instance by resigning from prominent leadership positions for different reasons at different times. The article then gives an extended elaboration of Nyerere's fundamental principles and beliefs, together with the type of country he envisaged, as well as his achievements and disappointments as a leader of an African country in the early postcolonial period. The article also provides useful anecdotal information on Nyerere prior to his becoming a politician, his dispositions in light moments and his encounters with serious international affairs.

The third article by Gaudence Mpangala is a synthesis of Africa's political economy in the post-independence era, with a focus on Tanzania. It provides an overview of economic and political developments witnessed in the continent during the earlier post-independence period and pays particular attention to the period since the late 1980s, which the author labels as the period of African Renaissance. He defines this concept as an historical moment characterised by struggles for change from 'the old or

existing oppressive and exploitative system into a new system which is more democratic and developmental.’ According to the author, in Tanzania, as in most other places in the African continent, this period witnessed people’s resilient demands for change from a neo-liberal political and socio-economic system to a new and better system. Such demands were mediated by popular appeals to the Nyerere legacy, calling for the revival of the principles of socialism and self-reliance and their modification to suit the current internal and global political and socio-economic conditions. The author points out that the ongoing struggles, though unambiguous about their desire to transcend the existing political and economic conditions, lack a clear ideological and philosophical perspective.

The last article by Isaria Kimambo briefly scans the history of the Historical Association of Tanzania (HAT). It identifies five major phases in the evolution of the Association since its inception in 1966, showing that its historical terrain consists of a mix of ups and downs, characterised by periods of great vitality and triumph, moments of unfulfilled hopes, times of decline and stagnation and a period of renewed hope emanating from recently initiated revival efforts. In analysing these historical developments, Kimambo acknowledges the central role played by historians and students at the University of Dar es Salaam;

History teachers in the country; the Tanzania Institute of Education; the Ministry of Education; and the Government of Tanzania. This informative description also serves as a record of Professor Kimambo's personal account of an institution he founded and served as its president until 2001.

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New Thematic Directions in History at the University of Dar es Salaam, 1990s to 2017

Oswald Masebo

Department of History, University of Dar es Salaam

Abstract

This article makes a modest attempt to analyze scholarly themes that have evolved in the Department of History of the University of Dar es Salaam in the recent past. Production of historical knowledge has been one of the most dynamic undertakings at the University of Dar es Salaam from its inception in the 1960s to the present. Political, economic, and labour histories were the main themes that defined the essential contents of historical scholarship from the 1960s to the 1980s. A cursory look at history publications, postgraduate dissertations and theses, curricular reviews, and new degree programmes produced in the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s sheds light on new thematic directions that have recently evolved to complement the pre-existing ones. They include histories of environments, medicine, social identities, diplomacy, war, cultural heritage and tourism. Historians and postgraduate students have articulated these themes through creative and critical reading of archival and oral sources to uncover thoughts, actions, and lived experiences of Tanzanians in their homes, communities, and workplaces. These themes have enabled the University of Dar es Salaam to continue with its historic agenda of rendering visible the ideas and practices of Tanzanians, and Africans more generally, as they interacted with their changing physical and cultural environments and as they engaged with the external world. The article has six sections. The first and second sections introduce the recent thematic directions and situate them in the historical contexts in which they evolved. The third and fourth sections analyse the content of the themes in the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s, and their methodological and theoretical bases respectively. The fifth section considers changing

curricular reviews and innovations that have signified new thematic directions in the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s. The sixth section concludes the article.

1. Introduction

This article gives a modest outline of the new thematic directions in the teaching and researching of History at the University of Dar es Salaam from the 1990s to 2017.¹ It builds on the body of scholarship which has synthesized the evolution of Tanzanian history into two historiographies, namely nationalist and materialist histories which dominated the teaching and writing of Tanzanian history from the 1960s to the 1980s.² Political and economic histories were the central

¹ Initial thoughts on this article were presented at the Annual Conference of the Historical Association of Tanzania held at the University of Dar es Salaam on the 12th and 13th of November 2015. I thank the conference participants for their constructive comments that helped me to improve the manuscript. The anonymous reviewers also provided helpful comments for improving the manuscript. The article has also taken into consideration the researches and curricular innovations that have been carried out at the University of Dar es Salaam from late 2015 to 2017.

² Terence Ranger. *The Recovery of African Initiatives in Tanzanian History* (Dar es Salaam: University College, 1969); Nestor Luanda, "The Negative Mirror Images of African Initiative", *Kale*, Vol. 5 (1980), pp. 1-30; Isaria Kimambo. *Three Decades of Production of Historical Knowledge in Dar es Salaam* (Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaam Press, 1993); Anold Temu and Bonaventure Swai. *Historians and Africanist History* (London: Zed Press, 1981); Martin H. Y. Kaniki (ed.). *Tanzania Under Colonial Rule* (London: Longman, 1980); Juhani Koponen. *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884-1914* (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1994); Gregory Maddox, James Giblin and Isaria Kimambo (eds.). *Custodians of the Land: Ecology and Culture in the History*

thematic issues that pre-occupied Historians at the University during that time. Drawing on a number of curricular reviews and important researches conducted by Historians and postgraduate students in the Department of History at the University of Dar es Salaam, this article argues that the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s witnessed the evolution of History teaching and writing on themes such as the natural and built environments, medicine and public health interventions, social identities, diplomacy and war, as well as cultural heritage and tourism. It also argues that the promotion of interdisciplinary scholarship and the quest for relevance were the central preoccupations in the teaching and writing of History at the University of Dar es Salaam during this time.³

The propositions advanced in this article build on Isaria Kimambo's important publication entitled *Three Decades of Production of*

of Tanzania (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 1996); Isaria Kimambo, Bertram Mapunda, and Yusufu Lawi (eds.). *In Search of Relevance: A History of the University of Dar es Salaam* (Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 2008).

³ This article is only interested in works by Historians and postgraduate students affiliated with the Department of History at the University of Dar es Salaam. Thus, important studies on the themes discussed in this article by other Historians have not been reviewed. This does not mean that Historians at the University of Dar es Salaam are working in splendid isolation. Their scholarly inquiries – in terms of themes, theories, methodologies, and historiographic questions – are part of the broader knowledge production processes which are pursued by Historians in other countries both within and outside Africa.

Historical Knowledge at Dar es Salaam. This publication was based on Kimambo's professorial lecture which he gave in 1993.⁴ He used this lecture to reflect on the nature and character of historical knowledge which the University had produced from the 1960s to the early 1990s. He showed that this knowledge evolved from some conservative colonial and liberal colonial histories that dominated scholarship before the establishment of the Department of History in the mid-1960s. He also articulated the nationalist histories that evolved at the Department of History in the 1960s, before discussing the materialist histories of the 1970s and 1980s. The nationalist histories centered on the political histories that examined the evolution of political institutions during the pre-colonial period. Isaria Kimambo's *History of the Pare* exemplifies such works.⁵ The works in question were followed by economic histories which focused on the evolution of capitalist economic relations and institutions meant for exploiting Tanzania during the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods. Works such as Walter Rodney's

⁴ Isaria N. Kimambo. *Three Decades of Production of Historical Knowledge at Dar es Salaam* (Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 1993).

⁵ Isaria Kimambo. *A Political History of the Pare of Tanzania, c.1500-1900* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969). Other examples include Isaria Kimambo and Arnold Temu (eds.). *A History of Tanzania* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969).

How Europe Underdeveloped Africa,⁶ Martin Kaniki's *Tanzania under Colonial Rule*,⁷ Abdul Sheriff and Ed Ferguson's *Zanzibar under Colonial Rule*,⁸ and most of the dissertations written by students in the Department in the 1970s and early 1980s fell in the realm of economic histories. Historians examined the ways in which Tanzania was integrated into global capitalism through processes such as the slave trade, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. The third theme, though not explicit in Kimambo's earlier publications, explored histories of labour and labour migration, particularly during the colonial period.⁹ Going beyond Kimambo's earlier publications, one notes that this temporal framing does not mean that these themes ended in the 1980s. To be

⁶ Walter Rodney. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1972).

⁷ Martin H. Y. Kaniki (ed.). *Tanzania under Colonial Rule* (London: Longman, 1980).

⁸ Abdul Sheriff and Ed Ferguson (eds.). *Zanzibar under Colonial Rule* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1991).

⁹ See, for instance, the following works: Laurent Sago, "A History of Labour Migration in Kasulu District, Tanzania, 1928-1960" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 1974); Anse Tambila, "A History of the Tanga Sisal Labour Force" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 1974); J. F. Mbwiliza, "Labour Migration and Social Formations in a Colonial Situation: Some Theoretical Problems and Historical Perspective in East and Central Africa" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 1974); Christopher Lwoga, "Labour Migration and Rural Development in a former Labour Reserve in Tanzania" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 1974); Eginald Mihanjo, "Capital Formation and Labour Migration: a Case Study of Wampoto in Mbinga District, 1900-1960" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 1974).

sure, the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s witnessed Historians and postgraduate students in the Department producing new economic,¹⁰ labour and labour migration¹¹ histories. Amid continuities in these new histories,

¹⁰Gasiano Sumbai, “The Rise of African Retailers and Its Impact on the Colonial Categorization of Occupations in Singida and Iramba Districts, 1945-1960,” *Tanzania Zamani*, Vol. V111, No. 1 (2016):27-62; Herbert Ndomba, “A History of Peasant Tobacco Production in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania, c. 1930-2016” (PhD Thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 2017); Gasiano Sumbai, “Rural Development and Sunflower Production: The Case of Singida District, 1945-2000” (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam 2002); Yustina Komba, “The Impact of Coffee Production on the Socio-economic Status of Mbinga District, 1950-1990” (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam 2014); Emanuel Kihongo, “Tobacco Production and its Implications for the Environment and Food Crop Production: a Case Study of Iringa Rural District, 1940-2000” (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam 2014); “The Ruvuma Development Association and *Ujamaa* in Songea District, 1960s-1990s” (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam 2014).

¹¹See for instance Frederick Kaijage, “The War of Clubs: Life, Labour and Struggles of the Tanga Dockworkers” in Sam Davies et. al. (eds.), *Dockworkers: International Exploration in Comparative Labour History, c.1790-1970s*, Vol. 1 (London, Ashgate, 2000): 290-318. See also Hezron Kangalawe, “The History of Labour Process in the Tea Industry, Mufindi, 1960s-2010” (MA Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2012); Halfan Hashim, “Labour Migration and its Socio-economic Impacts on Communities in Masasi District, 1920-1860” (MA Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2015); Edward Mgaya, “Labour Migration and Rural Transformations in Colonial Njombe District, 1900-1960s” (MA Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 1974); Osiana Mwakikuti, “Labour Migration and Household Survival Strategies among the Nyakyusa, 1920-1962” (MA Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2015); Anelwike Mogha, “Dynamics of Labour Migration in the British Colonial Period and Its Legacies in the Post-Colonial Period: A Case Study of Ileje District, 1920s-1990s” (MA Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2015); Simon Mkumbwa, “Labour Migration and Cultural Change in Ileje and Rungwe Districts, 1920s-1960s” (MA Dissertation, University of

the Department of History at the University of Dar es Salaam witnessed an expansion in the themes which were studied and taught in the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s. They included environmental, medical, identity, diplomatic, military, as well as cultural heritage and tourism histories.

2. Contextualizing Thematic Directions

To understand the important themes which have pre-occupied Historians at the University of Dar es Salaam in the recent past requires situating them within their proper historical contexts. This assertion is based on the premise that the production of historical knowledge does not evolve in a vacuum. Historians formulate questions to address changing social, economic, political, technological, environmental, or intellectual processes. Similarly, they produce historical knowledge in response to their own changing social positions. The historical knowledge produced in time and space needs to be situated in the social contexts in which it was produced. It is therefore no accident that a generation of Historians at the University of Dar es Salaam in the 1960s, such as Terence Ranger, Isaria Kimambo, and Anold Temu,

Dar es Salaam, 2017); Shida Mwendapole, "Migrants and Struggles for Livelihood Opportunities in the Usangu Plains, 1940-2000" (MA Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2015).

produced nationalist histories that largely mapped the evolution of political institutions before and after colonialism in Tanzania.¹² It was no accident that these Historians developed a unique interest in producing historical knowledge on certain pre-colonial and post-colonial political institutions and their evolutions. In the 1960s, Historians were living in a world shaped by critical processes and challenges of nation-building in Tanzania in particular and in Africa in general. Contemporary Historians needed to give meaning to these processes and to produce intellectual justification for them. They worked hard to study the processes of the 1960s and noted that they had implications for the ability of pre-colonial Africans to build independent states. By emphasizing Africans' power and ability to build major political institutions before colonialism, these Historians played a key role in inspiring nation-building in the post-colonial context in Tanzania. Equally important, they played a key role in justifying political leaders and citizens' involvement in nation-building processes

¹² See, for instance, the following works: T .O. Ranger, "The Recovery of African Initiatives in Tanzanian History" Inaugural Lecture Series No. 2. University College, Dar es Salaam, March, 1963; Isaria Kimambo. *A Political History of the Pare of Tanzania, c.1500-1900* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969); Isaria Kimambo and Arnold Temu (eds.). *A History of Tanzania* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969).

and in the creation of legitimacy for contemporary political ideas, practices, and institutions. Historians romanticized the creative power of some Tanzanian pre-colonial societies such as the Pare¹³ to independently build sophisticated states and kingdoms. They also glorified the political decolonization movements and the acquisition of political independence in the 1960s as an indication of Africans' readiness and ability to end colonialism and build a bright future for all Africans.

Changing social contexts in the late 1960s and much of the 1970s forced Historians at Dar es Salaam to begin posing new questions. They were confronted with the national, regional, and global reality of collapsing economies, growing conditions of impoverishment, and the continued dependence of Tanzania and other African countries on the former colonial powers for their sustenance. They needed to explain these conditions in the context of independent political institutions. They shifted attention from politics to economic issues and economic histories. They used the discipline of History to make sense of

¹³ Kimambo. *A Political History of the Pare of Tanzania*, *ibid.*

contemporary economic problems and marginalization. Robust seminar discussions in the Department of History and at the University of Dar es Salaam as a whole in the late 1960s and early 1970s made it possible for Walter Rodney to write a seminal book entitled *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, which attempted to explain the growing conditions of poverty and underdevelopment in Africa. Rodney argued that the contemporary economic problems were the result of exploitation by Europe. He emphasized that Europe had continuously pumped wealth out of Africa through the slave trade, legitimate trade, colonialism, and, finally, neo-colonialism from the 15th century to the early 1970s when the book was written.¹⁴ Under the umbrella of the Historical Association of Tanzania, Historians in the Department produced many economic histories that culminated in the publication of an edited volume *Tanzania under Colonial Rule* in 1980.¹⁵ Even Zanzibar received critical attention and the efforts to understand the growing economic problems led to the publication of *Zanzibar under Colonial Rule*. In response to the growing desire of Historians at Dar es

¹⁴ Walter Rodney. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1972).

¹⁵ Martin H. Y. Kaniki (ed.). *Tanzania under Colonial Rule* (London: Longman, 1980).

Salaam to make sense of the economic problems facing Tanzania and Africa more generally, the majority of the undergraduate independent papers and postgraduate dissertations produced in the 1970s and 1980s were largely in the realm of economic histories. The focus was on the integration of Tanzanian and African communities into global capitalism and on the way this had undermined Africans' ability and efforts to manage their own socio-economic processes. Capitalism was a problem and some went as far as to propose delinking from the capitalist world as a way of arresting the vicious cycle of poverty.¹⁶ Historians embarked on a robust examination of economic histories in order to make sense of and explain the impoverishment, underdevelopment, and dependence which the continent (including Tanzania) was facing. They used dependency, Marxist or materialist analyses of histories to make sense of these economic histories which tended to externalize most of the problems which were plaguing Africa at the time.

¹⁶ Abdul Sheriff and Ed Ferguson (eds.). *Zanzibar under Colonial Rule* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1991).

Historians in the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s needed to address pressing problems of the era, as the University attempted to redefine itself institutionally and in terms of the relevance of the knowledge it produced. Pressing medical challenges such as HIV/AIDS and infectious diseases needed to be studied historically. Cries over environmental degradation and deforestation were receiving wider attention from scientists and social scientists. In the area of culture, Tanzania witnessed, for the first time, growing clashes between Islam and Christianity, unhealthy debates escalated, and the burning of churches and mosques were evident in the country.¹⁷ Ethnicity got space and Mwalimu Nyerere regularly lamented and complained about these problems. Growing local, regional, and global tensions and insecurities were also evident in the country. Terrorism was getting space as cold war politics dwindled. Issues of national histories and memories were also appearing as a missing link in the nation-building

¹⁷ Yusufu Lawi, “Trends and Patterns in Religious Conflicts in Tanzania from the Colonial Past to the Present”, in Rwekaza S. Mukandala (ed.). *The Political Economy of Change in Tanzania* (Department of Political Science, UDSM, 2015), pp. 13-34; Oswald Masebo, “An Overview of the Historiography of Religion and State in Post-Colonial Tanzania, 1960s-Present”, in Thomas Ndaluka and Wisjen (eds.). *Religion and State Revisited in Tanzania: Reflections from 50 Years of Independence* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2014), pp. 9-30.

project. Cultural heritage had to be interrogated, not simply for its preservation and curation, but as a basis for producing national histories and memories. These issues did not escape the attention of Historians and postgraduate students at the University of Dar es Salaam. They joined communities of scholars in the social sciences, humanities, and physical sciences in interrogating these issues. Subsequently, they produced historically-grounded knowledge which can be divided into environmental, medical, identity, diplomatic, military, and heritage histories. These themes constitute new directions in History at the University. The remainder of this article provides an outline of these themes.

3. Thematic Directions in History in the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s

3.1 Environmental Histories

One of the themes that received space at the University of Dar es Salaam in the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s centered on environmental histories which explored struggles for natural resources and protection of the natural and built environments. Following the emergence of ecological histories in the 1970s, as evidenced by

an important publication by Helder Kjekshus's *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History: The Case of Tanganyika, 1850-1950*,¹⁸ important studies which stressed the importance of the environment in Tanzanian history emerged. The central role that Isaria Kimambo played in co-editing, together with Gregory Maddox and James Gibling, a book entitled *Custodians of the Land: Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania* in the 1990s was an indication that environmental history was taking shape at the University of Dar es Salaam. Kimambo contributed an article dealing with environmental control and hunger in northeastern Tanzania.¹⁹ This was followed by an important Ph.D thesis by Yusufu Lawi in 2000 on local perceptions of environmental change and the utilization of natural

¹⁸ Helder Kjekshus. *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History: The Case of Tanganyika, 1850-1950* (London: James Currey, 1977).

¹⁹ Isaria Kimambo, "Environmental Control and Hunger in the Mountains and Plains of Northeastern Tanzania", in Gregory Maddox, James Gibling and Isaria Kimambo (eds.). *Custodians of the Land: Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam, Mkuki na Nyota, 1996), pp. 71-95

resources among the Iragw of northern Tanzania.²⁰ Since then, Lawi has published important works on the interface between physical and ideological landscapes, local ecological consciousness, and the relationship between man and nature.²¹

Studies on the environment by Isaria Kimambo and Yusufu Lawi inspired many postgraduate students to study various aspects of the environment, livelihoods, and social change. Some of them established the link between agricultural practices and environmental change. For example, Sara Seme produced an important work on local environmental knowledge in the Usangu plains; her work looked at how the indigenous communities in the

²⁰ Yusufu Lawi, “Local Knowledge and Political Ecology of Natural Resources Use in the Iraqwland: Northern Tanzania, 1900-1980s”, (Ph.D Dissertation, University of Boston, 2000).

²¹ See, for instance, Yusufu Lawi. “Where Physical and Ideological Landscapes Meet: Landscape Use and Ecological Knowledge in Iraqw, Northern Tanzania”. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 32, nos.2-3, 2000: pp.281-301; Yusufu Lawi. “Tanzania’s Operation Vijiji and Local Ecological Consciousness: The Case of Eastern Iraqwland, 1974 - 1976”. *Journal of African History*, Vol. 38 (2007), pp.1-25. For another interesting scholarly contribution on indigenous knowledge and environmental consciousness, see Salvatory Nyanto, “Indigenous Beliefs, Rituals, and Environmental Consciousness in the Heru Kingdom, Western Tanzania 1800s-1980”. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 5, No. 9 (1), (September, 2015), pp.156-172.

plains understood and perceived environmental change. She paid a particular attention to the role of indigenous knowledge in the utilization and management of environmental resources, using the irrigation schemes in the Usangu plains as a case study.²² George Ambindwile produced an important work on the relationship between rice farming and environmental change in the Usangu plains of the southern highlands in Tanzania. Ambindwile showed that the changing historical circumstances associated with rice farming such as colonialism, the adoption of the Chinese Green Revolution, and economic liberalization affected the way in which the Sangu utilized water and land, thus causing environmental problems such as a scarcity of water, environmental pollution, deforestation, wild rice invasion, and a reduction in soil fertility. In addition, Ambindwile uncovered

²² Sara Seme, “The Role of Indigenous Environmental Knowledge in Sustainable Resources Utilisation and Environmental Management in Tanzania: The Case of Irrigation Scheme in Usangu, 1945 – 2000” (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2006). Seme is currently engaged in a Ph.D project that examines how coastal communities around the Indian Ocean have historically coped with and adapted to climatic changes in order to maximize livelihood opportunities.

coping strategies which the peasants in the plains devised to minimize the effects of environmental change caused by rice farming. The strategies included rice transplanting, the adoption of a double-field system, as well as the decomposition of rice stalks, green grass and husks to produce manure.²³ Maximillian Chuhila documented the relationship between maize farming and environmental change in Iringa district during the late colonial and post-colonial periods. He argued that the progressive farming of maize and its attendant crop ecology, which started at the end of the 1940s, altered the environment in Ismani. The production technology employed in this period such as tractors and artificial fertilizers was responsible for environmental deterioration.²⁴ In addition, Chuhila studied the history of land use change in the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro from the 1920s to the 2010s, paying a particular attention to the way different actors interacted with

²³ George Ambindwile, “Rice Farming and Environmental Change in the Usangu Plains, Tanzania, 1920s-2000” (Ph.D Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 2017).

²⁴ Maxmilian Chuhila, “Maize Farming and Environmental Changes in Iringa District; The Case of Ismani, 1940-2010” (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2013).

and shaped the environment in order to produce livelihoods. An interesting dimension in Chuhila's study of land use change is the exploration of the local communities' resilience and adaptation not only to environmental change, but also to some socio-cultural and economic pressures throughout the period his study examined.²⁵

The exploration of environmental degradation and contestations over access to environmental resources is another dimension of environmental histories that received attention from Historians at the University of Dar es Salaam. Gaudence Talemwa documented the environmental degradation that resulted from the growing crisis of refugees in western and northwestern Tanzania. He argued that the influx of refugees in Ngara district damaged the environment, starting with the original movement of refugees

²⁵ Maximillian Chuhila, "Coming Down the Mountain: A History of Land use Change in Kilimanjaro, ca. 1920 to 2000s" (Ph.D Thesis, University of Warwick, 2016).

which began in the early 1960s and continued until the 1990s.²⁶ Yusto Mwandete studied environmental degradation in river-source areas in Mbeya during the British colonial period. He argued that the rapidly growing population in Mbeya (which led to overcrowding, establishment of unplanned settlements, cultivation of crops on steep slopes, sand quarrying, deforestation, grassfires, animal grazing, and soil erosion) was the main source of this problem. Mwandete's study uncovered three kinds of interventions which the British colonial state devised to deal with the problem, including checking soil erosion, establishing forest reserves at Mbeya Range and Kawetire, as well as controlling fires and sand quarrying.²⁷ These interventions reduced the local communities' access to forest resources in the river-source areas, which resulted in intense struggles between the state and the local communities over access to such areas and the associated natural

²⁶ Gaudence Talemwa, "Refugees and Tanzanian Environments: The Case of Ngara District, 1960s-1990" (M.A. Dissertation, Univeristy of Dar es Salaam, 2013).

²⁷ Yusto Mwandete, "Environmental Degradation in Mbeya Town: A Case Study of River Sources Areas, 1920-1950" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2015).

resources. Mbeya's environment has also attracted the attention of Peter Chaula, who studied colonial forest conservation efforts during the British colonial period. Chaula examined the formulation and implementation of colonial forest conservation policies and the ways in which local communities responded to them. Colonial authorities perceived the policies as necessary for protecting the forests from degradation by the local African communities. Like Yusto Mwandete, Chaula argued that the implementation of these policies reduced the communities' access to the forest resources. This situation sparked their resistance to the colonial forestry initiatives, thereby making forest conservation one of the most contested and politicized issues between the colonial officials and local communities from the 1920s to the 1950s.²⁸

²⁸ Peter Chaula, "Colonial Forest Conservation and Local Politics of Natural Resource Control in Mbeya District, 1920-1960" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2017).

The built environment is another area that has received the attention of Historians at Dar es Salaam. Andrea Kifyasi contributed to environmental histories by studying the built environment of the Sao-Hill plantations in Mufindi district, focusing specifically on the extent to which the plantation offered and constrained livelihood opportunities among the neighboring communities.²⁹ Hezron Kangalawe has also studied the same Sao-Hill forest plantation that Kifyasi studied. Kangalawe suggests that the British colonial state created the Sao-Hill forest plantation in the late 1930s in order to ameliorate the climate around the settler tea farms in Mufindi. He noted that the post-colonial state preserved the forest as part of the implementation of a basic industrial development strategy. This policy was for building industries that would produce basic goods and, therefore, reduce the import of such basic needs as paper into Tanzania. Kangalawe has also uncovered tensions between the state and civilians, since

²⁹ Andrea Kifyasi, “Sao-Hill Forest Plantation and Communities Livelihood in Mufindi District, 1960s-2010” (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2014).

the later encroached upon the forest and set fire to it.³⁰ Another interesting study on the history of the built environment is the one by Salum Suleiman Salum. Salum studied the history of the reclamation and development of Darajani Creek in Zanzibar from 1915 to 1957. The reclamation, Salum notes, was integral to a remaking of the urban landscape in Zanzibar through the filling of Darajani Creek under British rule. The author argues that the process of reclaiming land from the creek developed out of British concerns for public health, but had far-reaching economic and social implications among the people of Zanzibar.³¹

Environmental histories at the University of Dar es Salaam have also captured conflicts and disputes related to struggles for land resources. Reginald Kirey studied the history of land conflicts in Moshi Rural district for the period from 1930 to 2000. He argued that the rise in the production of coffee led to the commodification of land. He further

³⁰ Hezron Kangalawe, "Plantation Forestry in Tanzania: A History of Sao Hill Forest, 1939-2015" (PhD Thesis, University of Stellenboch, 2017).

³¹ Salum Suleiman Salum, "Reclamation and Development of Darajani Creek in Zanzibar, 1915-1957" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2012).

noted that the alienation of land for establishing white-owned plantations in Moshi increased conflicts over land as the population grew and the production of cash and food crops increased as well. For instance, conflicts arose between peasants' households, between peasants and the Native Authorities, and between peasants and white settlers.³² Juma Marmo's research focused on struggles for scarce resources, notably land, in Mbulu district. Marmo made an important point, noting that "the genesis of land conflicts in Mbulu district was rooted in the shift in the politics of land control, allocation and its utilization from the traditional authority to the colonial and post-colonial authorities" and that "[t]he conflicts were intensified by changes in the socio-economic and political system in the country under the rural transformation policies, which were based on top-down approach."³³ His study resonates well with that of Robert Ojambo. Ojambo studied conflicts related to livelihood struggles for land in the Bukedi and Bugisu districts of eastern Uganda from 1900 to 2007. His study demonstrated that long-standing struggles for land ownership and

³² Reginald Kirey, "Land Conflicts in Moshi Rural District, 1930-2000" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2012).

³³ Juma Marmo, "Historical Roots of Land Conflicts in Mbulu District, 1945-2005" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2014), p. vi.

access right from the pre-colonial period to the early 2000s caused socio-political conflicts in eastern Uganda.³⁴

3.2 Histories of Medicine, Public Health Interventions and Demography

The other thematic direction appeared in the form of medical and demographic histories. A number of studies have examined health, disease, and healing in the past 30 years. E. D. Ferguson's publication titled "Political Economy of Health and Medicine in Colonial Tanganyika" which appeared in M. H. Y. Kaniki's *Tanzania under Colonial Rule* set a precedent for other important works that focused on the same or similar issues. In that publication, Ferguson situated health and medicine within the context of Tanzania's political economy.³⁵ In the 1980s, Frederick Kaijage studied the history of AIDS in Kagera region. He situated the then evolving HIV transmissions and the AIDS crisis in

³⁴ Robert Ojambo, "The Land Question in Socio-Political Conflicts in Bukedi and Bugisu in Eastern Uganda, 1900-2007" (Ph.D Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 2017).

³⁵ E. D. Ferguson, "Political Economy of Health and Medicine in Colonial Tanganyika", in M. H. Y. Kaniki (ed.), *Tanzania under Colonial Rule* (London, Longman, 1979) 307-343.

Kagera within the longer history of sexually transmitted infections and socio-economic transformations in the region.³⁶ Kaijage also examined the social exclusion of AIDS victims and the ways in which the pandemic forced the redefinition of ideas and practices of the family in Kagera.³⁷ Furthermore, Kaijage expanded the boundary of his research on the history of AIDS in Kagera region by documenting the extent to which this socio-medical problem frustrated and undermined the safety nets that the Haya had historically used to support the disadvantaged.³⁸ Eginald Mihanjo's critical research on the demographic history of the Lake Nyasa region in the 1990s stimulated further scholarly interest in the study of population, social reproduction, and health.

³⁶ Frederick Kaijage, "The AIDS Crisis in the Kagera Region, Tanzania from an Historical Perspective", in J. Z. J et al. (eds.). *Behavioral and Epidemiological Aspects of AIDS Research in Tanzania: Proceedings of a Conference Workshop held in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania*, 6-8 December 1989.

³⁷ Frederick Kaijage, "Social Exclusion and the Social History of Disease: The Impact of HIV/AIDS and the Changing Concept of the Family in Northwestern Tanzania", in Simon McGrath et al. (eds.). *Rethinking African History* (Edinburg: Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburg, 1997) 331-356.

³⁸ Frederick Kaijage, "Disease and Exclusion: the African Crisis of Social Safety Nets in the Era of HIV/AIDS", in Yusufu Lawi and Bertram Mapunda (eds.). *History of Disease and Healing in Africa*, GEGCVA-NUFU Publication No. 7, Dar es Salaam, 2005.

Mihanjo noted that demographic processes in the Lake Nyasa region such as births, deaths, population growth, and social upheavals were shaped by the integration of the region into broader processes of capitalist accumulation that appeared through slave raiding, colonialism, and post-colonial social, political, and economic configurations.³⁹ Building on this research, Mihanjo reconstructed causes of death in Songea district during the early colonial period. Drawing on a careful reading and interpretation of parish registers from Peramiho Benedictine Mission, Mihanjo found that deaths in the district were shaped by processes of the colonial conquest, the Maji Maji war, labour migration, and the Christianization of the local population.⁴⁰ Similarly, Mihanjo studied the colonial policies on sexually transmitted diseases and other medical conditions. He argued that

³⁹ Eginald Mihanjo, “Transition to Capitalism and Reproduction: The Demographic History of Lake Nyasa Region 1850s-1980s” (Ph.D Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 1999).

⁴⁰ Eginald Mihanjo. “Reconstructing Causes of Death in Songea District, Tanzania During the Early Colonial Period: Peramiho Parish Register 1900-1925.” *Tanzanian Journal of Population Studies and Development*, Vol. 8 Nos. 1 and 2, 2001.

such policies were important for safeguarding the local population that was a source of cheap labour for such colonial economic investments as the sisal plantations located in the coastal areas of colonial Tanzania.⁴¹ These scholarly initiatives made demographic histories take shape in the Department of History.

Since the early 2000s, many works on medical histories and public health interventions have been produced. Oswald Masebo's study of the history of disease in Ileje district in the early 2000s was the first dissertation to engage with medical histories at the University of Dar es Salaam. Masebo argued that the spread of such diseases as tuberculosis and gonorrhoea in the district was linked to the changing socio-economic developments associated with the penetration and consolidation of

⁴¹ Eginald Mihanjo, "Colonial Policy on Sexually Transmitted Diseases and Other Infectious Diseases in Tanganyika, 1900-1960", in Lawi and Mapunda (eds.). *History of Diseases and Healing in Africa*.

colonialism.⁴² Many other dissertations and theses that explored issues of health, disease, healing and public health interventions followed. The importance of this theme was underlined in 2003 when the Department of History organized a workshop on the history of disease and healing in Africa. The generous support from GEGCA-NUFU enabled the Department to publish proceedings of the foregoing workshop.⁴³ The workshop attracted a wide range of papers on health, disease, and healing, including conceptual and theoretical questions,⁴⁴ indigenous medical ideas

⁴² Oswald Masebo, “Colonialism and the Spread of Diseases: The Case of Ileje District, Tanzania 1890-1950s” (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2002).

⁴³ Yusufu Lawi and Bertram Mapunda (eds.). *History of Disease and Healing in Africa*, GEGCVA-NUFU Publication No. 7, Dar es Salaam, 2005.

⁴⁴ See the following workshop publications: Sengulo Msellemu, “Notes on the Theory of Disease and Healing”, in Yusufu Lawi and Bertram Mapunda (eds.). *History of Diseases and Healing in Africa*, pp.13-18; Yusufu Lawi, “Rational Myths and Mythical Rationalities in Rural Articulations of Illness: A Theoretical Overview and Case Study of Mbulu-Hanang, Northern Tanzania, Circa 1900 to the Present”, in Yusufu Lawi and Bertram Mapunda (eds.). *History of Diseases and Healing in Africa*, pp. 19-52. Lawi refined his thought on this paper and published, see Yusufu Lawi, “Changes and Continuities in Local Articulations of Life, Illness and Healing in Rural Tanzania: A Case Study of the Iraqw of North Central Tanzania”, in the *Journal of Population Studies and Development*, Vol. 15 Nos. 1 & 2, 2008, pp. 59-80. Other works in this category include Rehema Nchimbi, “Health and Healing in Processes of Beauty”, in Yusufu Lawi and Bertram Mapunda (eds.). *History of Diseases and Healing in Africa*, pp. 53-60. There was also an excellent contribution

and practices,⁴⁵ and a socio-economic basis of disease and healing.⁴⁶ Masebo expanded his interest in matters of medicine and public health interventions by studying the history of infant survival during the British colonial period. He examined the negotiated character of the public health interventions that the British colonial Government devised in order to improve the survival of children.⁴⁷ Furthermore, Masebo also looked at the

from Steven Feierman, “Culture, Technology and Poverty in the Making of Disease”, in Yusufu Lawi and Bertram Mapunda (eds.), *History of Diseases and Healing in Africa*, pp. 2-12.

⁴⁵ Simeon Mesaki, “A History of Traditional Medicine in Tanzania: From Intellectuals to Charlatans?”, in Yusufu Lawi and Bertram Mapunda (eds.), *History of Diseases and Healing in Africa*, pp. 62-71; Charles Saanane, “Becoming a Traditional Healer: The Case of Wasukuma”, in Yusufu Lawi and Bertram Mapunda (eds.), *History of Diseases and Healing in Africa*, pp. 72-80; Bertram Mapunda, “Iron Smelting and Healing: Conflict of Complement?” in Yusufu Lawi and Bertram Mapunda (eds.), *History of Diseases and Healing in Africa*, pp. 80-88.

⁴⁶ Eginald Mihanjo, “Colonial Policy on Sexually Transmitted Diseases and Other Infectious Diseases in Tanganyika, 1900-1960”, in Yusufu Lawi and Bertram Mapunda (eds.), *History of Diseases and Healing in Africa*, pp. 90-108; Oswald Masebo, “The Impact of Labour Migration on the Spread of Tuberculosis in Rungwe and Ileje Districts, Southern Tanzania, 1920s-1950s”, in Yusufu Lawi and Bertram Mapunda (eds.), *History of Diseases and Healing in Africa*, pp. 109-115; Frederick Kaijage, “Disease and Social Exclusion: The African Crisis of Social Safety Nets in the Era of HIV and AIDS”, in Yusufu Lawi and Bertram Mapunda (eds.), *History of Diseases and Healing in Africa*, pp. 116-128.

⁴⁷ Oswald Masebo, “State, Society, and Infant Welfare: Negotiating Medical Interventions in Colonial Tanzania, 1920-1950s” (Ph.D Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2010).

contested relations that evolved between the colonial state and medical missionaries during the implementation of infant welfare interventions in colonial Tanzania.⁴⁸ Recently, Masebo investigated the place of nutrition in the constitution of colonial relations and labour in colonial Tanzania.⁴⁹

Furthermore, studies have been conducted on different aspects of disease and public health interventions in the past fifteen years. Mathias Machangu studied the history of malaria in Tanganyika from 1920 to 1960, using Dar e Salaam as a case study. In particular, he examined different factors for the growing virulence of malaria in Dar es Salaam during the period he focused on. He identified poor infrastructure, poor urban planning, and the presence of mosquito breeding grounds in the city as some of the

⁴⁸ Oswald Masebo, “Investing in the Health of Children: State, Christian Medical Missions, and Infant Welfare Interventions in Colonial Tanzania, 1920-1940”. *Tanzania Journal of Population Studies and Development* Vol. 18, No. 2 (2011): 95-131.

⁴⁹ Oswald Masebo, “Nutrition Surveys and Labor in Colonial Tanzania, 1920-1950”, *Tanzania Zamani*, Vol.8. No. 2 (2016): 19-47.

major factors for this virulence. He also examined a number of measures that the colonial Government devised to deal with malaria. They included the use of DDT to kill mosquitoes, the destruction of places that served as mosquitoes' breeding grounds, the use of mosquito nets, and the expansion of medical facilities.⁵⁰ Abdallah Rashid Mkumbukwa studied malaria in Zanzibar for the period from 1915 to 2000. His interest was in studying the colonial Government's initiatives against malaria from its inception until the Zanzibar Revolution and the many public health interventions which the Revolutionary Government implemented to eradicate malaria on the islands from the 1960s to 2000.⁵¹ Victor Mtenga studied the history of trachoma in Dodoma Rural district. He examined the extent of trachoma in the district and the resultant blindness from the 1920s to the 1980s. He also sought to explain the widespread nature of trachoma in the area. In that project, Mtenga reconstructed indigenous knowledge about

⁵⁰ Mathias Machangu, "History of Malaria in British Colonial Tanganyika, 1920-1960" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2007).

⁵¹ Abdallah Rashid Nkumbukwa, "Socio-economic Change and Malaria in Zanzibar, 1915-2000" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2008).

the control and treatment of trachoma and documented the growing interest of the colonial state and missionaries in dealing with trachoma in Dodoma. Mtenga argued that their efforts did little to end the problem and that the relative decline of trachoma and its resultant blindness in the post-colonial period was the result of improvement in public health care, improved access to medical treatment, and villagization.⁵² Abdulla Ali studied mental illness, focusing on its social construction. He paid attention to the ways in which local communities and the colonial state understood and socially constructed mental illness. He also documented the legal and regulatory regime that shaped the provision of mental healthcare in colonial Tanganyika, including the institutions that played a key role in the provision of healthcare to mental health patients.⁵³ Gasiano Sumbai studied food shortages and famine conditions which had certain important

⁵² Victor Mtenga, “Changing Scenes of Trachoma in Dodoma Rural District, 1920-1980s” (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2012).

⁵³ Abdulla Ali, “Social Construction of Mental Illness in Colonial Tanganyika: Government Interventions and Popular Perceptions and Responses, 1920-1960” (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2015).

implications for the nutrition and health conditions of households and communities in central Tanzania.⁵⁴ Frank Edward explored the health implications of witchcraft beliefs and practices in the southern highlands of Tanzania.⁵⁵ Hoasiana Abraham studied infanticide practices in Ugweno.⁵⁶

Such other diseases as leprosy also received scholars' attention and expanded further the boundary of medical histories and public health interventions studied at the University of Dar es Salaam. Hija Alfian examined the changing colonial programs of controlling leprosy from 1900 to 1960 and how new identities of leprosy patients were constructed. She used Dodoma as a case study and noted that leprosy was a highly feared disease during the pre-colonial period. Forcing leprosy patients to live in the

⁵⁴ Gasiano Sumbai, "History of Food Security and Coping Strategies against Famine: The Case of Iramba District, 1880s-1961" (Ph.D Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 2015).

⁵⁵ Frank Edward, "Health Implications of Witchcraft Beliefs and Practices in Uhehe: A Historical Perspective" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2013).

⁵⁶ Hosiana Abraham, "Traditional Beliefs and Infanticide in Ugweno from 1850s to 1830s" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2017).

forests was one of the ways of fighting leprosy during that period. The beginning of colonialism saw the introduction of new methods of fighting leprosy into Tanganyika by both the colonial states and voluntary agencies such as missionaries. The German colonial Government, for instance, introduced compulsory segregation of leprosy patients as a way of controlling the disease. The absence of a cure for leprosy meant that the disease had not been eradicated by the time German colonialism ended in Tanganyika, that is, after the First World War. The British colonial Government, which succeeded the German one, adopted non-compulsory segregation; introduced medicines; and launched out-patient clinics in the colony. The British colonial medical interventions were somewhat successful. Some patients used curative antibiotics that were introduced and recovered, and others married and enjoyed family life. However, the negative perceptions and the fear of leprosy patients continued throughout the colonial period.⁵⁷ Similarly, Herman Luoga produced an

⁵⁷ Hija Alfani, "Dynamics of Leprosy Control and the Transformation of Social

important work on the stigmatization of leprosy patients in Songea Rural district from 1930 to 1990. He noted that this stigmatization, which was most intense in the pre-colonial and colonial periods, resulted from the fear of leprosy, misconceptions of leprosy due to lack of proper knowledge of the disease, the absence of efficacious cures for leprosy, body disfigurement, the strange physical appearance of leprosy patients, and a conservative culture. Luoga further noted that the gravity of stigmatization had declined by the 1990s due largely to the availability of medical cures for leprosy, public health campaigns, education, and rehabilitation programs.⁵⁸

The Bubonic plague also received attention from Philemon Mtoi. Mtoi studied the history of the Bubonic plague in northeastern Tanzania from 1920 to 2004, focusing on Lushoto, Same and

Identities: The Case of Ugogo in Dodoma, 1900-1960” (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2015).

⁵⁸ Herman Luoga, “Factors Influencing Stigmatization of Leprosy Patients in Songea Rural District, 1930-1990” (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2017).

Mbulu districts. He mapped the outbreaks of the plague during the colonial and post-colonial periods. His interest was in examining the changing strategies which the colonial and post-colonial states devised to eradicate the plague. They included quarantine, environmental cleanliness, the provision of public education on the disease, and treatment of the disease.⁵⁹

Inquiry into the history of sexually transmitted infections and HIV/AIDS continued to attract the attention of Historians at the University of Dar es Salaam. Extending works by Frederick Kaijage introduced earlier in this article, Musa Sadock studied the history of sexually transmitted infections and HIV/AIDS in Tanzania, using Mbozi district in southwest Tanzania as a case study. Sadock made an engaging scholarly inquiry into the efforts by the British colonial Government to control sexually

⁵⁹ Philemon Mtoi, “A History of Bubonic Plague in Northeastern Tanzania, 1920s-2004” (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2017).

transmitted diseases in Tanganyika.⁶⁰ In another study, Sadock paid a particular attention to the important role that health education campaigns played in eradicating sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS in Mbozi district from the 1980s to 2010. These campaigns were important for the local people that showed little interest in having protected sex by using such things as condoms to protect themselves from sexually transmitted infections and HIV/AIDS. This is evidenced by some people who thought that using condoms would reduce the pleasure one gets from sex. They thought it was equivalent to eating a ripe banana without peeling the skin.⁶¹ Sadock's scholarly work culminated in a Ph.D thesis that examined the history of sexually transmitted infections and HIV/AIDS in Mbozi district from 1905 to 2005.⁶²

His subsequent research has expanded his own studies on

⁶⁰ Musa Sadock, "Government and the Control of Venereal Disease in Colonial Tanzania, 1920-1960", in Saskia Wieringa and Horacio Sivori (eds.). *The Sexual History of the Global South: Sexual Politics in Africa, Asia, and Latin America* (London, Zed Books, 2013).

⁶¹ Musa Sadock, "'Eating a Ripe Banana with its Skin on': Health Education Campaigns against STDs and HIV/AIDS in Mbozi District, Tanzania, 1980s-2010". *The African Anthropologist*, Vol. 19 Nos. 1 & 2, 2012.

⁶² Musa Sadock, "History of Sexually Transmitted Diseases in Mbozi District, Tanzania, 1905-2005" (Ph.D Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 2015).

HIV/AIDS and extended Frederick Kaijage's studies of the relationship between social exclusion and disease⁶³ to documenting the history of social exclusion of AIDS victims in Mbozi district.⁶⁴

A study by Perpetua Tango also highlights the evolving focus on medical histories at the University of Dar es Salaam. Tango studied the relationship between health challenges and coffee production on and around the settler farms in Karatu during the British colonial period. She identified a number of communicable diseases, including venereal diseases and sleeping sickness, which evolved due to the changing socio-economic relations brought by settler coffee farming. The most insightful aspect of Tango's study was her careful analysis of non-communicable health problems associated with daily life and work on the settler farms. She analyzed such health problems as chest pains, breathing

⁶³ Frederick Kaijage, "Social Exclusion and the Social History of Disease", *op.cit.*

⁶⁴ Musa Sadock, "HIV/AIDS and Social Exclusion in Mbozi District, Tanzania, 1980s-2014", *Tanzania Zamani*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2016), pp. 1-26

difficulties, skin problems, poor vision, hearing disorders, long working hours, exposure to farm chemicals and poisons, lack of protective gear, and injuries to demonstrate the plight of those who worked on the colonial settler farms during the British colonial period.⁶⁵

A cursory look at a sample of the histories of medicine, public health interventions, and demography outlined above suggests that this theme has been one of the vibrant scholarly inquiries at the University in the past three decades. The interest in medical histories and public health interventions is not surprising because, as Yusufu Lawi has convincingly argued, it is critical that important issues of health, disease, and healing are situated within larger historical perspectives.⁶⁶ Probably in line with this

⁶⁵ Perpetua Tango, “Health Challenges in Settler Farms: The Case Study of Oldeani in Karatu District, Tanzania, 1920-1960” (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2017).

⁶⁶ Yusufu Lawi, “Why Health-related Research Should be History-sensitive”, in Ole Bjorn Rekdal, Overview of Publications, GeGCA-NUFU Final Dissemination Conference, Dar es Salaam, 5th November 2007, pp. 207-210.

thinking, Lawi and his colleagues have examined changing policies and their influence on Government health workers from the late 1960s to the early 2000s using Mbulu as a case study.⁶⁷ It is important to note that the works outlined in this section are not isolated from broader intellectual movements on medical histories that have grown in African history in this same period. Oswald Masebo has made a modest effort to map the evolution of the knowledge on the history of health, disease, and healing in Eastern African history. The mapping of this knowledge appeared in an article entitled “The Historiography of Health, Disease, and Healing in Eastern, Central, and Southern Africa”.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Yusufu Lawi, Margunn Bech, Olebjorn Rekdal and Deodatus Massay, “Changing Policies and their Influence on Government Health Workers in Tanzania 1967-2009: Perspectives from Rural Mbulu District”. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (2013), pp 66-103.

⁶⁸ Oswald Masebo, “Historiography of Health, Disease and Healing in Eastern, Central and Southern Africa”, *UTAFITI*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (2013), pp. 72-89

3.3 Histories of Social Identities

The other thematic direction pursued in the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s revolved around questions of social identities. Religion, ethnicity, and gender were the most conspicuous identities which drew the interest of scholars in the Department. Tanzania is popularly perceived as one of the most peaceful nations in the world where religious and ethnic identities have not been instrumental in shaping the economic and political landscapes of the nation. However, there are signs that religious and ethnic identities are slowly becoming platforms for conflict. Teaching and research on social identities aimed at gaining a better understanding of these developments in the history of Tanzania.

A number of Historians have studied religious identities and tensions. Nestor Luanda warned about the conflicting social identities between Muslims and Christians in 1996 in his publication entitled “Christianity and Islam Contending for the

Throne on the Tanzanian Mainland.”⁶⁹ Kapepwa Tambila studied intra-Muslim and intra-Christian conflicts in Tanzania.⁷⁰ Kapepwa Tambila and Lubanza documented the tensions between the state and Muslims as manifested in the Mwembechai conflict of the 1990s.⁷¹ Yusufu Lawi and Patrick Masanja explored indigenous religions and their influence on the contemporary political landscapes in Tanzania.⁷² In addition, Yusufu Lawi evaluated the patterns and trends of religious conflicts in

⁶⁹ Nestor Luanda, “Christianity and Islam Contending for the Throne on the Tanzanian Mainland”, in A. O. Olukoshi and L. Laakso (eds.). *Challenges to the Nation-State in Africa* (Uppsala, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1996), pp. 168-182.

⁷⁰ Kapepwa Tambila, “Intra-Muslim Conflicts in Tanzania”, in Rwekaza Mukandala et al. (eds.). *Justice, Rights and Worship: Religion and Politics in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam, REDET, 2006), pp. 165-188; Kapepwa Tambila and John Sivalon, “Intra-Denominational Conflict in Tanzania’s Christian Churches”, in Rwekaza Mukandala et al. (eds.). *Justice, Rights and Worship: Religion and Politics in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam, REDET, 2006), pp. 220-245.

⁷¹ Kapepwa Tambila and Yunus Lubanza, “Muslim Vs State: The Mwembechai Conflict”, in Rwekaza Mukandala et al. (eds.). *Justice, Rights and Worship: Religion and Politics in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam, REDET, 2006), pp. 189-220.

⁷² Yusufu Lawi and Patrick Masanja, “Indigenous Religions in Contemporary Tanzania”, in R. Mukandala et al. (eds.). *Justice, Rights and Worship: Religion and Politics in Tanzania* (E & D Ltd., 2006), pp. 97-113.

Tanzania from the colonial period to the present.⁷³ Salvatory Nyanto studied issues of Muslim revivalism and the extent to which religious discontent was getting out of hand in Tanzania.⁷⁴ He also studied ecumenism and enculturation in the churches in the country.⁷⁵ Oswald Masebo explored the changing relations between the state and religion in Tanzania, and between religious groups.⁷⁶ Tulibako Mwakasege examined the efforts of the

⁷³ Yusufu Lawi, “Trends and Patterns in Religious Conflicts in Tanzania from the Colonial Past to the Present”, in Rwekaza S. Mukandala (ed.). *The Political Economy of Change in Tanzania* (Department of Political Science, UDSM, 2015, pp. 13-34.

⁷⁴ Salvatory Nyanto, “Things are Getting Out of Control”: An Analysis of Muslim Revivalism Discourse in Tanzania”, in Thomas Ndaluka and Wisjen (eds.). *Religion and State Revisited in Tanzania: Reflections from 50 Years of Independence* (Berlin, LIT Verlag, 2014), pp. 31-46.

⁷⁵ Salvatory Nyanto and Methodius Kilaini, “Ecumenism, Dialogue and in Culturation in the Church of Western and North-western Tanzania: Responses to the Second Vatican Council”, in Ndaluka and Frans Wijzen (eds.). *Religion and State in Tanzania Revisited: Reflections of 50 Years of Independence*. Munster: Lit Verlag, 2014), pp. 47-60.

⁷⁶ Oswald Masebo, An Overview of the Historiography of Religion and State in Post-Colonial Tanzania, 1960s-Present”, in Thomas Ndaluka and Wisjen (eds.). *Religion and State Revisited in Tanzania: Reflections from 50 Years of Independence* (Berlin, LIT Verlag, 2014), pp. 9-30.

Anglican Church in central Tanzania to educate girls and mould them into ideal women.⁷⁷

Social identities in the form of gender and beauty also caught scholarly eyes in the production of historical knowledge at the University of Dar es Salaam. Rehema Nchimbi produced important works that historicized women and beauty in the history of Tanzania. She demonstrated that women's engagement with beauty was a means for them to express their femininity and identity. In essence, Nchimbi's studies were about the making of women through the politics and processes of beautification.⁷⁸

Similarly, Ramadhani Ali Machano produced an interesting study on the making of Zanzibaris' identity through beautification. He

⁷⁷ Tulibako Mwakasege, "The Anglican Church and Female Education in the Old Diocese of Central Tanganyika: 1920-1970" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2017).

⁷⁸ See Rehema Nchimbi, "Health and Healing in Processes of Beauty", in Lawi and Mapunda (eds.), *op.cit.*; Rehema Nchimbi, "Women's Beauty in the History of Tanzania" (Ph.D Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2005). Her interest in women and gender is also manifested in this work: Rehema Nchimbi, "The History of Women's Involvement in Political Movements and Struggles for Independence in Tanganyika: 1950-1961" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 1995).

offered an analysis of the many ingredients that were historically used to produce cosmetics in Zanzibar. He noted that the growing popularity of beauty practices on the islands enhanced its cosmopolitanism, since Zanzibar's strategic position allowed it to get beauty ideas, practices, and processes from various parts of the world and adapt them to the local environment. Moreover, Machano identified cosmetic ideas and practices that have shaped the beautification processes and the ultimate creation of Zanzibar's identity.⁷⁹

Ethnic identities were another issue that received a growing interest from Historians at the University. Iddy Ramadhani Magoti studied intra- and inter-ethnic identities and relations in the Mara River Basin for the period from 1900 to the early 2000s. In particular, he studied the communities on both sides of the Tanzania-Kenya border, notably the Maasai, Kuria, and Kipsigis,

⁷⁹ Ramadhani Ali Machano, "Dhow Culture and the Growth of Cosmetic Practices in Unguja, 1840-1970" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2017).

and analyzed the construction of identities among these ethnic groups and their neighboring groups. His studies suggested that such identities were ideological formulations which created or create illusory similarities among the different communities. Magoti also noted that indigenous ritual practices played an important role in the construction of ethnic identities as well as in the resolution of the conflicts that threatened to destroy the intra- and inter-ethnic relations and harmony among them. Magoti's studies offered an interesting analysis of intra- and inter- ethnic relations, made exciting trans-national analysis, and allowed him to make important comparative syntheses.⁸⁰ Albertus Onyiego developed an interest in studying the ethnic identities of the communities in Rorya district, Mara region, especially the identities of the Luo and Suba. He paid attention to the cultural interactions and resultant transformations.⁸¹ Questions of

⁸⁰ Iddy Ramadhani Magoti, "Ethnic Identity and the State: The Dynamics of Intra- and Inter-Ethnic Relations in the Mara River Basin: 1900-2010" (Ph.D Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 2017).

⁸¹ This is most evident in Albetus Onyiego, "From 'Enlargement of Scale' to 'Globalization': Culture Contact and Change in Modern Africa, The Case of

symbolism, identity, and gender relations were central in his inquiry into ethnicity. These questions are central in his work as he attempts to make sense of ethnic consciousness and political changes in Rorya district starting from around 1800 to the present.⁸²

3.4 Diplomatic and Military Histories

Another thematic direction that became conspicuous in the Department of History at the University of Dar es Salaam during the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s revolved around diplomatic and military Histories. In an edited volume, Nestor Luanda and other contributors invested their time trying to understand the military history of Tanzania and their contribution in this area culminated in a major and only book written on the first failed attempt to overthrow the Government of Tanganyika in January 1964. This

Luo and Suba Peoples in Rorya District, Tanzania”, *Tanzania Zamani*, Vol. V1, No. 1 (2009), pp. 57-81. See also Albetus Onyiego, “Luo Expansion and its Implications on the Suba Communities in the Rorya District 1850-2000” (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2008).

⁸² This scholarly pursuit is part of his ongoing Ph.D project entitled “Ethnic Consciousness and Political Changes in Rorya, 1800 to the Present”.

book is entitled *Tanganyika Rifles Mutiny: January 1964*.⁸³ Building on this work, Luanda produced an excellent analysis of the changing conception of defence in Tanzania. He provided a historically-grounded perspective on the evolution of the military in Tanzania in the context of shifting defence and foreign policies from the 1960s to the early 2000s. After presenting background information on Tanganyika's rifles and the colonial legacy in Tanganyika's army, he made a robust review of early attempts to formulate defence policies in Tanganyika after the failed mutiny of January 1964. These policies, in line with Tanzania's foreign policy in the post-mutiny period, were centered on the country's commitment to the liberation wars. Luanda argued that the conception and constitution of the Tanzania People's Defence Force from 1964 onwards was ideologically oriented and infused with the ruling party. He further noted that it was only after the re-introduction of multiparty democracy and political

⁸³ Nestor Luanda and E. Mwanjabala. *Tanganyika Rifles Mutiny: January 1964* (Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam University Press, 1993).

liberalization into the country that the ideological and political dimensions of defence and the military were de-emphasized.⁸⁴ Luanda made another important intervention in the military history of Tanzania on the history of civil-military relations in Tanzania from 1964 to 1990. Central to this project was an examination of the changing relations between the state, security services, and civil society.⁸⁵

Diplomacy and international relation histories also attracted the attention of Historians at Dar es Salaam as they interrogated Tanzania and its global connections. Eginald Mihanjo studied the history of China's neo-colonialism in Africa, paying particular

⁸⁴ Nestor Luanda, "A Changing Conception of Defense: A Historical Perspective of the Military in Tanzania", in Martin Rupiya (ed.). *Evolutions and Revolutions: A Contemporary History of Militaries in Southern Africa* (Pretoria, Institute for Security Studies, 2005), pp. 295-312.

⁸⁵ Nestor Luanda, "Historical Perspective of Civil-Military Relations: 1964-1990", in Martin Lupiya, Jonathan Lwehabura and Len Le Roux (eds.). *Civil-Security Relations in Tanzania: Investigating the Relationship between the State, Security Services and Civil Society* (Pretoria, Institute for Security Studies Monograph Series No.128 (December 2006), pp. 13-30.

attention to the changing Sino-African economic relations.⁸⁶ Diana Abia studied the historic ties between Tanzania and China, documenting the influence of China's socialist transformation on the Arusha Declaration and its aftermath.⁸⁷ Her interest in diplomatic history is also manifest in her on-going Ph.D project that examines the changing relations between Tanzania and China, using the Urafiki Textile Industry, which the Chinese built in Dar es Salaam, as a window through which to understand the relations between the two countries.⁸⁸ Andrea Kifyasi also contributed to scholarly analyses on the historic ties between China and Africa. He made an analysis of changing medical cooperation between China and Africa using Tanzania as a case

⁸⁶ Eginald Mihanjo, "Understanding China's Neo-Colonialism in Africa: A Historical Study of the China-Africa Economic Relations", in James Shikwati (ed.). *China-Africa Partnership: The Quest for a Win-win Relationship* (Nairobi, Inter Region Economic Network (IREN), Nairobi, November, 2012): 130-135.

⁸⁷ Diana Abia, "The Influence of China's Socialist Transformation on the Arusha Declaration" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2012).

⁸⁸ This is an on-going Ph.D project which she is carrying out at the University of York in the United Kingdom.

study.⁸⁹ Oswald Masebo contributed to this field of diplomatic and bilateral relations by studying the changing relations between Tanzania and the Oman Sultanate from the nineteenth century to the present.⁹⁰ Juma Kanuwa documented the Tanzania-Mozambique relations, paying particular attention to the role that Tanzania played in Mozambique's liberation struggles.⁹¹

Diplomatic history is also evident in important works that James Zotto produced. Zotto's interest in this topic for the first time manifested itself in his study of the diplomatic and military history of the Lake Nyasa corridor during the pre-colonial and early colonial period.⁹² Building on this study, Zotto embarked on

⁸⁹ Andrea Kifyasi, "The Goals of China-Africa Medical Cooperation: A Case Study of Tanzania, 1960s-2010" (M.A. Dissertation, Zhejiang University, 2016).

⁹⁰ Oswald Masebo, "Tanzania- Oman Historic Ties: The Past and Present", *The African Review: A Journal of African Politics, Development and International Affairs*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (2016), pp. 27-50.

⁹¹ Juma Kanuwa, "The Role Played Tanzania in the Liberation Struggle of Southern Africa: The Case of Mozambique, 1866-1974" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2003).

⁹² James Zotto, "Diplomacy in Pre-colonial and Early Colonial Mbinga District: A Case Study of Lake Nyasa Corridor" (M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 2007).

an important study of the Tanzania-Malawi border dispute that generated diplomatic and military tensions between the two countries. This study allowed him to document the history of the management of the Tanzania-Malawi border dispute.⁹³ It also allowed him to produce an interesting analysis of colonial cartographic data so as to make sense of the evolution of this border dispute.⁹⁴ As part of his researches, Zotto produced a thesis that examined the Tanzania-Malawi border dispute from the 1890s to 2012. He noted that, during the colonial period, the border dispute was shaped by the mandate system, the politics of map making, and contemporary border treaties. He also identified foreign policy differences, the doctrine of border inheritance, and environmental determinism as factors that shaped the dispute during the post-colonial period. Zotto was at pains to demonstrate

⁹³ James Zotto, “Management of Tanzania-Malawi Border Dispute: The Quest for Policy Interventions”, in Samuel Kalwe Ewusi and Jean Bosco Butera (eds.). *Governance and Security Policy in Africa* (Addis Ababa, UN-PEACE AFRICA Series, Vol. 1, 2013), pp. 19-26.

⁹⁴ James Zotto, “Colonial Cartography and the Mandate System: Implications for the Tanzania-Malawi Border Dispute”, *Africa Peace and Conflict Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 3, Dec. 2013, pp. 37-50.

the extent to which efforts to resolve the dispute during the colonial and post-colonial periods failed.⁹⁵

4. Methodological Innovations and Theoretical Shifts

The new thematic directions appearing in the form of histories of the environment, medicine, ethnicity, religion, diplomacy and war are connected with the desire of Historians at Dar es Salaam to uncover the lived experiences of Tanzanians in ways that capture their agency and resilience. All these themes are grounded on Historians' intention to examine the interior view of the social lives of ordinary men and women, as well as articulating their social struggles, coping strategies, consciousness and social actions. They are making efforts to appreciate Tanzanians' power, partial autonomy, and agency during the colonial period. They are building on important works such as works of James Scott, who has conceptualized the politics of resistance by pointing out that the limited power and autonomy of marginal communities and ordinary people make them engage in hidden forms of resistance in

⁹⁵ James Zotto, "A History of the Malawi-Tanzania Border Dispute, 1890s-2012" (Ph.D Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 2017).

order to subvert and critique rulers' power.⁹⁶ To achieve this objective, Historians have integrated oral and written pieces of evidence in more critical and productive ways than was the case before the 1990s. They have also read and interpreted European-authored late pre-colonial and colonial archival documents in new ways. The popularity of oral sources in the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s was partly the result of the observation that the colonial archival sources that reflected the views of the European colonial officials were biased against Africans and could, thus, not capture African perspectives. By the 1990s and 2000s, however, Historians at Dar es Salaam had been convinced that, despite all the limitations of the colonial archival sources and the Eurocentric perceptions inherent in them, they could critically read such documents to gain insights into Africans' ideas and practices. Allen Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman, for instance, noted that, despite all the limitations of the Portuguese-authored records they had collected while conducting research on Mozambique such as the overwhelming silence on women's

⁹⁶ James C. Scott. *Weapons of the Poor: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (Yale University Press, 1987); James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (Yale University Press, 1992); Allen Isaacman and Barbara Isa Allen, *Cotton is the Mother of Poverty: Peasants, Work, and Rural Struggle in Colonial Mozambique* (Portsmouth, Heinemann, 1996).

experiences, they contained important details which could be read in order to decipher the daily lives and struggles of Chikunda men and, therefore, their social history.⁹⁷ Through a careful and critical reading of these colonial records and some oral evidence, Isaacman and Isaacman generated pieces of evidence which they used to produce the changing gendered social history of Chikunda men from 1750 to 1920. Likewise, Henrietta Moore and Megan Vaughan have argued in their book *Cutting Down Trees* that, although colonial officials authored colonial archival records, historians can carefully read them to understand the lives and perspectives of African social groups in Zambia.⁹⁸ They point out that these records contain traces of the colonial subjects, mainly because what the colonial officials wrote in these documents was a product of negotiations, influences, and transactions with the African social groups. In the book, they used this methodological insight to read colonial records so as to gain insights into the changing gender and

⁹⁷ Allen Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman. *Slavery and Beyond: The Making of Men and Chikunda Ethnic Identities in the Unstable World of South-Central Africa, 1750-1920* (Portsmouth, Heinemann, 2004).

⁹⁸ Henrietta Moore and Megan Vaughan. *Cutting Down Trees: Gender, Nutrition, and Agricultural Change in the Northern Province of Zambia 1890-1990* (Portsmouth, Heinemann, 1994).

nutritional histories in Zambia.⁹⁹ This methodological direction offers possibilities of carefully and critically reading colonial sources to glean African ideas, perspectives, and practices from them.

This methodological innovation has been productively utilized at Dar es Salaam to produce social histories on many aspects of Tanzanian lives such as struggles for access to and control over scarce resources; Christianity; health and healing; ethnicity; and gender and generation. Recent Historians have read these written sources and creatively intersected them with them to support claims about African social and cultural histories. Thus, Yusto Mwandete produced an interesting dissertation in which he carefully read some colonial archival records and backed them up with oral accounts to uncover the historical agency of the Safwa of Mbeya town who protested certain colonial environmental conservation programs.¹⁰⁰ Osiana Mwakikuti critically studied some colonial archival records and oral testimonies to uncover the coping strategies that women in rural colonial Rungwe district

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Mwandete, “Environmental Degradation in Mbeya Town”, *op.cit.* See also Chaula, “Colonial Forest Conservation”, *op.cit.*

devised in order to survive when their husbands were away in Southern Africa as migrant labourers.¹⁰¹ This new way of reading colonial documents is also evident in Gasiano Sumbai's study of famine in central Tanzania. A careful study of colonial records and oral sources helped Sumbai to capture the local communities' creative ways of surviving food shortages and famines. He demonstrated that the communities were not passive victims of colonialism-induced famines. They created safety nets that enabled them to survive such famines.¹⁰² Similarly, Hija Alfán studied colonial records and oral sources to understand the social history of leprosy in Dodoma. She uncovered leprosy patients' active agency in fighting stigma, building community bonds, and challenging the local communities' segregationist culture.¹⁰³ A cursory look at these histories suggests the extent to which historians and postgraduate students are reading and interpreting colonial archival records in new ways. As opposed to earlier scholarship that treated colonial-authored records as representing nothing but colonial perspectives, a new generation of historians is discovering possibilities

¹⁰¹ Mwakikuti, "Labour Migration and Household Survival Strategies", *op.cit.*

¹⁰² Sumbai, "History of Food Security and Coping Strategies against Famine", *op.cit.*

¹⁰³ Alfán, "Dynamics of Leprosy Control", *op.cit.*

of gleaning mediated African perspectives embedded in such sources. This new way of handling colonial sources has made it possible for Historians to produce histories that demonstrate the agency of the Tanzanian communities in hostile circumstances, their creative adaptation to difficult colonial situations, and their resilience. They show that, although colonialism was oppressive, disruptive, and destabilizing, it was not hegemonic. Tanzanians had room to manoeuvre the colonial system, to shape their lives within it, and to challenge it. This has been possible through innovative ways of reading colonial and oral sources.

Recent methodological and theoretical innovations have made it possible for Historians at Dar es Salaam to produce histories that situate Tanzanian individuals and communities at the center of historical change. Colonial and, later, Marxist historians as well tended to put Europeans at the center of African history. Colonial historians conceptualized Europeans as actors who brought civilization to Africa. Marxist historians portrayed Europeans as people who caused underdevelopment and reproduced conditions of exploitation on the continent. Not only did these histories relegate Africans into the margin

of history, but they also conceptualized them as passive victims of European power. Historians in the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s have made efforts to reverse these portrayals of Africans. They have put Africans at the center of African history and experience. They are continuing the scholarly project of Africanizing history and decolonizing the production of knowledge in Africa, a process which actually started in the 1960s/1970s with the production of nationalist histories.

Going interdisciplinary has been another important methodological innovation that signifies a new thematic direction. The recent past has witnessed historians increasingly going interdisciplinary by tapping into the methodological richness of other disciplines to produce exciting and innovative studies. To be sure, this tapping into other disciplines didn't begin in the 1990s or the 2000s because historians continuously cross-bred formal historical methodology with methodologies in other disciplines such as archeology and linguistics, from the 1960s onwards. In doing methodological crossbreeding in the 1960s and 1970s, the objective was to get evidence that proved the existence of African history in the pre-colonial period. Interdisciplinary studies of the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s have been different from those of the 1960s and

1970s. Historians have been using the interdisciplinary approach to alleviate the limitations of grand universalistic and often Eurocentric paradigms of knowledge production.¹⁰⁴ As Steven Feierman has suggested, one of the things that African historians should do to produce local social histories that are free from the constraints of universalistic grand narratives is to go interdisciplinary by intersecting oral histories with other locally-based methodologies from other disciplines such as historical archeology, historical linguistics, and an anthropologically-informed historical analysis.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, the fruits of interdisciplinary scholarship are evident in one of his work, *Peasant Intellectuals*, in which he combined historical and anthropological methodologies to show the historical agency of the Shambaa peasants of northeast Tanzania in shaping their lives.¹⁰⁶ Historians at Dar es

¹⁰⁴ Frederick Cooper et al. (eds.). *Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalist World System* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1997).

¹⁰⁵ Steven Feierman, "African Histories and the Dissolution of World History", in Robert Bates, Robert, V.Y. Mudimbe, and Jean O'Barr (eds.). *Africa and the Disciplines: The Contribution of Research in Africa to the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 167-212, p. 182.

¹⁰⁶ Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals*. See also Giles Vernick. *Cutting the Vines of the Past*; Paul Landau, *The Realm of the Word: Language, Gender, and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom* (Portsmouth, Heinemann, 1995); Hunt. *A Colonial Lexicon*; Osaak Olumwullah *Dis-Ease in the Colonial State: Medicine, Society, and Social Change Among the AbaNyole of Western Kenya*

Salaam have also pursued this interdisciplinary methodological direction. For example, Bertram Mapunda successfully integrated oral, ethnographic, linguistic, and archeological sources to produce a history of iron working in Rukwa region. In his book entitled *Contemplating the Fipa Ironworking*, Mapunda's inquiry into iron technology in southwest Tanzania uncovered important insights not simply into the technical aspects of iron technology, but also into issues of gender relations, identity, and power as integral components of ironworking.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, his work is an excellent study of the science, sociology, and history of technology that shows that the Fipa were historical agents who independently discovered ironworking and managed to shape their own destiny before colonialism.

The dynamism in addressing evidentiary challenges has been possible because of historians' willingness to interrogate their own work and to be critical of their methods and sources. Changing social positions have allowed historians to ask new questions that demand new ways of

(Westport and London, Greenwood Press, 2002). See also Tamara Giles-Vernick *Cutting the Vines of the Past: Environmental History of the Central African Forest* (Charlottesville and London, University of Virginia, 2002).

¹⁰⁷ Bertram Mapunda. *Contemplating the Fipa Ironworking* (Kampala, Fountain Publishers, 2010). See also Thomas Spear, *Kenya's Past: An Introduction to Historical Methodology in Africa* (London, Longman, 1981).

thinking about theories, methods, sources, and social processes of knowledge production. The works of David Cohen and E. Odhiambo on the politics and risks of knowledge production raise interesting questions which we can use to understand historians' efforts to tackle evidentiary challenges at the University of Dar es Salaam in particular and in the production of African histories in general.¹⁰⁸ The authors point out that the production of historical knowledge is a political process which is situated within the sphere of power relations and which is influenced by the social positions that historians occupy in society. Because of their political nature, the processes of producing historical knowledge intentionally or unintentionally expose some knowledge and pieces of evidence and conceal others. The implication here is that historians do not write simply for the sake of writing. Rather, they take position and identify with a particular orientation that reflects their own social positions, backgrounds, and affiliations. All these conditions force them to ask new questions that challenge them to think about the knowledge they may be silencing as they produce other

¹⁰⁸ Atieno Odhiambo and David Cohen. *The Risks of Knowledge: Investigation into the Death of Hon. Minister John Robert Ouko in Kenya, 1990* (Athens, Ohio University Press, 2004); Atieno Odhiambo and David Cohen *Burying SM: The Politics of Knowledge and the Sociology of Power in Africa* (Portsmouth, Heinemann, 1992).

kinds of knowledge, and on whether the evidence they use and the manner they use it conceal certain histories. Their tendency to reflect on their own historical knowledge and evidence has allowed them to see the strengths, limitations, and silences in the past methodologies and in their own intellectual pursuits. Their willingness to tackle the limitations and silences has enabled them to take African history to new heights of social and cultural histories that we witness today. The insights contained in the works of Cohen and Odhiambo suggest that historians' efforts to deal with changing evidentiary challenges are part and parcel of the process of producing history.¹⁰⁹

This dynamism is also evident at the University of Dar es Salaam. Nothing illustrates this better than the ability of Historians at Dar es Salaam to rethink their earlier interpretations and embody new ways than the scholarly pursuits of Isaria Kimambo. His earlier works published in the 1960s such as *A Political History of the Pare*¹¹⁰ were political histories that were nationalistic in orientation. After years of

¹⁰⁹ For discussion on some of the problematic and methodological challenges of writing the history of ordinary people, see Andreas Eckert and Adam Jones, "Historical Writing about Everyday Life". *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 15, 1 (2002), pp. 4-16 (Special Issue: Everyday Life in Colonial Africa).

¹¹⁰ Kimambo. *The Pare, op.cit.*

reflecting on his sources and methods, Kimambo raised new methodological and theoretical questions that culminated in a new book on the Pare entitled *Penetration and Protest in Tanzania: the Impact of World Economy on the Pare, 1860-1960*.¹¹¹ This book explored not only nationalistic and politically-inclined scholarship, but also a material dimension of the integration of the Pare into global capitalism. It went beyond many economic and materialist histories produced at Dar es Salaam which concentrated on portraying the negative experience of Tanzanians' integration into global capitalism through the slave trade and colonialism.¹¹² These histories portrayed Africans as passive victims of the process of their integration into global capitalist circuits. In *Penetration and Protest in Tanzania*, Kimambo acknowledged the negative dimension of the Pare people's integration into global capitalism. However, he also produced history centered not on the capacity of global capitalism to negatively affect the Pare, but on the Pare people's creative ways of surviving and coping with the difficult world created by the penetration of capitalism into their

¹¹¹ Isaria Kimambo. *Penetration and Protest in Tanzania: the Impact of World Economy on the Pare, 1860-1960* (London, James Currey Publishers, and Athens, Ohio University Press, 1991).

¹¹² Such works are like Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, *op.cit*; Kaniki, *Tanzania Under Colonial Rule*, *op.cit*.

locales. Kimambo illuminated the resilience of the Pare and their efforts to protest and challenge many of the elements associated with the penetration of capitalism into their locales. In so doing, Kimambo shifted the angle of vision from looking at the Pare as passive victims of such penetration to viewing them as active agents who shaped and reshaped their lives as they confronted the ills created by capitalism. The significance of this interpretation is that it allows us to see the Pare and Europeans equally as shapers historical processes. Both were historical agents who shaped the dynamics of the integration of the Pare into global capitalism.

Kimambo's dynamism stemmed from his willingness to interrogate the relevance and utility of his work and methods. His latest scholarly works have paid attention to the nature and character of the knowledge being produced. The book he edited, His edited book entitled *Humanities and Social Sciences in East and Central Africa: Theory and Practice*, partly engages with bigger questions of concepts and theories that inform contemporary discourses.¹¹³ The questions are also evident

¹¹³ Isaria Kimambo (ed.). *Humanities and Social Sciences in East and Central Africa: Theory and Practice* (Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam University Press, 2003).

in another publication he co-edited with Bertram Mapunda and Yusufu Lawi, which is entitled *In Search of Relevance: A History of the University of Dar es Salaam*.¹¹⁴ The book calls on historians to reflect on their scholarly work and think about the relevance of the knowledge they produce to the people and nations. These publications are an indication of continuous efforts of Historians to interrogate their methods, sources, and ways of researching and teaching History at Dar es Salaam.¹¹⁵

The theoretical grounding of the histories produced at the University of Dar es Salaam in the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s is difficult to discern. There seems to be no unified theory running across all the histories produced in the Department of History in the recent past. While the nationalist paradigm dominated the production of historical knowledge at Dar es Salaam in the 1960s, materialist and Marxist theories guided history projects in the 1970s and 1980s. A cursory look at the histories produced in the recent past shows that they lack such theoretical unity.

¹¹⁴ Isaria Kimambo, Bertram Mapunda, and Yusufu Lawi (eds.). *In Search of Relevance: A History of the University of Dar es Salaam* (Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam University Press, 2008).

¹¹⁵ This practice is not unique to Dar es Salaam. Historians all over the world engage in these scholarly pursuits.

Each Historian selects a theory or a combination of theories, depending on the nature of his or her project. In a way, Historians at Dar es Salaam have joined a growing community of African and Africanist historians who are making efforts to confront the limitations of grand theories and meta-narratives that informed most of their earlier studies.¹¹⁶ This lack of theoretical unity has contributed to the increase of scholarly flexibility among Historians and postgraduate students at Dar es Salaam. It has given them room to navigate a wide range of scholarly terrains. It has made it possible for them to pursue scholarly paths in histories of the environment, medicine, social identities, diplomacy, and war. This freedom and flexibility has enriched both the diversity of themes and the scholarly vibrancy of the Department of History at Dar es Salaam.

The recent thematic directions in History at Dar es Salaam share one limitation with the methodology issue. Many of the researches that have

¹¹⁶ See, for instance, Frederick Cooper et al. (eds.). *Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalist World System* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1997); Steven Feierman, “African Histories and the Dissolution of World History”, in Robert Bates, Robert, V.Y. Mudimbe, and Jean O’Barr (eds.). *Africa and the Disciplines: The Contribution of Research in Africa to the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 167-212.

generated these histories are case studies. Most of the works outlined above employed a case study approach as the central methodological approach to knowledge production. This approach has generated voluminous evidence necessary for strengthening evidentiary support for the claims made in the works. Historians use it to generate evidence for Tanzanians' agency in certain specific spatial and temporal contexts. What is missing is comparative methodologies. Comparative methodologies can only be inferred from works situated in close proximity to Literature on other geographical regions. It is, thus, difficult to make broad national, regional, and continental generalizations of the research findings. Comparative perspectives and methodologies have great potential to strengthen the substance and power of the historical knowledge produced at Dar es Salaam and to increase the degree of dialogue, debate, and interaction between scholars in various cultures and geographies.¹¹⁷ Anthony Isiwaju has

¹¹⁷ Important studies in this direction are those of Anthony Asiwaju, *West African Transformations: Comparative Impacts of French and British Colonialism* (Lagos, Malthouse Press Ltd, 2001); Anthony Asiwaju, *Boundaries and African Integration: Essays in Comparative History and Policy Analysis* (Lagos, PANAF Publishing Inc, 2003); Anthony Asiwaju (ed.). *Partitioned Africans: Ethnic Relations across Africa's International Boundaries, 1884-1984*, (Lagos/London/New York: University of Lagos

pointed out that the dialogues stimulated by this perspective are necessary because they offer “the potentials (sic) for wider regional synthesis” of research and expand the boundary of units of historical analyses.¹¹⁸ Commenting on the direction of African history, Isiwaju specifically noted that “the future is one of interest less in detailed local histories, however well researched and written, than wider regional syntheses and analyses that would permit African historians to get into a sustained dialogue with other social scientists, including historians of other lands and people (sic).”¹¹⁹ While Isiwaju seems to privilege comparative methodologies at the expense of the case study approach, this article recommends the integration of the two approaches in researching, writing, and even teaching African history.¹²⁰ This

Press/C. Hurst & Co. Publishers/St. Martin’s Press, 1984); Anthony Asiwaju and Adeniyi (eds.). *Borderlands in Africa: A Comparative and Multi-disciplinary Focus on Nigeria and West Africa*, Lagos: University of Lagos Press, 1989).

¹¹⁸ Anthony I. Isiwaju, African History in Comparative Perspective”, *Africa Zamani*, No. 11 &12 (2003-2004): 1-17, p. 1.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3. See also Erick Gilbert and Jonathan Reynolds. *Africa in Global History: From Prehistory to the Present* (New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 2003).

¹²⁰ Productive utilization of this approach is evident in Andreas Eckert, “Comparing Coffee Production in Cameroon and Tanzania, ca 1900 to 1960s: Land, Labour and Politics”, in William Clarence-Smith and Steven Topick (eds.). *The Global Coffee Economy in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, 1500-1989* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 286-311.

integration has the potential to strengthen the new thematic directions in History pursued at the University of Dar es Salaam.

5. Curricular Innovations and New Thematic Directions in History

The new thematic directions in History at the University of Dar es Salaam were also reflected in the curricular reviews and the design of new programs. This section presents an outline of some of the reviews and innovations.

5.1 History Courses and the Term System in the 1990s and Early 2000s

The History curriculum at the University of Dar es Salaam has since the 1960s been aimed at making visible the perspectives and experiences of Africans and their global inter-connections. Table 1 shows the courses offered in the 1990s and early 2000s.

Table 1: History Courses Offered by the Department of History in the 1990s and Early 2000s

Course Code	Course Title
Undergraduate Courses	

HI 100	Themes in African History
HI 110	Capitalism and Imperialism in World History
HI 201	Central Africa
HI 202	East Africa
HI 210	Colonialism and Nationalism
HI 211	Neo-Colonialism and Revolutionary Movements
HI 220	Philosophies and Methodologies of History
HI 300	West Africa
HI 301	Economic History of Tanzania
HI 306	South Africa
HI 310	Revolutions and Socialist Transformations
HI 311	Industrial Society and the Rise of the Working Class
HI 399	Dissertation (by invitation only)
Postgraduate Courses	
HI 600	The Science of History
HI 601	Research Methodology and Research Techniques
HI 602	Imperialism and Transformation
HI 604	Colloquium on the Political Economy of Tanzania

HI 699	Dissertation
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Source: University of Dar es Salaam Prospectus for the following years: 1998, 1999, 2000, and 2001

As Table 1 shows, the undergraduate and postgraduate curriculum offered at the University of Dar es Salaam in the 1990s and early 2000s had four broad components. First, it consisted of survey courses that covered different regions in Africa. They included histories of East Africa, Central Africa, and West Africa, as well as themes in African history. These courses were aimed at uncovering the historical experiences of Africans in all parts of Africa, except for those in North Africa. Second, it consisted of courses that captured unique historical experiences of some nations that had gone through certain historical trends which were worth teaching and studying. Thus, a course that dealt with the history of South Africa was offered so as to uncover the difficult history of the apartheid regime and the struggles against it. There was also a course that covered Britain and the United States of America; this course captured the central processes of industrialization and the working class experiences and struggles. In this category, the history of Tanzania was also studied. Perhaps this was a matter of

national interest and pride. Third, it consisted of courses that dealt with concepts, theories, and methods in History. Thus, there were courses that dealt with philosophies and methodologies in History, dissertations, as well as research methods and techniques. Fourth, there were courses that showed Africa's connection with global capitalism, including processes that had produced major shifts in world history. These courses dealt with capitalism and imperialism in world history, imperialism and transformation, colonialism and nationalism, neo-colonialism and revolutionary movements, as well as revolutions and socialist transformations.

5.2 History Courses and Semesterization in the 2010s

The Department of History at the University of Dar es Salaam, like other units, reviewed its curriculum and embarked on semesterization. The University academic set-up was organized around two semesters. Semesterization demanded that there be separate courses for each semester. Overall, the review of the History curriculum so that it could conform to the semester system in the early 2000s maintained the core mission of History at Dar es Salaam, i.e. documenting the African experience. Thus, many previous courses were retained and others were

divided into two parts. Their code numbers changed. However, some new courses were introduced into undergraduate and postgraduate programs in order to reflect the evolving new thematic directions and researches in History of the 1990s and early 2000s. Table 2 shows the new curriculum, which was designed as part of the implementation of the semester system.

Table 2: New Curriculum Based on Semester System

Course Code	Course Title
Undergraduate Courses	
H1 101	Basic Concepts and Perspectives in Historiography*
H1 102	Survey of World History to ca.1500 A. D.*
H1 103	Capitalism and Imperialism in World History
H1 104	Themes in African History
H1 260	Philosophies and Methodologies of History
H1 261	History of Tanzania
H1 262	History of East Africa
H1 263	History of Central Africa

H1 264	Africa and World Religion*
H1 265	Neo-Colonialism and Revolutionary Movement
H1 266	War and Warfare in World History*
H1 267	Survey of World History of Science and Technology: Ancient to Medieval Times*
H1 268	Survey of World History of Science and Technology: Modern Societies*
H1 269	Survey World History of Globalization*
H1 270	Health, Disease, and Healing in 19 th and 20 th Century Africa*
H1 271	History of West Africa
H1 360	Economic History of Tanzania: Theory
H1 362	History of South Africa
H1 363	History of North Africa*
H1 364	Industrialization and the Rise of the Working Class in Britain*
H1 365	Political Economy of U.S.A.*
H1 366	Topics in African Environmental History*
H1 367	Population and Urban History of Tanzania*
H1 368	Oral Histories in Tanzania: Theory*
H1 369	Economic History of Tanzania: Practical

H1 379	Oral Histories in Tanzania: Practical*
H1 380	Evolution of Ethnic Identities in Tanzania*
Postgraduate Courses	
H1 605	Theory of History
H1 606	Historiography of Africa*
H1 607	History Research Methods and Techniques
H1 608	Preparation of History Research Proposals
H1 609	Global Capitalism and Africa*
H1 610	African History and Allied Sciences*
H1 611	Colloquium on the Political Economy of Tanzania*
H1 612	Topics in Tanzanian Environmental History*
H1 613	History of Labour in Sub Saharan Africa*
H1 614	Disease and Healing in Africa: Late 19 th Century to the Present*
H1 699	Dissertation

*Represents a New Course

Source: University of Dar es Salaam Undergraduate Prospectus 2010/2011, pp. 60-61. Note that HI 380: Evolution of Ethnic Identities does not appear in this prospectus. See also the 2010/2011 Postgraduate Prospectus.

Table 2 shows the courses designed in response to the semesterisation drive. It is evident that the Department developed many new courses. Most of the new courses reflect the new thematic directions discussed earlier. It is clear that HI 366: African Environmental History and HI 613: Themes in Tanzania Environmental History were initiated to reflect evolving interest in environmental histories. The growing interest in the study of the history of medicine and public health interventions allowed the Department to develop three new courses along those lines. They included HI 270: Health, Disease, and Healing in 19th and 20th Century Africa; HI 367: Population and Urban History of Tanzania; and HI 614: Health, Disease, and Healing in 19th and 20th Century Africa. Religious and ethnic identities were also taken into consideration in the curricular review; this resulted in the introduction of two new undergraduate courses. The courses were HI 264: Africa and World Religions and HI 380: Ethnic Identities in Tanzania. These courses were meant for making sense of the religious issues that were slowly engulfing Tanzania and other countries, and helped historicize ethnic and religious identities that were progressively getting space in many parts of Africa, including Tanzania. Similarly, the growing

influence of war and diplomacy studies in the Department resulted in the design of an undergraduate course called HI 366: War and Warfare in History. Two more courses aimed at providing a lead in the history of science and technology were also developed. They included HI 267: Survey World History of Science and Technology: Ancient to Medieval Times and HI 268: Survey World History of Science and Technology: Modern Societies.

There were other courses designed to strengthen the History curriculum and make it comprehensive. Courses such as HI 102: Survey of History to ca 1500 A.D.; HI 269: Survey World History of Globalization; and HI 609: Global Capitalism and Africa were aimed at improving students' awareness of the global processes and trends that shaped the history and landscape of Africa and the world at large. Also interesting was the Department's inclusion of HI 363: History of North Africa in the undergraduate program. It was an excellent course and was used to Africanize the North African region which for a long time had been regarded as part of the Arab world, not the African one. HI 368: Oral History in Tanzania was for improving training in the theory and practice of oral history methodology that has sustained the production

of Tanzanian and African histories from the 1960s to the present. Other courses which were introduced during that time included HI 610: African History and Allied Sciences and HI 613: History of Labour in Sub-Saharan Africa; and HI 101: Basic Concepts and Perspectives in Historical Scholarship.

The thematic directions and curricular innovations in the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s shed some light on the quest for interdisciplinary scholarship in the Department of History at the University of Dar es Salaam. The Department's commitment to push students into pursuing interdisciplinary scholarship is evident in the Department's decision to introduce a new postgraduate course in the early 2000s called History and Allied Sciences, which has been compulsory for all postgraduate students in the M.A. (History) program. The course introduces students to the basics of doing History and to the methods and theories informing such allied sciences as Archaeology, Heritage, Historical Linguistics, Sociology, Anthropology, and Economics. The objective was to enable students to develop the knowledge, skills, competencies, and altitudes of using these allied sciences to enrich their own historical

scholarship. Also, the course enables graduate students to enter into conversations with scholarly works produced in the other disciplines.

5.3 Designing Degree Programs and New Directions in History

New Directions in History were also evident in the new degree programs that the Department designed in the 2000s. During this period, the Department began two phases of designing new degree programs. Initial curriculum reviews associated with the inception of semesterization at the University allowed the Department to devise three degree programs, namely Bachelor of Arts in History, BA (History); Bachelor of Arts in History and Archaeology, BA (Hist & Arch); and Bachelor of Arts in History and Political Science, BA (Hist. & Pol. Sc). BA (History) provided the first opportunity for students to become professional Historians. BA (Hist. & Pol. Sci.) and BA (Hist. & Arch.) expanded the boundary of history and promoted the interdisciplinary nature of History. The introduction of these new programs was an important step in the Department of History. Before then, Historians in the Department taught students who were pursuing education programs and who were, thus, studying History as a teaching

subject. The new programs allowed the Department to prepare graduates who would be professional Historians.

From 2014 to 2017, the Department of History made more curricular innovations by designing two new degree programs which further revealed new directions and scholarly inquiries in History at the University of Dar es Salaam. The first program was Bachelor of Arts in History, Cultural Heritage Management & Tourism. The University of Dar es Salaam Senate approved this program in June 2016. The program put History at the center of ideas and practices in cultural heritage and tourism. These curricular innovations highlighted the Department’s new thematic directions in matters of cultural heritage and cultural tourism. Table 3 shows selected courses that constitute this program.

Table 3: Selected Courses Constituting BA (History, Cultural Heritage Management and Tourism) Program

Course Code & Title	Course Code & Title
HI 112: Basic Concepts in History, Cultural Heritage Management and Tourism	HI 222: War, Patriotism and Nationalism
HI 104: Themes in African	AY 222: Conservation and

History	Curation of Metal Materials
HI 150: History of Heritage Conservation	AY 223: Conservation and Curation of Lithic Materials
HI 113: Reconstructing History from Ethnographic Remains	HI 299: Practical Training in History, Cultural Heritage Management and Tourism
HI 114: Historiography of Cultural Heritage Management and Tourism	HI 360: Economic History of Tanzania: Theory
HI 151: Tourism in African History	HI 368: Oral Histories in Tanzania: Theory
HI 260: Philosophies and Methodologies in History	AY 301: Cultural Heritage Management
HI 262: History of East Africa	AY 321: Heritage Laws
HI 205: African Ethnography and the Politics of Archiving	HI 302: Government and Business Records Management
HI 213: Historical Interpretation of Cultural Heritage and Tourism	HI 303: Documentary Sources for the History of Tanzania
AY 215: Principles of Cultural Tourism	AY 303: Introduction to Museum Studies
HI 211: Record Keeping and the Politics of Knowledge Creation	HI 301: Collection, Conservation and Security of Archival Materials
HI 206: States and Institutional Memories	HI 311: The History of Wildlife Conservation, Tourism and Leisure in Tanzania

AN 201: Ethnography as a Research Method	HI 380: Evolution of Ethnic identities in Tanzania
AY 221: Conservation and Curation of Fauna Materials	THI 308: Theory and Practice in Archival Research
HI 261: History of Tanzania	AY 322: Ethics in Cultural Tourism
HI 264: Africa and World Religions: Islam and Christianity	AY 323: Intangible Heritage Resources in Tanzania
AY 224: Conservation and Curation of Ceramic Materials	HI 307: Introduction to Vital Registers
HI 212: Cultural Tour Guidance	HI 263: History of Central Africa
HI 224: Tanzania and the History of Liberation Struggles in Africa	HI 367: Population and Urban History of Tanzania
HI 204: Creation and Maintenance of Public Archives	

Source: History Department's BA (History, Cultural Heritage Management and Tourism) Program approved by the University of Dar es Salaam Senate in June 2016

Table 3 shows the Department's movement towards cultural heritage and tourism. Central to this curricular innovation and the on-going research work in this field was the application of historical knowledge to cultural heritage and tourism so as to produce national histories,

memories, and cultural exchanges between Tanzanian communities and the outside world. It was meant for putting historical consciousness at the center of cultural heritage and tourism thinking and practice. This strategy was necessary in creating sustainability in the preservation of heritage materials; commercialization of cultural heritage and tourism for income generation; generation and dissemination of national histories and public images of a nation; and the fostering of national identity, pride, nationalism, and social cohesion.

The Department of History transformed cultural heritage and tourism into sites for the creation and dissemination of correct historical knowledge about the nation (Tanzania in this case) and its global inter-cultural connections. This direction was necessary because the historical value of cultural heritage is the major attraction of cultural tourism in Tanzania, Africa, and the world at large. Cultural heritage makes sense only when it is placed in the historical realities that shaped its creation. When tourists come to Tanzania for the purpose of visiting cultural heritage and tourist sites such as the National Museum, architectural buildings, or historical cities and settlements such as Bagamoyo,

Zanzibar, Kilwa, and Kalenga, they are not simply interested in the physical appearance of these sites and the way they are preserved. They, in essence, want to learn how these cultural heritage remains relate to the rich and dynamic history of the cultural and economic exchange in Tanzania and the relationship between the Tanzanian communities and outside communities that produced the heritage resources. The curricular innovations enabled the Department of History to prepare specialists with knowledge, skills, and competencies necessary for interpreting cultural heritage remains and tourist sites in their proper historical contexts and, subsequently, produce correct historical knowledge and interpretations about Tanzania.

The curricular innovations, as seen in Table 3, indicate that the Department of History at the University of Dar es Salaam was in the process of applying historical knowledge to cultural heritage and tourism in order to promote national pride, national identity, nationhood, patriotism, nationalism, and social cohesion. Historians' pre-occupation with the preservation of heritage structures and tourist sites, including the commercialization of cultural heritage and tourism, means that Tanzania has missed an important opportunity to historicize

cultural heritage and tourism in ways that foster national pride and identity. Many nations in the world have applied history to cultural heritage and tourism in their nation-building projects. Cultural memory, remembrance, and even cultural commemorations have been productively used to build and strengthen various nations, to deal with trauma, and to give hope and determination to citizens.

The second program was Bachelor of Arts in Diplomatic and Military History. The University of Dar es Salaam Senate approved this program in June 2016. The Department intended to prepare historians who would be experts in matters of diplomacy and war. The courses constituting this program shed more light on the new thematic directions of the Department of History at Dar es Salaam. Table 4 shows selected courses constituting the BA (Diplomatic and Military History) program.

Table 4: Selected Courses Constituting BA (Diplomatic and Military History) Program

Course Code & Title	Course Title & Title
HI 120: Introduction to the History of Diplomacy	HI 235: Conference Diplomacy and International Organization
HI 121: Introduction to the History of War and Strategy	HI 229: Practical Training in

	Diplomatic and Military History
HI 122: National Interests and Statecraft in History 1	HI 330: Ethics of War and Peace in Contemporary World
HI 123: Diplomatic and Consular Practices in Historical Perspective	HI 308: Theory and Practice in Archival Research
HI 124: Introduction to Peace and Security Diplomacy	HI 331: Foreign and Defence Policy Analysis
HI 125: Introduction to Tanzania's Strategic Neighbourhood	HI 333: Introduction to Civil-Military Relations
PS 222: International Relations 1	PS 350: African International Relations and Foreign Policy
HI 221: National Security Strategies in World History	HI 346: PS Issues in International Law
HI 222: War, Patriotism and Nationalism	HI 334: Evolution of Warfare in Contemporary Times
HI 223: National Interests and International Negotiations Diplomacy	PS 347: Peace Making and Conflict Resolution
HI 224: Tanzania and the History of Liberation Struggles	HI 335: The United Nations System
HI 266: War and Warfare in World History	HI 333: The Politics of North-South Relations
HI 227: Globalization and National Interests	HI 338: Conflict Reconstructions and Peace Building in Contemporary History
HI 234: War in Tanzanian History	HI 336: Regional Economic Integration and Contemporary Diplomacy in Africa
HI 228: Defence and National Development	HI 339: Regional Security Dynamics and Area Studies
HI 229: Etiquette, Protocol	HI 340: The Indian Ocean Geo-

and Decorum	Political Security
HI 230: The Art of War: Theory and History	LWE 520: International Humanitarian Law
PS 223: International Relations 11	HI 341: Diplomatic and Consular Practices in Historical Perspective 11
PS 229: Basic Concepts in International Law	HI 342: Wars and Militarism in History
HI 233: Colloquium on Military Strategy and Doctrines	HI 344: History of Global Capitalism and Competitiveness
HI 234: National Interests and Statecraft in History 11	

Source: History Department's BA (Diplomatic and Military History) Program approved by the University of Dar es Salaam Senate in June 2016

The design of the BA (Diplomatic and Military History) program, as seen in Table 4, further indicates the strategic interest of Historians at the University of Dar es Salaam in engaging in studies of diplomacy, international relations, war, peace, security, global strategy, national interests, and nation-building. The Department put History at the center of diplomatic and military thinking and practice in Tanzania and beyond, and it intended to prepare graduates who would deal with diplomatic and military issues. Issues of diplomacy, war, military, and international relations are essentially questions of changing global

history and relations. Forging international diplomatic relations with other nations or global institutions requires a good understanding of the history and interests of those nations or institutions. The Department of History pursued these curricular innovations in order to prepare historians who would play a key role in Tanzania's local, regional, and global diplomatic and military engagements.

By pursuing these curricular innovations, the Department created a critical avenue for students to study national, regional, and global diplomatic and military challenges. This initiative was necessary because the history of the world has witnessed the efforts by states to control war and military actions against one another through diplomatic efforts and engagement. When such efforts failed, the respective states opted for war and military actions. Consequently, wars and the conduct of wars have provided an important landmark in the history of the world and diplomacy. The researches and teaching in this direction were for analyzing the history of both diplomacy and war in the history in question and for exposing students to various state strategies, diplomatic and military, in pursuance, promotion and protection of national interests. This program made a tour of the history of

international relations and explained how such relations resulted in diplomatic efforts or military options of war in resolving inter- and intra-state problems. In this context, the Department's objective was to equip historians with the necessary knowledge, skills, and competencies which would enable them to work as diplomatic and military experts in the Government, military, and private institutions.

6. Conclusion

This article has examined new thematic directions in History at the University of Dar es Salaam. This examination is based on the teaching and writing of history by Historians and postgraduate students in the Department of History in the recent past. New thematic directions in the form of environmental histories, medical and public health intervention histories, identity histories, diplomatic histories, military histories, cultural heritage, and cultural tourism have been discussed. The methodological and theoretical dimensions of these histories have also been teased out. Curricular reviews, innovations, and new programs have been outlined to show the new directions and expanding boundaries of historical scholarship at the University of Dar es Salaam.

These thematic directions have expanded the boundaries of historical scholarship at Dar es Salaam from Historians' pre-occupation with nationalist histories in the 1960s and economic histories in the 1970s and 1980s to the socio-cultural histories of pressing contemporary challenges relating to the natural and built environments, health and disease, identity construction, insecurity, war, and diplomacy. These are the challenges confronting humanity today and Historians at Dar es Salaam are producing historically-grounded knowledge about them. In so doing, they are enhancing the relevance of the discipline of History. The new thematic directions and curricular innovations discussed in this article reveal the Department's strengths in terms of themes, research interests, fields of specialization, diversity of staff; and flexibility of the social context in which the teaching and writing of History takes place. They reveal the desire of Historians at Dar es Salaam to expand the frontiers of historical scholarship, to define specializations within the discipline, and to pursue new directions in History.

The new thematic directions, methodological innovations and theoretical flexibilities make it possible for Historians to produce histories of the lived experiences of ordinary men and women in

Tanzania. Historians have studied histories of the environment, medicine, religion, ethnicity, diplomacy, war, labor, migration, urbanization, etc. in order to have a deeper understanding of the Tanzanian people in terms of their thoughts, actions, resilience, power, and agency.

Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere and the Making of Tanzania

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Abstract

This article is about Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere. It examines the main ideas that propelled his decision to become a full-time politician (1954) and establish a political party – The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and use it to mobilize the people of Tanganyika to demand independence from the British. The article examines a number of related issues and themes in the history of Tanzania and Nyerere’s contributions to it. It starts with a section on Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere – the person, where it shows who Mwalimu Nyerere himself said he was, the ideas and principles he stood for, and the way he elaborated and used them to mobilize the people of Tanzania for independence. It notes the sacrifices he made in keeping with what he said he was, for instance by resigning from important positions of responsibility for different reasons at different times. The paper then elaborates on Nyerere’s fundamental principles and beliefs: that people (men and women) are the purpose of society, and that modern states could and should be established on the basis of the principles of the traditional African society. In the last section, the paper elaborates on the type of nation Nyerere wanted to build and provides reflections on Nyerere’s achievements and disappointments as leader of an African country in the early independence period.

1. Mwalimu Nyerere – the Person

Wherever I get an opportunity to reflect on the life and works of Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, and share with others who knew him

and his philosophy, principles, policies, strategies and practices in making his contribution to human development, my starting point has always been what he said about himself. This enables me to view Mwalimu Nyerere from his own perspective and clearly define his character, beliefs, thoughts, vision, mission, policies, strategies and actions. In this paper, therefore, I quote extensively from his speeches and writings covering the period from 1944 to 1996. In my view, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere's contribution to nation-building is well covered, and perhaps better described in his own writings. I must, however, hasten to say that I have not attempted to critically analyze or even synthesize all that Mwalimu said in his many speeches and writings, or even pass judgement on his works and ideas. My intention has been to put together Mwalimu's main ideas.

But who was Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere? In a speech at a fundraising dinner for the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, Mwalimu Nyerere said the following about himself:

There are many good and honest people who believe that those ideas, which in this country are associated with my name, are now dead and should be properly buried. You will not be surprised to hear that I disagree! Great ideas do not die so easily; they continue nagging and every human society in history ignores them at its own peril. And I can say this without inhibition or pretended modesty because in a very real sense they are not my ideas. I never invented them. I am simply a believer, like many other-believers, in the world and in human history. I believe in the equality and dignity of all human beings, and the duty to serve, their well-being as well as their freedom in a peaceful and co-operative society. I am an ardent believer in the freedom and welfare of the individual. As I speak to you now I am asserting my own individuality. But I also believe that what gives humanity to our individuality is a sense of community and fellowship with all other human beings wherever they may be.¹²¹

I must point out that the above statement was not given lightly. It came from a firm and profound belief in the nature and dignity of the animal called Human Being. On that occasion Mwalimu further said:

I repeat: those ideas are not mine; but I am a believer. I have articulated them and will continue to articulate them with passion. So I can only be thankful that an institution established to promote Peace, Unity and People-Centred

¹²¹ Excerpted from the speech delivered by Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere at a fundraising dinner for the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, Kilimanjaro Hotel, Dar es Salaam, 14th September 1996.

Development in Africa has the promotion of those ideas among its objectives. So I hope that in studying my practices people will be kind but also honest. Tanzania can learn from my mistakes as well as from our aims and achievements.¹²²

Mwalimu also said the following about the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, a civil society organization, to the establishment of which he contributed:

If the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation is to be useful to the people of this country and Africa, its real job will be to hold fast to the principles themselves, and on the basis of those principles to judge the past in its own context and to make practical recommendations about the future in the light of the circumstances and knowledge currently prevailing. In trying to do these things it will need to be as objective as possible. Individual and institutional honesty, scholastic integrity: these must mark the work of this institution, dialogue among people and Governments, like the sharing of experiences, action-oriented programmes for peace, unity and people-centred development and the dissemination of information: these are the main purposes of this Foundation. But all are, and will be, useful only if they are done with a commitment to truth as far as it can be ascertained by us Humans, and giving service to the people as individuals but also as members of their communities.¹²³

¹²² Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere. *Africa Today and Tomorrow* (2000), pp. 22-23.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-24.

These are Mwalimu Nyerere's own ideas, expressed exactly three years before he died (aged 77) at St. Thomas Hospital, London, on 14th October 1999. The ideas relate to Nyerere, the individual, and the Institution, Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation. To me, these words, summarizing his beliefs and principles, could only come from the heart and mind of an honest, wise, elderly statesman with deep individual conviction; the courage, confidence and beliefs which others, whom he knew, could one day use to pass judgment on him. Being acutely aware of the Tanzanians and non-Tanzanians who would one day use those words to judge his ideas, actions, and even life style, he tried and soberly advised or dampened their reactions. Thus, after making such a soul-searching statement he wrote: "None of us is perfect. We cannot always see the full implications of what we do or say: and however much we try, none of us always resists the temptations and arrogance of office."¹²⁴

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

2. Mwalimu the Philosopher, Thinker, Teacher and Statesman

Apart from what he contributed to us through what he courageously said about himself, his other major contribution to nation-building is his thinking, writing and teaching. In almost all the prefaces he wrote for his four main publications, he insisted that he was simply making a contribution to debate and discussions about human development. In the first book, he writes, “Our nation building is a collective effort. This is as it should be.”¹²⁵ In the second book, he writes in the preface: “During the period covered by the speeches and writings of this book, the people of Tanzania have accepted a new commitment which demands even greater efforts than the struggle for Independence. This is commitment to Socialism.”¹²⁶ In his third book, he writes: “This third preface [...] can say nothing that is not a repetition of what was said on the two previous occasions. The purpose of the book is that people who find my ideas and

¹²⁵ Julius K. Nyerere. *Freedom and Unity/Uhuru na Umoja* (1966), preface.

¹²⁶ Julius K. Nyerere. *Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Ujamaa* (1968), p. xv.

explanations useful can have them readily available.”¹²⁷ In the preface to his book titled *UJAMAA: Essays on Socialism*, he writes: “TANU has been officially committed to the building of a Socialist Society since early 1962, but for a long time the meaning of this philosophy in the conditions of Tanzania was left vague.” The pamphlet ‘Ujamaa’ published in 1962 described the basic attitudes of Socialism, but it was published in English and was never easily available to the people of Tanzania. The Arusha Declaration, adopted by TANU in February 1967, supplied the need for a definition of Socialism in Tanzanian terms, and provided the necessary signpost of the direction in which the nation must travel to achieve its goals.¹²⁸

The late Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere was not only a serious teacher, but also a thinker. He spent his time, energy and intellect thinking and communicating his ideas to other people. He was a specially gifted man – was able to explain the philosophy he

¹²⁷ Julius K. Nyerere. *UJAMAA: Essays on Socialism* (1968), preface.

¹²⁸ Nyerere. *UJAMAA: Essays on Socialism*, p. vii.

adopted and the policies he advocated in very simple and clear language. His speeches and writings are, therefore, not ephemeral. When events overshadowed a crisis he was discussing, the explanation of the underlying principles remained important for the future. In a preface to almost all the books containing his speeches and writings, he repeatedly says he is writing to stimulate debate and discussion on issues about people and their development.

Before he passed on 14th October 1999, he was able to publish three major volumes of his speeches and writings: *Freedom and Unity/Uhuru Na Umoja* (1966), *Freedom and Socialism /Uhuru na Ujamaa* (1968), *Freedom and Development/Uhuru Na Maendeleo* (1973) and *UJAMAA: Essays on Socialism* (1968). After his death, the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation has published three more volumes of his speeches and writings: *Freedom and Liberation* (1974-1999), *Freedom, Non-Alignment and South-South Cooperation* (1974-1989) and *Freedom and New World*

Economic Order (1974-1995). His final publications include *Tumetoka Wapi, Tuko Wapi na Tunakwenda Wapi* (1995) and *Nyufa* (1995), *Our Leadership and The Destiny Of Tanzania/Uongozi Wetu na Hatma ya Tanzania* (1994-1995) and *Man and Development* (1974). Earlier, in 1962, after resigning from his position as Prime Minister on 22nd January 1962, he published four small but very important monographs titled: *TANU na Raia, Tujisahihishe, UJAMAA: The Basis of Africa Socialism and Democracy and the Party System*. Contained in all these publications is a huge reservoir of ideas about man in and about development, and about major challenges he left unresolved. The ideas are all about the world and the history of humankind – a major contribution to the ideas and ideology of *Ujamaa* not only in Tanzania, but also in Africa and the rest of the world.

The contents of these publications have a direct bearing on, and are indeed the fountain of, Mwalimu Nyerere's thoughts, ideology, policies, plans, strategies and actions on what he

thought was best for Tanzania. His efforts to contribute to the building of Tanganyika (1961-1962) and Tanzania (1962 to 1999) was aimed at translating those ideas and beliefs into actions. He worked very hard to build the character of Tanzania as a nation and of her people on the basis of the same ideas, ideals and beliefs. He used one African word, *Ujamaa*, to define the kind and type of nation he wanted Tanzania to be and, therefore, the character of her people as well. Through various institutions of the Government and the Party, he endeavoured to inculcate in them those principles and ideals. Nyerere cannot be properly understood and his work of building the Tanzanian nation cannot be fully appreciated without making a real effort to study his writings and, therefore, his ideas, beliefs and philosophy. We will be discussing some of his ideas in these writings a little later so as to see how they relate to the theme of this paper. When people said that he was not a practical man (but perhaps a dangerous idealist), he said:

This criticism is nonsensical. Social principles are by definition ideals at which to strive and by which to exercise self-criticism. The question to ask is not whether they are capable of achievement, which is absurd, but whether a society of free men can do without them. Like democracy, they are easier to approximate in smaller societies than in large ones. But like democracy, they remain equally valid for both small and large societies – for both traditional and modern Africa.¹²⁹

3. Nyerere: The Man and his Ideas and Beliefs

It is important to try and understand Mwalimu Nyerere as a human being and identify as well as attempt to analyze and synthesize his special attributes that distinguish him from many of us, and go on to define his leadership qualities and the policies he pursued throughout his political life. Many people have described Mwalimu Nyerere as a great African with a great mind, a scholar and a statesman. Some have called him the giant son of Africa. The late Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia once described him as the “African Evil Genius.”¹³⁰ Indeed, he was also a complex man

¹²⁹, Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, p. 13.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

with interest in history, biology and issues pertaining to environmental sustainability.

Was Nyerere a statesman? The *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* describes a statesman as “A person who plays an important part in the management of state affairs, especially one who is skilled and experienced: a wise political leader.”¹³¹ My response to the question above is yes; but Nyerere's greatest attribute is not found or defined in the dictionary. Nyerere was an unwavering and honest believer in humanity and the world as a whole. He genuinely believed in the unity of humanity and in the history of struggles for human equality and rights, as well as democratic governance – all in the context of one world for all.

The courageous decision to describe himself makes it easy for anyone who wants to assess or pass judgment on him to do so.

¹³¹ A. S. Hornby. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 1165.

He was an extremely transparent man with easy to understand manners. This applies also to his *Ujamaa* ideology, the policies he adopted and the strategies, plans and activities he carried out for over 45 years of his political life. He died a believer in *Ujamaa* – in human equality, human rights and social justice for all human beings without discrimination.

When he talked about himself, he admitted several things. He conceded ignorance in three major areas of human endeavour: First, that all humanity live, operate and perish in an environment about which little is actually fully discovered, known, understood or even appreciated. The majority of humanity simply live in almost total ignorance and ask very few questions about themselves, about other people and about their environment. That is really what our world represents – a mysterious and little known place. Scientists and researchers of all professional stripes are trying and will continue to help humanity discover, understand and even appreciate the nature of our world. It is a

huge, long-term task for us ordinary humans! Nyerere tells us that up to the time he was 3 years away from the end of his life, he knew little about the real world. Being a philosopher, and a wise and experienced man, he chose to be faithful and confessed that he was simply a believer, like many other believers, in this world. Usually believers root their lives only in faith, not necessarily in established truths, acknowledging and accepting things as they are, in most cases out of ignorance, which Nyerere translates into Kiswahili as *ujinga*. Nyerere did not shy away from admitting his ignorance of the world!

Second, Nyerere confessed that he knew little about the nature of what he referred to as the “Animal called Human Being”. It is difficult to know and explain rationally what exactly human beings are or represent; what, how and why they think, say and do what they do at different times and places. It is they who create their own history through their thought, planning and actions; it is they who try to remember and create their own images about the

past, the present and the future. Nyerere conceded this truth and accepted the reality that he was simply one of the millions of other human beings. For this reason, he became only a believer in the nature and dignity of all human beings, including himself. His belief in human equality and freedom, and his respect for human integrity derive legitimacy from that fact. On many occasions, he insisted that human beings are human beings; there is no half human being. He did not say so in jest, but in earnest. He believed in the oneness and brotherhood of all humanity, saying, “Binadamu wote ni ndugu zangu” (All human beings are my relatives), adding emphatically that “[t]hat was not something that was said lightly: it comes from a firm and profound belief in the nature and dignity of the animal called the human being.” On this issue he further noted that he was an ardent believer in the freedom and welfare of the individual and vowed to continue articulating these ideals with passion.

Third, Nyerere was honest when talking about the ideas underlying his political philosophy. He was uniquely honest when he confessed that “[...] in a very real sense they [the ideas] are not my ideas, I never invented them: I am simply a believer, like many other believers in the world and in human history.”¹³² By emphasizing his position as a believer, he implied that there are people who did not (or do not) believe in the ideas he believed in. This may explain his belief that *Ujamaa* cannot be built and lived by non-believers in human equality. He laid no claim on any of them. He offered elderly warnings to those who might wish or who had already tried to ignore those great ideas. They risk, he said, having a perilous end.

Fourth, as a believer, he fulfilled his obligations by honestly, diligently and passionately articulating the ideas. He also tried hard to live by those ideals: He was a humble, honest, diligent, incorruptible and devoted person. He was also unselfish and,

¹³² J.K. Nyerere, *Africa Today and Tomorrow*, Collection of Speeches, 2000, p. 23.

therefore, generous in many ways; he was lover of all humanity without discrimination. The efforts to live up to these principles and beliefs is what made Nyerere a role model – a great man with a great mind, a big heart, and a wise and balanced leader and statesman of his time. He was, therefore, an upright man with clarity of mind, ideas, foresight and a deep vision for the future of humanity. He was, to the best of my knowledge, one of the great people in this world whose thinking penetrates the complex realities of this universe, and yet he was able to explain the ideas he believed in simply and convincingly to ordinary people. Ironically, though, apart from what he said about himself, he did not write his autobiography or even contribute directly to the few people who wanted to write his biography. His excuse was that he had no time to do so; others would do it better than himself, he said. Had he done so, perhaps he would have interpreted his ideas and writings better than those of us who came after him.

4. In Light Moments with Julius K. Nyerere

Not many had as many opportunities as the author of this article had in terms of working and living closely with Nyerere. For this reason, it is possible for him to recall some of the statements Nyerere made in light moments. On one occasion in 1996 he disappointingly commented on his post-retirement life, saying, “If I were younger than I am now, I would not have managed to live in today’s world of thieves, pirates, hypocrites, tyrants and killers; a cruel world. I am lucky to be old.” On another occasion, during the same post-retirement period, while on a flight, he said to this author in a deeply thoughtful manner that God knew he was a querulous person, and so gave him a disease that would end his life in a peaceful and quiet way. In retrospect, this author realises that Nyerere’s reflections on that occasion were far-reaching in terms of his own realisation of what was to come, for that is indeed how he departed from this world: peacefully and quietly in a hospital. On yet another occasion he said: “Joseph, you are still young. Do not allow or let your country be taken over by

hooligans.” He did not mention any names, but today one may think that we can all guess who those hooligans are. There was another encounter at his Msasani home, during which he asked this author to read from the book of Acts Chapter Five, which concerns the story of Anania and his wife Safira, who had sold land and did not tell Peter the truth. When asked why they had done so, they lied to God. Both collapsed and died. Imagine what this author’s interpretation of that story was. Was the story aimed at him or was the reading meant to be just a warning of the danger to come to the likes of Anania and his wife?

5. Encounters with Serious International Affairs

Equally significant were moments of encounters with serious international issues. One memorable incident was when Mwalimu was involved in a discussion with the then USA ambassador to Tanzania on the possibility of getting funds for the construction of what is now called the TAZARA railway. In the course of an exchange on this matter, the ambassador remarked that the

railway to Zambia pass through Zanzibar. The ambassador was certainly serious and, thus, the statement signified a sort of irony or simply a cunning joke.

On another occasion, Mwalimu discussed the question of Cuban military involvement in Angola with the US Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Crocker. Crocker persistently complained about Cuba's military presence in Angola at the time, while Mwalimu pointed out that Angola was a small country, which wanted to secure its independence from the apartheid South African regime, adding that the US was similarly involved militarily in many countries in North Africa and the Middle East. "Doing what!" retorted Chester Crocker at some point. "Don't you know that we (USA) are the leaders of the Western World?" At this point, Nyerere became angry and said to Cocker, "I know what you are saying, but do you have to rub it in!" He then abruptly stood up, obviously to let Crocker know that their discussion had come to an end. Crocker also quickly stood up, rushed to his car, got in,

closed the door with a big bang and drove away – certainly also in angry protest against his host’s behaviour at that meeting! Nyerere then called in Minister Amir Jamal to tell him he was thinking of declaring Crocker persona non grata. Jamal counselled Nyerere not to declare Crocker so. On yet another occasion, Kissinger discussed with Nyerere issues about the standoff in Zimbabwe and Angola against the racist colonial regimes in those countries. Nyerere offered Kissinger an idea how the stalemate might be solved. Kissinger bought Nyerere’s idea, but requested Nyerere not to talk about it so that he could tell his home administration that the idea was his and that it was a good idea. Nyerere agreed! This was an interesting and successful diplomatic game on Nyerere’s part.

There is much more to learn about Mwalimu Nyerere’s character from his involvement in the liberation of Southern Africa and the struggle against racism in apartheid South Africa. In the course of events, Nyerere strategically decided to work with those who

opposed Africa's determination to free the colonized countries in Southern Africa. He visited President John F. Kennedy in the US and then went to Canada, Britain and Sweden to talk to the Premiers there. He also travelled to France to talk to the President. His fighting motto in these diplomatic missions was that "[...] if men cannot live as men, they will at least die as men!"¹³³ He underscored the fact that people in Southern Africa would get rid of the colonial and racist regimes through the struggles they were involved in and that all that was required of the Western powers was shortening the period of the struggles by not supporting the regimes either militarily or economically.

Another avenue for understanding Mwalimu Nyerere's principles and deeds is his work of carrying forward the global agenda. His role in this activity is clearly visible in the 1996 Report by the South Commission, which he skilfully summarized in what he

¹³³ Joseph Butiku, Personal recollections on Nyerere's ideas and actions in the late 1970s.

termed Africa's Five Point Survival Agenda in the 21st century.¹³⁴

He emphatically stated that, to make it in the 21st century, Africa

must:

- (i) Address the continent's inheritance of the multiplicity and artificiality of nation states, with their built-in tendency to endemic instability;
- (ii) Adopt economic and social policies which maximize the mobilization and use of internal resources, both material and human;
- (iii) Maximize inter-African cooperation in all fields of development, both at the regional and sub-regional levels;
- (iv) Work fully with other regions and countries of the South to maximize South-South cooperation and solidarity; and
- (v) In cooperation with other countries and regions of the South, work relentlessly with the economic North to build a world of justice for all, in which the struggling poor of the world have a chance, both nationally and internationally.

6. Mwalimu's Understanding and Rendering of Africa's

History

Mwalimu Nyerere was a historian and had a unique ability to

render Africa's history in a simple and clear way. In the Arusha

Declaration he writes, "We have been oppressed a great deal, we

¹³⁴ Julius K. Nyerere. "Africa's Five Point Survival Agenda in the 21st Century", in the *Report of the South Commission*, 1996.

have been exploited a great deal and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. Now we want a revolution – a revolution which brings to an end our weakness, so that we are never again exploited, oppressed, or humiliated”.¹³⁵ This quotation summarizes the context within which Africa’s history – Tanzania’s history included – should and must be viewed, approached, researched and written. The quotation refers to, and explains, a social, economic and political situation of the African people and their continent. It also outlines the task for the victims, which is to end that situation in a revolutionary way. Clearly, the statements in the quotation capture the three phases of the domination and control of African countries by foreigners with superior power and greater wealth: the slave trade and slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The job of the past, present and future historians is to know and understand that real situation and

¹³⁵ Julius K. Nyerere. *The Arusha Declaration on Socialism and Self-Reliance* (Feb. 1967), p. ii.

carry out research that results in actions that would end Africans' oppression and exploitation. We must seek to know the true story of our past as Africans through the prism of our own true and real immediate environment. We must clearly understand the contacts Africans have had with other human beings and its effects on Africans socially, economically and politically. I believe that Mwalimu Nyerere sometimes appears to simplify the problems and challenges, or even the immense sacrifices made by Africa and her people, but he succeeds in capturing Africa's real situation. Africa lost about 12 million people through slavery and the slave trade; she lost almost equally through the exploitation of her natural resources. In DRC alone, King Leopold killed over 10 million people. Lumumba was killed by an angry Belgian regime, which did not tolerate criticism, because it reminded it of the atrocities it had caused the Congolese people. The history of all these pernicious foreign activities in Africa can fill the shelves of many institutions dedicated to the history of Africa. Knowledge

of all these facts should be part of nation-building, to which Mwalimu's contribution is unquestionably outstanding.

It is worth reiterating the fact that Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere was a historian. One of the subjects he studied at Edinburgh University was History. He must, therefore, have made the statement quoted above against the background of his immense knowledge of history and experience in the field. As a teacher and throughout his political career, he demonstrated a great capacity to understand and appreciate the important role of history in the development of humankind generally and Africa particularly. As an African scholar, he was able to link the independence struggle of Africa and the African people in the colonized territories with both European imperialism and African history under colonialism. The quote above summarizes in a graphic manner what happened to the colonized people in Africa. Reference to Africa and her people as being oppressed, exploited, disregarded and humiliated is actually reference to the history of European

imperialism and Africa's loss of freedom, dignity and self-determination under that imperialism. Seeking answers through memory and history to the question as to who Nyerere was referring to and how he set about first negotiating Tanganyika's independence with the British through peaceful means, and second believing in the necessity of using force where peaceful means to change are totally denied by adversaries is the noble task of an African historian.

In his political career, Nyerere presented himself as both a peaceful and a violent statesman, as well illustrated by his statement quoted earlier.¹³⁶ Elsewhere he wrote "No African people enjoy fighting for the sake of fighting. People everywhere in the world want to live in freedom and peace. It is only in desperation that they feel forced to die for it."¹³⁷ In practice, Nyerere demonstrated his dynamic approach to reality in his

¹³⁶ Julius K. Nyerere. *Freedom and Liberation* (2011), p.1.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

involvement in the liberation of Southern Africa. He adopted a two-prong strategy in the struggles: achieving freedom by peaceful means and supporting freedom fighters militarily. He played a crucial role in the preparation and production of what came to be known as the Lusaka Manifesto. This blueprint emphasized change by peaceful means and, at the same time, urged engagement with colonialists and the apartheid regime militarily. As noted earlier, he had earlier travelled to the US and a number of European countries and held diplomatic talks with leaders of such countries. The message he left with all of the leaders he talked with was the same: Africa is fighting to liberate herself from colonialism and apartheid in South Africa, and was seeking their understanding and support. The reason for his visit to those countries was his belief that, although not friendly to Africans, the leaders of those countries would come to their senses and realise that their support of the colonial and racist regimes was inhuman and would in the long run prove futile.

The vision of Africa's history outlined above played a major role in Nyerere's earlier thinking about the kind of nation he wanted to build: a nation that is free from domination, be it local or foreign; a respected, prosperous and cooperative Tanzania based on human equality and democracy. To him, being colonized and ruled by foreigners, or even by fellow Tanzanians without the consent of the ruled, was intolerable and a legitimate reason for an armed rebellion where peaceful means was not a viable option. He argued that TANU was created to prepare the people of Tanganyika for independence.¹³⁸ The support given to the Freedom Fighters in Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Guinea Bissau and South Africa was based on the principle and strategy quoted above. It became necessary for Tanzania to host the Headquarters of the OAU Liberation Committee and to give it an Executive Secretary. The late Brigadier General Hashim Mbita was the Committee's third and last Executive Secretary. Tanzania

¹³⁸ See the Constitution of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) (1954).

also gave direct material and military support to the Southern African liberation movements. In the same spirit, Tanzania, under President Nyerere as the first Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, fought and expelled Idd Amin from Uganda. Under Nyerere's leadership, Tanzania also unequivocally opposed the dictatorial regime of President Mobutu Seseseko in what was then called Zaire (now DR Congo).

7. More on Nyerere's Philosophy, Beliefs and Practices

In his first collection of speeches *Freedom and Unity/Uhuru na Umoja*, Nyerere deals extensively and adequately with some of the key issues that would later pre-occupy his entire leadership as Premier and later President. In the introduction to this book, a section on what he calls "A New Synthesis of Man in Society", he argues strongly and convincingly that "[t]he purpose of society is man – all Men and Women, without any discrimination."¹³⁹ To Nyerere, this was the fundamental principle of man's life in

¹³⁹ Nyerere. *Freedom and Unity, op.cit.*

society – a community – be it small or large. He also underscores the important point that people live and work under conditions of conflict – a conflict between man’s own interest and a conflict between one man and another, and between groups of people with diverse interests. In the final analysis, he argues that all civilized people have to agree on how to balance their interests for the benefit of all. This is true at local, national and international levels. This is where Mwalimu Nyerere philosophically elaborates, in the simplest language possible, on the true nature of man the individual and man as a member of the community. The two sides of the same man are clarified; they have to be reconciled for the sake of peace and harmony in community.

In his second collection of speeches, *Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Ujamaa*, Nyerere discusses the theme of change he referred to in the first volume. He reflects on some fundamental ideas on the purpose of change and the policies through which change should be sought. In this book, special

attention is given to defining *Ujamaa* – African Socialism – as Mwalimu Nyerere himself understood it, with particular but not exclusive reference to Tanzania. Mwalimu’s hope was that through this volume, together with some discussions on the subject, socialism would be accepted as an important contribution to Tanzania’s history of nation-building based on “our traditional African values of society be it the tribe, the extended tribe, the clan or simply the larger community embracing all those smaller community groups.”¹⁴⁰ This is the rationale of the ideology of *Ujamaa*, that is, *Ujamaa* being the basis of African Socialism.

The introduction to the first and second volumes of his collected speeches and writings elaborates clearly the ideological basis of Mwalimu’s thinking. In the introduction, he also talks about the development policies, strategies, activities as well as the general direction in which he wanted the country to go. Mwalimu’s

¹⁴⁰ Nyerere. *Freedom and Socialism*, *op.cit.*

fundamental belief is that people – men and women without any discrimination – are the purpose and justification of the existence of society. There is no other reason for the existence of society. He emphasized that the purpose of society is man. Mwalimu went on to elaborate on this dictum, stressing that the purpose of society is not the glorification of some abstract notion such as the nation, the flag, or even God, but man. He held the view that development is about people, emphasizing that:

For the Truth is that development means the development of people. Roads, buildings, the increase of crop outputs, and other things of this nature, are not development; they are only tools of development. A new road extends a man's freedom only if he travels upon it. An increase in the number of school buildings is development only if those buildings can be, and are being, used to develop the minds and the understanding of the people. An increase in the output of wheat, maize, or beans, is only development if it leads to the better nutrition of the people. An expansion of the cotton, coffee or sisal crop is development only if these things can be sold, and the money used for other things which improve the health, comfort, and understanding of the people. Development which is not development of people may be of interest to historians in the year 3,000; it is irrelevant to the kind of future which is created.¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ Julius K. Nyerere. *Man and Development* (1974), p. 26.

The question for historians is whether they concur with this view of development or not.

8. On the Traditional African Family

Mwalimu Nyerere's notion of nation-building was also based on the traditional African way of life. He sought justification for his philosophy from the traditional African way of living involving its organization, management, leadership ethics as well as the responsibilities and accountability of the citizens. He was acutely aware that man's existence in any society, including the small traditional African society, involves an inevitable and inescapable conflict – a conflict of his own desires. For every individual really wants two things, namely the freedom to pursue his own interests and his own inclinations and the freedom which can be obtained only through life in society.¹⁴² These include freedom from fear of personal attack, freedom from the effects of natural danger which from time to time can hit anyone and which cannot

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

be withstood without help and the freedom to gain rewards from nature. Yet, as soon as the individual becomes a member of society, he must sacrifice, in the interest of society, some of the private freedoms which he possesses outside society. For example, it is not possible to enjoy guaranteed personal safety without surrendering the personal power to attack others.¹⁴³ Based on the above, Mwalimu argues that “[...] neither the good of the individual as such, nor the group as such, can always be the determining factor in society’s decisions. Both have constantly to be served.” Based on this principle, Mwalimu laid the building blocks for the nation – the peaceful, united Tanzania of yesterday and today. He knew where to start from in his nation-building efforts.

In yet another loaded visionary statement Mwalimu talked about people in relation to group wealth and group power, saying:

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

Men do not freely agree to participate in social relations for purposes of material wealth, for efficiency, for the glory of the group, except in so far as those things serve them. Group wealth and group power are not themselves virtues for which men would sacrifice themselves or for which they should be sacrificed. They are virtues only in so far as they serve the objection of society which is man [...] It is not any particular man who is the justification for society and all its problems, it is every man equally with every other man. The equality of all members is fundamental to any social grouping to which an individual freely belongs.¹⁴⁴

From the above exposition derives yet another of Nyerere's key philosophical conviction, namely that the ideal society is based on a combination of the freedom and unity of its members. "There must be equality," he stresses, "[...] because only on that basis will men work cooperatively. There must be freedom, because the individual is not served by society unless it is his. And there must be unity, because only when the society is united can its members live and work in peace, security, and well-being."¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ Nyerere. *Man and Development*, p. 8.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

9. Early Nation-Building Efforts

Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere's real story and his tireless efforts to work with his fellow Tanzanians to build a nation can be seen in all his written documents, in numerous impromptu un-written speeches and in his talks and discussions recorded during his frequent visits to the villages, cities and towns. The most important history documents are the 1954 TANU Constitution, which was adopted by Chama cha Mapinduzi in 1977, and the TANU Creed and the ten Articles of TANU Membership Oath of Allegiance. Also important is the Joint Declaration of the National TANU and ASP convention of 21st January 1977, known in Kiswahili as *Azimio la Mkutano Mkuu wa Taifa wa Pamoja wa TANU na ASP*.¹⁴⁶ The full story of the coming into being of TANU and the way it worked from July 1954 to 21st January 1977 is a subject for a separate future strategy and research.

¹⁴⁶ Katiba ya Chama cha Mapinduzi: Azimio la Mkutano Mkuu wa Taifa wa Pamoja wa TANU na ASP, 21 Januari 1977.

TANU (Tanganyika African Union) was the political institution in whose creation Mwalimu played a key role and through which he both defined and elaborated on his beliefs, philosophy, ideology and policies. He also used it in the implementation of his plans and strategies, and in carrying out activities within the spirit of the early nation-building efforts. The Governance institutions he helped to establish after Independence, that is, Parliament, the Executive, Government and the Judiciary, were intended and expected to reflect, in their form, work and work style, the basic principles elaborated in the TANU Constitution.¹⁴⁷

10. TANU: A Liberation Party

Mwalimu Nyerere knew the political, economic and social situation of the country he was going to lead in its liberation struggle. The triumph in Tanzania's political history did not start in 1959 when the first council of Ministers was established, with the first five ministers coming from TANU. It did not even start

¹⁴⁷ Nyerere. *Freedom and Unity*, p. 1.

in 1960 when the Office of the Prime Minister of Tanganyika was established, with Nyerere as the first Prime Minister. Instead, it started with the birth of TANU. TANU was born in July 1954 and the triumph in the country's modern political development may be said to have really begun on that date. According to Nyerere, TANU gathered strength so quickly and achieved its preliminary goal of securing independence, not because of any other reason or reasons but due to the favourable circumstances prevailing in Tanganyika then. He admits that there was no special attributes or virtues of the people of that part of Africa that made achievement of independence from British rule happen very swiftly.

In reference to the country's political and economic situation in the period from 1954 to 1961, Nyerere gave a very brief but clear statement in the introduction to his first collection of speeches and writings. He gave what he calls a thumb nail sketch of the country – Tanganyika – from 1954 to December 1961. He writes:

The fact is that historical circumstances favoured Tanganyika. It was a trusteeship Territory under British administration; the groundwork of political organization existed in the form of a multitude of very small welfare and tribal organizations; and the lack of a general economic or social development in the country had at least the incidental advantage that there existed no strong local vested interests supporting the maintenance of colonialism or privilege. [Ki]swahili was also understood by the majority of the people, especially men, almost throughout the territory. There was also no one tribal group dominating all the others in size, wealth and education.¹⁴⁸

These factors provided an opportunity for the rapid growth of an organized and united demand for self-government and independence under the leadership of a mass political party – TANU.

Therefore, the slogan “Uhuru” was an uncomplicated principle and it needed no justification to the audiences of the first TANU speakers. All that was required was an explanation of its relevance to their lives and some reasonable allowance that it

¹⁴⁸ This statement comes from the introduction to Julius K. Nyerere’s first collection of speeches and writings (unpublished).

could be obtained through the peaceful methods proposed by TANU.¹⁴⁹

11. The 1954 TANU Creed

This is an extremely important historical document concerning the early and later efforts to build the nation of Tanganyika and later Tanzania. It laid the foundation for the birth, growth and development of a socialist state in Tanganyika and Tanzania. According to some official documents, TANU's intention was to build a socialist state. The principles of socialism are laid down in the TANU Constitution. In the original TANU Constitution, the TANU Creed was listed first. It is prefaced and reads as follows:

Whereas TANU believes:

That all human beings are equal; that every individual has a right to dignity and respect. That every citizen is an integral part of the nation and has the right to take an equal part in Government at local, regional and national level; that every individual has the right to freedom of expression, of movement, of religious belief and of association within the context of the law.

¹⁴⁹ Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, p. 1.

That every individual has the right to receive from society protection of (his) life and property held according to law; that every individual has the right to receive a just return for his labour.

That all citizens together possess all the natural resources of the Country in trust for their descendants; that in order to ensure economic justice the State must have effective control over the principle means of production, and that it is the responsibility of the state to intervene actively in the economic life of the Nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens, and so as to prevent the exploitation of one person by another, or one group by another, and so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society.¹⁵⁰

It is this creed which forms the thrust of TANU's political philosophy and the roadmap for nation-building first in Tanganyika and later in Tanzania.

12. The Significance and Place of the TANU Creed

Many people may not know that this creed was prepared by Mwalimu Nyerere himself and that it was made public after the establishment of TANU in 1954 and his election as TANU's President. It became then the cornerstone of the ideology, policies

¹⁵⁰ See TANU's Constitution, Part One: TANU Creed (1967).

and institutional development in the country, and remains so today. TANU replaced the Tanganyika African Association in 1954. Apart from resigning his teaching post at St. Francis College Pugu in 1953, this was perhaps Nyerere's second major contribution to the pre-independence political history of Tanganyika and subsequently of Tanzania.

TANU's ten principal aims and objectives,¹⁵¹ the Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance, as outlined and elaborated in the Arusha Declaration, and the tough leadership code, which is also elaborated in the Declaration, are all products of the TANU Creed. The same creed was adopted by the new party, CCM, which was born after the merger of TANU and Afro-Shirazi Party. The relevant resolutions of the Joint TANU/Afro-Shirazi Congress are well captured in CCM's first Constitution (1977).¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Nyerere. *Freedom and Socialism*, p. 232.

¹⁵² Katiba ya Chama cha Mapinduzi (1977) toleo la 2010, uk. 1-4.

13. Why Nyerere Joined Politics on his Return from Edinburgh, Scotland

The manner in which Mwalimu Nyerere joined politics was also an important part of his contribution to nation-building in Tanganyika then and in Tanzania today. He voluntarily resigned his teaching post to work full time in politics. He plunged into politics with only his belief and hope, but was not sure about his future and that of his family. It is important to note that he joined active politics after he had begun earning a good salary from a good job, which he was offered by the Colonial Government. He was newly married (1953) with one child. He was living with his mother in a small house at St. Francis College Pugu on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam. He had not seen his mother for 3 years because he was at Edinburgh in Scotland. She must also have been expecting improvement in her life from a son who had studied in Europe and was fully qualified and receiving a salary.

He joined politics, despite the odds. He saw this as an opportunity and a duty to serve his people (their humanity, equality, freedom, respect and prosperity for all). Specifically, he wanted to participate in the liberation of Africa and Africans from colonialism and the humiliation it inflicted on these people. He was deeply intolerant of any one human being, or group, or any nation that oppressed other human beings or sought personal power and prestige by dominating and exploiting other people. He abhorred discrimination of any type. These attitudes are reflected in two of his unpublished booklets: One was written at Makerere University College and is entitled “Uhuru wa Wanawake (1944)” and the other is entitled “The Race Problem in East Africa” (1952).

14. Evolution of Nyerere’s Ideas Prior to his Joining Politics

(i) His Ideas on Women’s Freedom and Equality With Men

As mentioned above, in 1944, while a student at Makerere University College in Uganda, Nyerere wrote a booklet entitled

“Uhuru wa Wanawake” – “Women’s Freedom”. In this booklet he fiercely condemned men who treated women as slaves or sub-humans. Part of the text in this booklet reads:

Wanaume hujidhania kuwa wao ni bora kuliko wanawake. Sifa hii ya ubora si ya wanaume wa ki-Afrika peke yao, la, wanaume wazungu, wahindi, waarabu, n.k. hujidhania kuwa ubwana huu walionao [...] ni HAKI yao, maana wao ni viumbe bora zaidi kuliko wanawake. Kusudi langu lote la kuandika kijitabu hiki ni kuonyesha jinsi hali ya wanawake wengi wa makabila mengi katika nchi hizi walivyo bado katika hali ya UTUMWA hasa.¹⁵³

The core message in the quoted text is that men always like to count themselves as superior to women. They think of themselves as special human beings with special rights. Women in African and other societies are still in the state of SERVITUDE. Nyerere strongly condemned men’s chauvinist attitudes towards women. He apparently drew his evidence from his own ethnic group – the Bazanaki of Musoma district. In keeping with his understanding of the plight of African women, during the independence struggle,

¹⁵³ Julius K. Nyerere, “Uhuru wa Wanawake” (Uganda: Makerere College, 1944).

he created a strong, powerful women organization, the TANU Women's League, known in Kiswahili as *Umoja wa Wanawake Tanganyika* (UWT), with Bibi Titi Mohamed as its first leader. He wanted women to work on the basis of equality with men. He articulated this position in many of the public speeches he made when meeting with women. In such speeches, Mwalimu emphasized his belief in the equality of all people, including women in their relationship with men.

(ii) On the Race Problem in East Africa

Between 1952 and 1954, Nyerere wrote on several key and sensitive issues relating to East African Unity and Tanganyika. A few extracts may illustrate his attitude towards those key issues in human life. In an unpublished article titled "The Race Problem in East Africa", written while he was a student at Edinburgh University (1949-1952), he said:

A world seething with hatred is an intolerable place to live in. But we cannot reach the goal by hypocrisy or wishful thinking. We can only do it by honest thinking, honest

talking and honest living. Yet there is too much hypocrisy in East Africa today. The European official and the European settler rule and maintain their prestige mainly by hypocrisy, their inner motives would hardly stand examination; the Indian trader makes his living by down – right dishonestly or at best by sheer cunning which is hypocrisy; the African clerk or labourer often disregards fulfilling his part of a contract, and even a very educated African will pretend to love the European whereas his heart is nearly bursting with envy and hatred. We appeal to all thinking Europeans and Indians to regard themselves as ordinary citizens of Tanganyika; to preach no Divine Right of Europeans, no Divine Right of Indians and no Divine Right of Africans either. We are all Tanganyikans and we are all East Africans. The race quarrel is a stupid quarrel; it can be [a] very tragic quarrel.¹⁵⁴

This attitude reflects Mwalimu Nyerere's dislike or even hate for racial discrimination. Tanzania's unity today and Nyerere's contribution to the creation of the OAU, the East African Community and SADC, and his support for a stronger United Nations are all rooted in this early attitude. To him, racial segregation was tantamount to denial or negation of human equality and human rights.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

(iii) On Inequalities of Income

For a short time during the early part of 1954, Mwalimu Nyerere, then a teacher at St. Francis Pugu, Dar es Salaam, and President of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA), was nominated as a temporary member of the Legislative Council. At that time, the Legislative Council consisted entirely of nominated and official members, while Government officials constituted the majority. On 25th May 1954, speaking on an Appropriation Bill in relation to the introduction of a personal graduated tax, he said:

Listening Sir, to some of the discussions, I feel we should throw our bucket where we are in this territory, and I am very pleased to see that Government has at last decided to throw our bucket where we are in one direction, and that is the direction of taxation [...] For a long time a large number of Africans were not particularly happy to see that every African taxpayer was paying the same, in spite of the inequality in income. I am particularly pleased to know that now we have decided, a Government has decided to introduce a personal graduated tax which is going to even up the burden of taxation.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ Nyerere, “Uhuru wa Wanawake”, p. 30.

(iv) On Education

In the same speech, he also spoke on education, saying:

I would like to turn to [the] question of education, a question I am very concerned about. There is a great urge for education [;] a great and healthy urge. But I have been told that we are going too rapidly in the matter of education. In 1947, when the two year plan came out, we had 13 ½ percent of our children of primary school age (sic) at school. I am told that this year we may have 30 or 31 percent of the children in same age group at school [...] I am also told that Government [is] aiming by 1956, (sic) to attain the target of 36 percent of our children of primary school age (sic) [...] That is a great achievement and the Government is to be congratulated on carrying out this plan according to schedule. However, this is not enough; for by 1956, we shall still have 64 percent of our children of primary school age (sic) outside the schools. We have been reducing our illiteracy by about 2 percent a year. After 1956, if we continue at that rate of reducing our illiteracy of that age group at 2% a year, it will take us to somewhere about 1986 or 1990 before we have all our children of primary school age at school. I do not think, Sir, that this gives us any cause for compliance in the matter of education.¹⁵⁶

The emphasis on education continued after independence had been won. Free primary education was provided to all children, while secondary education was free for those selected to join secondary schools up until 1986 when the policy of cost sharing

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

was introduced into the country. University education was also given much priority and was free until 1996. University College, Dar es Salaam was established in 1961 as the first higher learning institution in the country. Technical education was also provided through the Dar es Salaam and Moshi Government-owned technical schools. Adult education was a policy issue and the introduction of the Adult Education Institute was given priority as well. The construction of several People's Educational Schools at district level (*Vyuo vya Wananchi*) was also a policy matter. The same emphasis was given to the health sector. More priority was given to preventive health services than to curative services. Finally, the training of medical personnel was also given due emphasis.

15. Nyerere at the UN Trusteeship Council, 1955

On 7th March 1955, in New York, on oral hearing at the UN Trusteeship Council, Nyerere elaborated on what TANU stood

for, emphasizing democratic governance through an electoral process and majority rule. He said the following:

What does my organization stand for? Politically its major object as described in its constitution is to prepare the people of Tanganyika for self-government and independence. As a first step towards that goal, my organization seeks to see the elective principle established, and the Africans securing a majority on all representative bodies of a public nature.¹⁵⁷

This statement went a long way to pave the way for Nyerere's efforts to build a democratic state at both the level of the Central and Local Government, including the grass roots village level, where the political leadership is regularly elected and the Civil Service staff at all levels are answerable to the people through their democratically-elected governments and leadership.

16. Hurdles in the Independence Struggle

Many people inside and outside Tanzania hold the view that the independence of Tanganyika (now Mainland Tanzania) was given

¹⁵⁷ Nyerere, "Uhuru wa Wanawake", p. 36.

on a silver plate. This is not true. In 1958, Mwalimu Nyerere was prosecuted by the colonial Government on trumped-up charges of defaming the Government. The prosecution process started at the Resident Magistrate's Court in Dar es Salaam on 9th July 1958 and judgement was passed on 12th August 1958. He was ordered to pay a 300 shillings fine or go to jail for six months. Mwalimu opted to go to prison, but his party (TANU) colleagues persuaded him to agree to pay the fine. Some TANU members and TANU supporters raised the money so that he could pay the fine. In the same year, two journalists working for *Mwafrika*, a TANU-owned newspaper, were also prosecuted and imprisoned by the colonial Government for publishing articles which allegedly defamed the Government.

17. Candle on Mount Kilimanjaro (Uhuru Torch) and Ideals for the New Nation in the Making

The building of a nation, in which citizens love one another, which is devoid of hate, in which there is hope and no despair and

in which there is dignity and no humiliation, was Mwalimu's idea that predates Tanganyika's independence. It was at the Tanganyika Legislative Council on 22nd October 1959 that Mwalimu repeated his desire to light a candle and put it on Mount Kilimanjaro so as to bring hope to the people in Tanganyika and beyond. According to the Hansard records of the Legislative Council session held on 22nd October 1959, the actual text of what he said reads thus:

I have said before elsewhere that we, the people of Tanganyika, would like to light a candle and put it on top of Mount Kilimanjaro which would shine beyond our borders giving hope where there was despair, love where there was hate, and dignity where before there was only humiliation. We pray the people of Britain [and sincerely our neighbours of all races] to look up on Tanganyika and what we are trying to do not as an embarrassment but as a way of hope. We cannot unlike other countries, send rockets to the moon but we can send rockets of love and hope to all our fellow men wherever they may be.¹⁵⁸

This candle (Uhuru Torch) was put on the Kibo Peak of Mount Kilimanjaro on the night of Tanganyika's independence on 9th

¹⁵⁸ Nyerere. *Freedom and Unity*, p. 72.

December 1961. The Uhuru Torch, which is raced every year symbolises the quest for love and hope for all humankind.

18. Defining the Policy and Content of Nation-Building: 1962-1985

For Mwalimu Nyerere, nation-building “is a collective effort, and this is as it should be.”¹⁵⁹ On 10th December 1962, after Mwalimu Nyerere was elected the first President of the Republic of Tanganyika, he had this to say in his first inaugural address:¹⁶⁰

But it is not my intention today to talk about the material side of our task of Nation Building. What I want to talk about is ourselves – The citizens of Tanganyika. We have already decided to make use of our freedom as an instrument with which to set about the building of our country. But to build a nation is not just a matter of producing tarmac roads, multi-storied buildings, luxury hotels, and so on. A country may have all those things and yet not deserve admiration or respect. To build a nation in the true sense, a task into which we must throw ourselves whole heartedly, is to build the character of its people – of ourselves; to build an attitude of mind which will enable us to live together with our fellow citizens of Tanganyika, and

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-8.

of the whole world, in mutual friendliness and cooperation(emphasis added).¹⁶¹

In the same speech, he goes on to define the type of country he envisioned to build, in cooperation and unity with his fellow citizens. He writes:

It is only right, therefore, that we should first remind ourselves what is the basic principle on which our young country is founded? At the time when we were still demanding our right to freedom, we made this absolutely clear. The principle on which we stood, and on which we stand today, is the principle of human rights. It is the dignity and well-being of all our people which is the beginning and the end of all our efforts. For the freedom we demanded was not mere independence from colonialism; what we sought was personal freedom for all the people of Tanganyika; freedom for every individual, and the chance to make use of that freedom, in cooperation with his fellow – to provide for his own needs and theirs, and so to live a life of human dignity. We determined to build a country in which all her citizens are equal; where there is no division into rulers and ruled, rich and poor, educated and illiterate; those in distress and those in idle conform. We determined that in this country all would be equal in dignity; all would have an equal opportunity of serving their country to the limit of their ability. This then is the Tanganyika we intend to build; but it is not the kind of country we have inherited.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Nyerere. *Freedom and Unity*, p. 178.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 179.

Mwalimu Nyerere worked very hard to build, first the character of the people of Tanganyika and then Tanzania. At the same time he worked even harder to build the Tanzanian nation based on the attitude of mind – the character of the people. He sought to build a united peaceful country.

19. The Main Post-Independence Problems and Challenges

Nyerere acknowledges that the main problem he and his fellow leaders of the newly independent nation encountered was the very country they had inherited from the colonialists. The Tanganyika inherited at independence, which the present generation of Tanzanians may not be familiar with, had a number of odd and bad characteristics:¹⁶³ It was a country which still had the injustices of the colonial days, a country with racial discrimination and a country where human degradation and the evils which sprang from colonialism had yet to be abolished. Newly independent Tanganyika was a country where few of her

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

citizens had received adequate education and wealth on which to live with dignity, freedom and comfort; it was a country with a historical dividing line between the “haves and the have not’s,” which coincided with yet another dividing line of racial segregation between the main racial groups: Europeans and Asians on one side, and Africans on the other.

At independence, Tanganyika was also a country in which seeds of enmity could be stirred up by “evil minded people” between Muslims and Christians. It was a country where the colonial Government did not concern itself very much with African education and, thus, the majority of those who managed to acquire some education did so in mission schools and were, therefore, mostly Christians. This kind of division created a situation which constituted a political threat to national unity. Add to this the fact that Tanganyika was then a country in which senior positions in Government were not given to Africans, but to Europeans first, Indians second, and Africans last. The few

Africans who were lucky to have access to senior positions in Government acquired a scarcity value due to their small numbers. Moreover, the Tanganyika inherited by Nyerere and other nationalists was a country where the few existing Christian mission schools were built only in a few areas. As a result, the majority of the children who joined those schools were from only a handful of ethnic groups, especially the Haya, Nyakyusa and Chagga. This situation could be exploited by the enemies of unity to divide the new nation along ethnic lines. The key point in this description is that the country inherited from the colonialists by Nyerere and colleagues in TANU was very different from the one they were setting out to build.

20. The Importance of Knowing History

Nyerere always emphasized that, as a nation, we must know our history. This includes having good memories as well as written records of our past. He often stressed that it was important to know the contributions made by the past generation of leaders and

the people generally in building the nation. Knowing history would help future leaders and citizens in general to correctly understand the challenges mentioned above. With this knowledge, they would be able to identify the major tasks in the mission of building an independent Tanzania.

21. Defining the Three Major Enemies of the People

In the speech Mwalimu Nyerere gave on 9th December 1961, he clearly defined three strategic priority areas of policy for the country and the people. He told Parliament and the people about their three major enemies: poverty, ignorance and disease. In clarifying or emphasizing his point about these enemies, he had this to say:

I know there are still a few people who think we are joking when they hear us using the word ‘war’. Let me assure them that we are not. Anybody with intelligence will know that we are far from joking. Even if one were to take, for example, the Maji Maji Rebellion and the Slave Wars, one would find no parallel to the slaughter of our people which stemmed from Poverty, Ignorance and Disease (emphasis added). We all hate the criminal who

kills a fellow human being. We want the police to catch such a murderer so that he may be punished. Yet in actual fact those human murderers are nothing like so deadly a threat to the lives of our families and our friends as is the malaria mosquito. In one single year these tiny pests can kill more men, women and children than could be done to death by human murderers in a hundred years. In the same way the famine last year, if it had caught us unprepared, could have killed many more of our people than ever died in battle during the Maji Maji Rebellion. And every year thousands of our children die needlessly for no other reason than a lack of proper care born of ignorance [...] These, then, are not mock-enemies; they are the true enemies of our people. (emphasis added) Anybody who refuses to take part in this war, or who hinders the efforts of his neighbours, is guilty of helping a far more deadly foe than is he who helps an armed invader.¹⁶⁴

The task, therefore, was to fight these enemies with determination and a correct strategy. His strategy was to establish a socialist democratic state and nation, fashioned after real life in African village communities and families. Elaborating on this, he writes:

To ensure that any particular society adheres to its basic purposes two things are required. It must have institutions which safeguard and promote both unity and freedom; it must be permeated by an attitude – a social ethic – which ensures that these institutions remain true to their purpose and are adapted as need arises. The essential nature of

¹⁶⁴ Nyerere. *Freedom and Unity*, p. 177.

these requirements, and their implications, can be seen most easily in the smallest social unit and the one which was in its time (or even now), perhaps the most satisfactory to its members – the traditional African family.¹⁶⁵

He goes on to describe and elaborate on the traditional African family. His aim was to demonstrate that traditional Africa – its values, norms and governance structures – could appropriately be used in the new African state and nation. For Nyerere, the traditional African family was an almost self-contained economic and social unit. Most of the necessities of birth, life and death could be supplied within the unit on a level which was certainly low, but equally low for all members, and still higher than the sub-groups of that family. Despite all these variations and some exceptions where the institution of domestic slavery existed, African family life was everywhere based on certain practices and attitudes which, together, meant basic equality, freedom and unity. It was these principles that very nearly excluded the idea that one member of the extended family could kill or steal from another. That is, it was not any special

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.8-18.

African human virtue. And there were three factors to it: There was an attitude of mutual respect and an obligation which bound the members together – an attitude which might be described as love, provided it is understood that this word does not imply romance or even close personal attention. The property, which is important to the family and, thus, to the individual members of it as well, is communally owned. Every member of the family accepts the obligation to work.

These principles “turned” the family into a unit which was so obviously important to the individual members that each member thought of himself, herself and others, in the framework of their membership in the unit. A man or woman knows that he or she is a unique person with private desires. But he or she also knows that his or her actions must, for his or her own good, be restricted to those which are consistent with the good of his or her social unit – the family. The institution of the family and its procedures encourages that attitude of respect and mutual obligation and, through these

means, a society which can be harmonious and beneficial to all members equally is created.

22. Authority of the Traditional Family

Within this family, there is authority to lead and oversee the management of the affairs of the family. But this authority is not dictatorial. As Nyerere writes:

It has its checks and balances and its acceptability to family members is related to its alliance with given responsibilities which must be implemented to avoid breakup of the family unit. This “authority” is really the first among equals. It is based upon the foundation of mutual respect between all members and their common expectation, and that the compromises which are necessary in all group life will be made by all (sic) including the authority itself.¹⁶⁶

This arrangement determines both the position and status of the family leader. Nyerere must, and seems to, have been positively influenced by it.

¹⁶⁶ Nyerere. *Freedom and Unity*, p. 9.

23. Application of Ujamaa Principles to Nation-Building

According to Nyerere, the principles which have worked well in individual African traditional societies are equally valid for large societies.¹⁶⁷ This is because, however large the society is, its purpose and justification are always human beings. It is true that there could be, indeed, there are, great problems involved in adapting the principles to large units where individual brotherhood and interdependence is not as immediately obvious as in the family unit. But they are still the only basis on which society can hope to operate harmoniously and in accordance with its purpose. Unless they are adopted, there will always be an inherent, although sometimes concealed, danger of a breakdown in society. The principles include love and respect, work by and for all, equality and mutual respect and love for one another.

24. The Arusha Declaration (1967)

The Arusha Declaration was a summary of Nyerere's vision of what Tanzania should be and look like to Tanzanians and other people in the outside world. His first area of emphasis was the institution of the political party. He saw and believed the party was the instrument for guiding people's power and control of their leaders and other management staff. The Arusha Declaration is, according to Nyerere, a declaration of intent; it states the goal towards which the Party (TANU) would be leading the Tanzanian people and it indicates the direction of development.¹⁶⁸ The declaration is first of all a reaffirmation of the fact that we are Tanzanians and wish to remain so as we develop. We wish to change very many things in our present society. But these changes will be effected through growth processes in certain directions. This growth must come out of our own roots, not through grafting on to the roots of alien things. It means that we

¹⁶⁸ President Julius K. Nyerere explains the Arusha Declaration on 5th August 1967 to the University of Dar es Salaam students.

cannot adopt any political principles and try to implement them – with or without revision. The Declaration is also a commitment to a particular quality of life. It is based on human equality, on the belief that it is wrong for one person to dominate or exploit another and on the knowledge that every individual hopes to live in society as a free person, able to lead a decent life in conditions of peace. It defines the essence of socialism as “the practical acceptance of human equality – man’s equal right to a decent life before any individual has a surplus above his needs, his equal right to participate in government, and his equal responsibility to work and contribute to the Society to the limit of his ability.”¹⁶⁹

25. Practical Interpretation and Application of the Arusha Declaration

This is reflected in several key policy papers prepared by President Nyerere, who submitted them to his Political Party (the Central, National Executive and the Congress) for discussion and approval. These include:

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

- (i) The policy paper on Education for Self-Reliance (March 1967)
- (ii) The policy paper on Socialism and Rural Development (September 1967)
- (iii) Implementation of Rural Socialism (21st January 1968)
- (iv) The Party must speak for the people (7th June 1968)
- (v) The cooperative movement (4th October 1969)
- (vi) The policy paper on Decentralization (May 1972)
- (vii) The rational choice (2nd January 1973)

26. Views by a Caribbean Scholar

The famous African Caribbean writer, C. L. R. James, once said this about the Arusha Declaration: “Dr. Julius Nyerere in theory and practice laid the basis of an African State, which Nkrumah had failed to do, and the Arusha Declaration in which Nyerere laid down his principles is one of the great documents of post-world war II.”¹⁷⁰ This has also been Nyerere’s own view of the

¹⁷⁰ C. L. R. James. *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution* (London: Allison & Busby, nd), p. 7.

policy and its principles. In 1999, shortly before passing, he himself said this about the Arusha Declaration:

I still travel around with it. I read it over and over to see what I would change. Maybe I would improve on the Kiswahili that was used but the Declaration is still valid. I would not change a thing. Tanzania had been independent for a short time before we began to see a growing gap between the haves' and the have not's in our country. A privileged group was emerging from the political leaders and bureaucrats who had been poor under colonial rule but were now beginning to use their position in the Party and the Government to enrich themselves. This kind of development would alienate the leadership from the people. So we articulated a new national objective. We stressed that development about all our people and not just a small and privileged minority. The Arusha Declaration is what made Tanzania distinctly Tanzania. We stated what we stood for, we laid down a code of conduct for our leaders and we made an effort to achieve our goals. I still think that in the end Tanzania will return to the values and basic principles of the Arusha Declaration.¹⁷¹

27. The Role of the Party

On 7th June 1968, while speaking as TANU's President, at a Uganda People's Congress Conference, he made reference to

¹⁷¹ Julius K. Nyerere answering Ikawebe Bunting when asked what he thought of the Arusha Declaration, 1999.

people, while talking about the role of a Political Party anywhere.

He said:

The job of a strong political party is to act as a bridge linking the people to the government they have elected, and the government to the people it wishes to serve. The Party has to help the people to understand what the government is doing and why; it has to help the people to cooperate with their government in a combined effort to overcome the poverty which still holds us in thrall. But the party has also to ensure that the Government stays in close touch with the feelings, the difficulties and the aspirations of the people. It has to speak for the people and it has to educate the people and help them to see what the government's actions mean in terms of their own future security and their own future opportunities. The job of our Political Parties is much more difficult now than it was when we were struggling for Independence – our job now is to educate, to explain and to build.¹⁷²

This same message was repeated on many occasions and in several documents by TANU and later CCM, and by Mwalimu Nyerere himself. Unfortunately, this kind of Party is not what CCM is today. It hardly exists at the grass roots level. It is now not the Party of Mwongozo wa TANU (1971) and Mwongozo wa CCM (1981). Instead, it is a State Party – no longer practically

¹⁷² Julius K. Nyerere. *Freedom and Development* (1973), p. 30.

peasants and workers' Party. Its history is worth studying in detail and writing about.

In the CCM Party document titled MWONGOZO WA CCM (1981), the need to strengthen and build the party's capacity so that it could lead was spelt out thus:

*Chama kijidhatiti ili kuongoza mapinduzi lakini Ujamaa hauwezi kujijenga wenyewe. Kwani Ujamaa ni Imani. Hauna budi kujengwa na watu wanaouamini na kufuata kanuni zake. Mwana – TANU wa kweli ni mjamaa, na wajamaa wenziwe, yaani waumini wenziwe katika Imani hii ya Kisiasa na Ki-Uchumi ni wote wale wanaopigania haki za wakulima na wafanyakazi katika Afrika na popote duniani.*¹⁷³

In brief, the document clarified that the Party (CCM) needed or needs to make an effort to lead the revolution and to understand that *Ujamaa* (socialism) can only be built by people who believe in it and in its principles. Elsewhere in the document, Mwalimu Nyerere writes:

Chama tunachokiunda tunataka kiwe chombo madhubuti katika muundo wake, na hasa katika fikra zake na vitendo

¹⁷³ Mwongozo wa CCM (1981), p. 99.

*vyake vya kimapinduzi vya kufutilia mbali aina zote za unyonyaji nchini, na kupambana na jaribio lolote lile la mtu kumwonea mtu, au shirika au chombo cha nchi kuonea au kudhalilisha wananchi, kudhoofisha uchumi au kuzorotesha maendeleo ya Taifa.*¹⁷⁴

Freely translated, the quoted text emphasizes that CCM should be a strong instrument in its structure and, especially, in its revolutionary ideas. It also emphasizes that the Party should be able to eradicate all kinds of exploitation in the country and to fight any attempt by any person to humiliate another, or an institution to oppress or humiliate people in any way or weaken efforts to bring about economic development in the country.

In the same document, it is stated clearly that: “*Kiongozi wa Chama cha Mapinduzi kwanza kabisa lazima awe na msimamo wa kijamaa. Itikadi yake ya Ujamaa, vitendo na tabia yake vijidhihirishe kwa wanaowaongoza, wanachama na wananchi, kuwa ni vya kijamaa.*”¹⁷⁵ Roughly translated, the statement emphasizes that a Party leader should first and foremost be a

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116: paragraph 13.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, uk. 138: para 4.

believer in *Ujamaa*. His or her actions and behaviour should demonstrate to those he or she leads that he or she is a believer in *Ujamaa*.

28. The Government as an Implementing Institution

Mwalimu Nyerere had a vision, clear views and ideas on people's government which he articulates in these words:

It is the Government which is the instrument through which the Party tries to implement the wishes of the people, and serve their interests. But Government is a complicated business in the modern world. There may have been a time when the job of Government was simply to ensure that all citizens lived in peace together. Nowadays, that is only the beginning of a Government's problems. A modern Government has to help the people to modernize their agriculture; it has to help them get clean water supplies. It has to organize and provide education and health services and so on. The Party has therefore to determine the basic principles on which Government should act. It has to determine the policies its government will follow. But the Party cannot replace the Government (emphasis added): it cannot do the detailed legislative and executive work which governments have to do. But only a Party which is rooted in the hearts of the people, which has its devoted workers in the villages and the towns throughout the country [...] can tell the Government what are the people's purposes.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ Nyerere. *Freedom and Development*, p. 33.

29. On the People's Collective Accountability

Elaborating on the collective responsibility of the people, Nyerere says that one of the Party's and Government's duties is to avoid the temptation of blaming others for the difficulties encountered in the nation-building process. He emphasized that not a single Tanzanian can be held responsible and accountable for all problems. And to all humanity, Nyerere offered a piece of advice, even before Tanganyika had won her Independence. He wrote:

[...]it is true that in education and wealth many of the Europeans and Asians are still better off than you are (referring to the Africans) – but political control is in your hands. The Europeans and Asians, even if they wished to do so, cannot use their property or their education to harm you.¹⁷⁷

It is important to note here how Nyerere was aware of the necessity to put control and use of political power and power of wealth in separate hands of the citizenry. This demonstrates what Mwalimu had always tried to do – to keep political power in the hands of the people, under the control of their democratically-elected leaders,

¹⁷⁷ Nyerere. *Freedom and Unity*, p. 181.

through free and fair elections, while leaving the wealthy out of positions of political power. Indeed, this was the basis of his decision to introduce a stern leadership code so as to regulate the use of political power by leaders.

In the same speech quoted above, Mwalimu Nyerere made a final appeal to his fellow Tanganyikans, saying:

To all our citizens as a whole, I say this: My friends, let every one of us put all he has into the work of building a Tanganyika in which there will be no more such distinctions and divisions as those inherited at the time of independence. Those of you, who are educated, make use of your education to help build a Tanganyika in which everybody will have the opportunity you have had to acquire a good education. Those of you who have capital or who own property do not try to use your wealth as a weapon with which to oppress your brothers, but use it instead like a trust fund in helping to build a prosperous Tanganyika in which there will be no more wide gaps between rich and poor, but in which the wealth of the nation will be family property – the property of every member of our family. And you my friends who have political power; (sic) do not make use of that power to oppress any of your fellow citizens, or to take revenge, but use it to build a Tanganyika in which there will not be

so much as one individual citizen who is made to feel that he is a second rate (sic) citizen.¹⁷⁸

30. Gap between the Stated National Objectives and Achievements

In 1962, during his Presidential Inaugural address, President Nyerere made a pledge to do more in 10 years than the colonialists had done in their 43 years of ruling Tanganyika (1918–1962). This was a commitment to transform and develop the country and the people as quickly as possible. He said, “We would try to achieve in 10 years most of the things which our colonial rulers had failed to achieve during the whole of the time they had governed our Country.” He went on to elaborate on what he meant by “transform”, saying:

I say transform; for to build this country we have to make many changes. We must be willing to try what is new. It is useless to long for the good things of today if we are not prepared to change the habits of the past which prevent our making use of the means to achieve those good things [...]. In drawing up our three-year development Plan,

¹⁷⁸ Nyerere. *Freedom and Unity*, pp.181 & 182.

Government decided to lay the greatest emphasis on agriculture.¹⁷⁹

Nyerere understood that a fundamental transformation in agriculture required change of technology, as the hand hoe would not help, and that this required substantial capital input which the Government did not have at the time. Accordingly, he gives the following solution:

Government does not have enough money to dish to (sic) all our farmers, who also do not have money. Therefore we will try to make it possible for groups of farmers to get together and share the cost of the use of tractors. [This meant helping people to create and run their own cooperatives]. We have to persuade our people that they cannot create farmers' groups if they continue living in scattered settlements, far apart from each other and still haunted by the old superstitious fear of witchcraft.¹⁸⁰

This was the genesis of the villagilisation policy and Nyerere was elaborating on the connection between this policy and his understanding of the requirements for rapid economic change in the rural areas. He wrote:

¹⁷⁹ This information comes from Julius K. Nyerere's Presidential Inaugural address, delivered on 10th December, 1962.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

The first and absolutely essential thing to do, therefore, [if] we want to be able to start using tractors for cultivation, is to begin living in proper villages. For the next few years Government will be doing all it can to enable the farmers of Tanganyika to come together in village communities. And if you ask me why the Government wants us to live in villages, the answer is just as simple: unless we do, we shall not be able to provide ourselves with the things we need to develop our land (emphasis added) and to raise our standard of living. We shall not be able to use tractors, to provide schools for our children, to build hospitals or have clean drinking water; it will be quite impossible to start small village industries, instead we shall have to continue depending on the towns for all our requirements. We must enable our people to resettle in village communities so as to speed up rural development.¹⁸¹

These ideas were soon translated into action within the Government machinery. A Department of Planning was established under the direct control of the President and was tasked with “prepar[ing] plans for village development for the whole country as quickly as possible.”¹⁸² In addition, all the existing cooperative movements were joined together to form a nation-wide Union. Also, a Cooperative Bank was established, which was the first people’s bank

¹⁸¹ Nyerere’s Presidential Inaugural address, 1962.

¹⁸² Butiku, pers. comm.

in the country. In due course, the Cooperative Union started to open retail shops in towns and the Government gave a large sum of money to help.

These were the major achievements made in the mid-1970s in an effort to build a country that matched Nyerere's vision of an independent African country. However, on 29th July 1985, in a farewell speech to Parliament before retiring, Nyerere was honest in reporting at length on the work he had done, since 10th December 1962. He talked about his dissatisfaction with the achievements and gave reasons for the shortcomings. He said in Kiswahili:

Kazi iliyokuwa muhimu kuliko zote kwangu mimi, na kwa wananchi wote, niliyoazimia katika hotuba yangu ya kwanza mwezi Desemba, 1962, ilikuwa ni kazi ya kujenga taifa lenye umoja kwa msingi wa heshima na usawa wa binadamu. Nilipolihutubia Baraza Kuu la Umoja wa Mataifa mwaka mmoja kabla ya hapo, nilitoa ahadi vilevile kwamba msingi wa vitendo vya Taifa letu utakuwa kufanya jitihada ya dhati ya kudumisha heshima na usawa wa binadamu, nchini mwetu na pengine duniani. Na kauli hiyo hiyo ya umoja ndiyo iliyokuwa kiini cha maneno yangu nilipolihutubia Bunge April 25, 1964, wakati nilipoliomba Bunge kuthibitisha makubaliano ya kuunganisha nchi mbili huru, Tanganyika na Zanzibar[...]

Nadhani naweza kusema bila kusita kwamba mnamo chini ya miaka 25, kwa shabaha hii kuu ya msingi kupita zote, tunayo haki ya kujivuna. Sasa tunalo taifa, na taifa lenye umoja. Tunalo taifa ambalo msingi wake ni heshima na usawa wa binadamu. Na tumepiga hatua kubwa sana katika kuimarisha umoja huo. Jambo moja la msingi katika kujenga na kulinda umoja wa Taifa letu, na Katiba ya Chama chetu, na vile vile kwa mazoea ya msimamo imara wa muda mrefu, nchi yetu haina dini yake, wananchi wana dini zao, ambazo kwa uhuru kamili wa kuzifuata na ambazo zinaheshimiwa kabisa, mradi wasivunje sheria.¹⁸³

Briefly, in this statement Nyerere said that the most important task he had been doing since 1962 was building a nation united on the basis of mutual respect and human equality. He also reminded his audience that this was the basis for his move to initiate the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar and that, as a result of adherence to the principles of equality and mutual respect, the country respects all religions and the citizens are completely free to hold any religious conviction they subscribe to, provided they do not contravene the existing laws. At the same time he admitted that he had faced a multitude of challenges in his efforts to realise

¹⁸³ Julius K. Nyerere. A Farewell Speech to the Tanzanian Parliament given on 29th July 1985.

the ideals mentioned above, in the agricultural sector in particular and in the socio-economic services in general. Nyerere concludes his speech by saying:

*Nadhani itaonekana kutokana na hayo niliyoyasema leo kwamba matatizo ya uchumi ya Tanzania hayatokani na siasa yetu ya Ujamaa, bali siasa yetu ya Ujamaa ndiyo iliyotupa nguvu ya kuyakabili matatizo hayo katika hali ya umoja, maelewano na matumaini. Tatizo la msingi ni kushindwa kwetu kutekeleza siasa yetu na sera zake za msingi”. Utekelezaji ulifanyika, lakini haukufanyika kwa ufanisi.*¹⁸⁴

In this part of the speech, Nyerere talked about what he believed was the source of the resilient economic woes that were still notable in Tanzania at the time of his retirement. He pointed out that the observed problems did not emanate from the *Ujamaa* policy, but from the failure to implement it effectively.

31. Conclusion

This discussion has highlighted some of Nyerere's ideas and deeds. Some of the ideas reflect the immediate post-independence

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

challenges faced Tanzania in sustaining her independence and development. The discussion therefore reminds us where we were on 9th December 1961, the day of Tanganyika's independence. We must use these memories to see the road we have travelled to get where we are today. We started with a country which was remarkably different from the one Nyerere had in mind during the independence struggles. Today it is still far from what it was intended to be; and the road to the destination is still very long, hard and difficult to travel on. Immediately after independence, it was not possible to quickly eradicate the differences between our African and non-African citizens. Neither was it easy to end the existing disparity in education between Christians and Muslims, or between the educated few and the majority of the people who are not educated. Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere's writings and speeches will always be relevant for further political discussions in Tanzania and elsewhere around the world. The speeches and writings, or even impromptu, off-the-cuff talks by him, refer to different aspects of human life, individuals' duties and rights in

society and a proper functioning of human societies. Yet, the nation-building task is not a single person's responsibility or a one-off task. It is everyone's everlasting duty in a given country, and so it is to all Tanzanians.

The African Renaissance and Struggles for the Third Phase of Nation-Building in Africa: The Experience of Tanzania

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Abstract

Since independence most countries in Africa have experienced two phases of nation-building. These include the nationalist phase and the neo-liberal phase. The third phase entails struggling for neo-nationalism and democratic developmental societies. The movement of struggles for a neo-nationalist approach, entailing independent democratic socio-economic development, has been viewed by some African historians and other scholars as an African Renaissance. Historically, renaissance is conceptualized as a movement and struggle for changing political, socio-economic and cultural system of a society. The struggle for change in Tanzania, which started during the first two phases and continues through the current third phase, provides a typical example of African renaissance in the context of nation building.

1. Introduction

Since independence, African nations have been engaged in the process of building their economies and societies. The process can be divided into two phases. These include the nationalist phase from the 1960s to the mid-1980s and the neo-liberal phase from the second half of the 1980s to the present. During the second phase of neo-liberalism, struggles for change have been characterized as the African Renaissance. The envisaged change would constitute the third phase of nation-building.

While the objective of this paper is to examine struggles in the third phase of nation-building, the paper will briefly examine the first and second phases of the same so that we clearly understand why the third phase struggles have arisen and why the phase has been characterized as a period of the African Renaissance. Thus, the paper examines the period of the Renaissance in the context of both Africa and Tanzania. Historically, a renaissance is viewed as a movement involving struggles for change from an old or

existing oppressive and exploitative system into a new system which is more democratic and development-oriented.

2. The First and Second Phases of Nation-Building in Africa

It is a well-known historical fact that the period from the second half of the 1940s to the 1960s was a period of intensive nationalist struggles for independence. From the mid-1950s, African colonies under a number of European colonial powers began to get their independence; Egypt and Sudan got their independence in 1956 and Ghana did so in 1957. Most African countries got their independence in 1960 and others from 1961 to 1965. The colonies of Southern Africa that had to achieve their independence through armed struggle took a longer time. Nineteen-sixty is taken to be Africa's year because that was the turning point of the continent's independence.

Independence for Africa was viewed as a starting point of building new African nations on the spirit of African nationalism. At the time, independence was seen not simply as freedom from

colonialism, but also as freedom to build a new life and a better world. Thus, nation-building was based on five objectives developed by the early African leaders and statesmen such as Kwame Nkurumah, Julius Nyerere, Sekou Toure, Senghor, Kenyatta and Kaunda. The five objectives included total decolonization, establishment of national unity, the building of democracy and socialism, effecting fast socio-economic development and the possibility of establishing one African nation – the United States of Africa.¹⁸⁵

Total decolonization meant establishing African nations which were no longer under the control of neo-colonialism. This means that Africans were to build totally independent and self-reliant nations. Establishment of national unity meant that the newly independent nations had to eradicate sharp divisions among societies created by the colonial system. These divisions included

¹⁸⁵ G. P. Mpangala. *A History of Multiparty Politics and Its Implications on Peace Building and Development in the Great Lakes Region of Africa*, Professorial Inaugural Lecture Series No 51, University of Dar es Salaam, 2013.

racialism, religious antagonism, negative ethnicity and regionalism. Kwame Nkrumah, for example, was of the view that, since African nations had come out of colonialism with petty ideologies that divided the people, establishment of national unity required developing a uniting national ideology above such ideologies as Islam, Christianity and ethnicity. For him, such a uniting ideology was socialism.¹⁸⁶ The building of democracy and socialism meant liberating the people of Africa from dictatorships and the building of equality and justice without the exploitation of man by man, both of which were colonial and capitalist legacies. It was argued that there is no democracy without socialism and no socialism without democracy.¹⁸⁷

Effecting fast socio-economic development meant liberating Africans in the newly independent nations from poverty,

¹⁸⁶ K. Nkrumah. *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization and Development With Particular Reference to the African Revolution* (London: Heinemann, 1964).

¹⁸⁷ J. K. Nyerere. *Democracy and the Party System* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).

ignorance and disease. It was pointed out that, since the nations had come out of colonialism with socio-economic backwardness, they had to fast-track the development process, while other nations in the world were doing it slowly. The establishment of continental unity was viewed as necessary for achieving all the other objectives. Building nations in the form of separate nations was seen as very difficult, given the power of the neo-colonial forces. Thus, during the early 1960s there was a hot debate among the African heads of state. For instance, they debated various issues at the summit held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 1963, and at the summit held in Cairo, Egypt, in 1964. Two camps emerged during that period. One camp which was led by Kwame Nkrumah and supported by Sekou Toure and others; these leaders advocated immediate establishment of continental unity in the form of the United States of Africa. The second camp under the leadership of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere advocated a gradual approach to that, beginning with the establishment of regional federations and later turning the federations into one African

nation. Due to these divisions and other factors, the establishment of continental unity did not succeed.¹⁸⁸ Thus, nation-building had to be carried out by each African nation separately. However, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was established in Addis Ababa in 1963, coordinated the nation-building process in various African countries.

Nation-building was the first phase of the nation-building processes in Africa from the 1960s to the 1980s. A number of countries began to register successes. In Ghana, for example, Nkrumah embarked on programmes for rapid socio-economic development. Soon after independence, he embarked on the expansion of trade and industry, building of infrastructure, expansion of health services and establishment of primary and secondary schools, as well as universities. As we shall see later, similar measures were taken in Tanzania, including the success of a united Tanzanian nation.

¹⁸⁸ Mpangala. *A History of Multiparty Politics*, pp. 113-114.

However, the efforts to build new nations in Africa on the basis of the above objectives had various contradictions. The first contradiction arose out of the one-party political system. The nations came out of colonialism with a multiparty political system, as many nationalist parties were formed during the struggles for independence in each African colony. It was soon realized that multiparty politics were a hindrance to the establishment of national unity and to effecting fast socio-economic development. This was due to the fact that many of the political parties were characterized by divisive ideologies such as racialism, ethnicity, religious antagonism and regionalism. Thus, such African leaders as Nkrumah and Nyerere advocated a one-party political system, which was found to be more suitable to Africa's conditions during that period.¹⁸⁹ Therefore, from the 1960s to the 1970s, most African nations moved from the multiparty system to a one-party system.

¹⁸⁹ H. Nyirenda, "Political Ideas of Early Post-Independence African Thinkers" (Dar es Salaam: Draft History Lecture Manual for the Open University of Tanzania, 2000), pp. 27-29.

A number of contradictions arose out of the one-party system. One contradiction was the result of the fact that in many African countries the monopoly of political power, which was not challenged, produced authoritarianism and dictatorships. The situation was made worse when many African countries experienced military coups which led to the establishment of military governments, most of which were not only dictatorial, but also brutal and oppressive. Thus, in some countries the one-party political system continued to be under civilian rule, while in others it came to be under military governments.

The second contradiction during this first phase of nation-building was the ethnicization of politics in many African countries such as those in the Great Lakes region. While in some African countries the one-party system was able to forge national unity, in many others it magnified the problem of ethnicity, as power under the one-party system was monopolized by some ethnic groups

that oppressed others.¹⁹⁰ In such a situation, instead of the one-party system taking on a national character, it degenerated into an ethnic-based political party.¹⁹¹ The third contradiction during this period of nation-building arose out of the process of class formation. Classes had begun developing during the colonial period but became more and more consolidated during the post-independence era. These classes included the ruling classes or the bureaucratic bourgeoisie,¹⁹² the peasantry, the workers and the Lumpen proletariat. In many African countries, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie first developed class interests so as to enrich themselves and second struggled for political power, thus causing inter- and intra-class struggles which resulted in frequent conflicts.

The fourth contradiction was foreign powers' interests in Africa.

The ex-colonial powers and other imperialist nations continued to

¹⁹⁰ O. Nnoli (ed.). *Ethnic Conflicts in Africa* (Dakar: CODESRIA, 1998).

¹⁹¹ W. O. Oyugi, "Ethnic Relations in Kenya", in Nnoli, *ibid.*, pp. 15-17.

¹⁹² I. G. Shivji. *Two Essays on Tanzania: "Tanzania the Silent Class Struggle"* and "Class Struggle Continues (Dar es Salaam: Special Issue of Cheche, 1973), p. 59.

perpetuate their interests on the African continent by controlling and exploiting African resources through certain neo-colonial arrangements. These neo-colonial interests had two consequences. One was the looting of the economic resources of the newly independent countries. Two, in order to be able to loot the resources, they had a tendency to create puppet governments which could facilitate the control and exploitation of resources, thus distorting the whole nation-building process.¹⁹³ The four contradictions above produced a fifth contradiction of conflicts during the whole period of the one-party political system. Most African countries experienced conflicts in the form of periodic military coups, civil wars, massacres and so on. The conflicts adversely affected the nation-building process in such countries in terms of distorting peace, national unity, and economic and social development. These contradictions culminated in a sixth contradiction of a serious economic crisis from the late 1970s to

¹⁹³ Mpangala. *A History of Multiparty Politics*, pp. 42-45.

the mid-1980s. Although the economic crisis was a world-wide problem, the African continent was the most hit, given the fact that African economies were still backward and weak. Thus, the nation-building project in Africa during this first phase experienced serious problems and setbacks.

The second phase of nation-building, which began in the second half of the 1980s, began with the implementation of structural adjustment programmes which were imposed on African nations by the World Bank and the IMF. Since African countries were experiencing a serious economic crisis, they restructured their economies in order to get aid for reviving the economies as the Bretton Woods Institutions demanded. The process of restructuring the economies was followed from around 1990 by the wave and movement of the democratization process. The democratization process was characterized by the adoption of a multiparty political system. However, the democratization process was the result of both pressure from outside African countries and

struggles for democracy by the people from within such countries. The people associated their serious problems with the authoritarian and dictatorial regimes, and the economic crisis with the regimes' failure to manage the economies. But the democratization process, and particularly the adoption of multiparty politics, was also due to pressure from the World Bank, the IMF and the Western donor countries which wanted them to carry out political reforms. Therefore, both socio-economic and political reforms were guided by the Western capitalist neo-liberal ideology and policies.¹⁹⁴ That is why it is regarded as the neo-liberal phase of nation-building.

However, despite its neo-liberal character, the democratization process produced great hopes and expectations for the success of the nation-building process, since it was also an internal struggle by the people for democracy and development. Some African scholars regarded it as the second wind of change which was

¹⁹⁴ Mpangala. *A History of Multiparty Politics*, pp. 51-52.

blowing all over Africa.¹⁹⁵ Karim Isacck regarded it as the second phase of liberation.¹⁹⁶ Masipula Sithole, the late Professor of Political Science at the University of Zimbabwe, regarded this period of democratization as the second wind of change, because the first wind of change in Africa was the nationalist struggles for independence, which the British Prime Minister of the 1950s, Harold Macmillan, regarded as a wind of change blowing all over Africa.

The democratization process, which is still going on in Africa, is characterized by a number of features in the nation-building process. One feature is the adoption of multiparty politics. From 1990 to 1994, forty-nine African nations had adopted multiparty politics and a democratic transition. By 2000, nearly all African nations, except for Uganda and Libya, had adopted the new system. However, Uganda, despite its intention to build

¹⁹⁵ M. Sithole, "The Democratization Process in Africa: Is the Second Wind of Change any Different From the First?", Research Proposal for CODESRIA (1993), pp. 4-12.

¹⁹⁶ Karim Issack. *The Second Liberation of Africa* (Dar es Salaam: Thackers Publishers Limited, 1994).

democracy through the movement system, adopted a multiparty political system in 2005. Other features of the democratization process included the rapid growth of the civil society, the media and the efforts to establish systems of good governance. At the economic level, due to the structural adjustment programmes which had various forms of liberalization and privatization, economic growth was realized, thus ending the economic crisis.

Despite these positive aspects, this phase of nation-building created more serious problems among various societies in African countries. At the political level, some scholars began to question the very essence of building democracy. While some, as we have seen above, were very optimistic that the democratization process would bring real democracy and that it was a second wind of change and a second liberation, others were very pessimistic. For instance, Oyugi¹⁹⁷ was of the view that, so long as the democratization process was characterized by pressure from the

¹⁹⁷ Oyugi, "Ethnic Relations in Kenya", *op.cit.*, pp. 1-3.

World Bank, the IMF and Western powerful capitalist nations, the process could not bring real democracy in Africa. Such democratization process serves the motives of neo-liberalism and the neo-liberal agenda. Thus, that process was regarded not as democratization, but as liberalization, since it was only intended to open up the political space. Therefore, the new political system could only result in more political mismanagement in Africa.

Political mismanagement has been proved quite true, since the processes of multiparty competition, particularly during elections, have resulted in a new wave of conflicts for almost 2¹/₂ decades since the adoption of the multiparty political system in the 1990s. Even in countries which had enjoyed a state of peace since independence such as Kenya, Ivory Coast and Tanzania, they found themselves in violent conflicts during this period. Worse still, in many African countries, parties took the form of ethnic, regional and religious political parties, thus making it very difficult for multiparty democracy to mature. As early as 1995,

Nnoli¹⁹⁸ argued that there was a strong link between democratization and ethnicity in Africa. This has had a negative impact on the building of democracy.

Besides ethnicity, regionalism and religious tensions which resulted in ethnic-based politics, multiparty politics also came to be characterized by statist tendencies and domination of the political parties by the petty bourgeoisie or bureaucratic bourgeoisie and commercial bourgeoisie, which has had two negative consequences on the building of real democracy in Africa. The first is that it has resulted in stiff competition for power among the petty bourgeois class, thus resulting in conflicts. The second is that political power is monopolized by this class, therefore making it difficult for a meaningful people's participation in political processes, which constitutes the essence of democracy.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ Nnoli, "Ethnic Conflicts in Africa", pp. 21-24.

¹⁹⁹ Mpangala. *A History of Multiparty Politics*, pp. 60-63.

From the socio-economic point of view, the democratization process, which went hand in hand with the neo-liberal economic reforms, has caused a number of problems. First, state withdrawal from the management of economic resources has created conditions for the economies of African countries to be controlled from outside by multinational companies and the big rich nations. The enforcement of a market economy, accompanied by the privatization and liberalization processes, has caused the growth of dependent economies and, hence, the exploitation and looting of the resources of African countries by external forces. Thus, in the new neo-liberal economic system, the ruling and big commercial classes benefit economically, a phenomenon which has resulted in the widening of the gap between the rich and the poor. High poverty levels and the rapid growth of youth unemployment are among the critical problems experienced in African countries.

The Great Lakes region provides a typical example of the growth of poverty amidst the growing economies and the richness in (natural) resources in the region. A study carried out by Society for International Development (SID) indicated that, from 2003 to 2012, the number of people living below the poverty line in the 5 East African Community countries rose from 44 to 53 million people.²⁰⁰ Besides deepening poverty and unemployment, Africa's economies continue to be backward, compared to other parts of the world. For example, it is a historical fact that during the 1950s and 1960s the level of Africa's economic development was at par with that of the economies of Asia and Latin America. But while the economies of Asia and Latin America have experienced rapid growth, African economies lag far behind them. Hence, the African continent is the least developed in the world. This means that the nation-building project in Africa during this second phase has not realized its objectives both in

²⁰⁰ See The EastAfrican Newspaper, April 9-15, 2012, pp. 6-7.

terms of building democracy and of achieving fast socio-economic development.

3. The African Renaissance and Struggles in the Third Phase of Nation-Building

We can identify two perspectives in the concept of the African Renaissance. One is the fast socio-economic development perspective and the other is the neo-nationalist perspective. The fast socio-economic development perspective views the African Renaissance as entailing fast socio-economic development. For example, in 2010, a famous Senegalese historian, Iba der Thian expressed optimism about Africa's development. He was of the view that the end of the Cold War, which had adversely affected the development of Africa, meant that Africa had or has a bright future in the form of fast development, particularly in the 21st century. He emphasized the that the 21st century belongs to Africa.²⁰¹

²⁰¹ I. D. Thian, "Paper on International Symposium on African Renaissance", Senegal, 2010, p. 30.

This view was expressed by Salim (2002) earlier than Iba der Thian did. Salim pointed out that, by the end of the 1990s, there would be a new momentum in Africa. After the misery and the lost decade of the 1980s, characterized by a serious economic crisis, the African continent began to reassert itself and mobilize its resources for fast socio-economic development with a view to shaping its own destiny. This perspective of the African Renaissance has been greatly emphasized by Thabo Mbeki, the second president of post-apartheid South Africa. Mbeki has frequently been talking of the African Renaissance in the context of fast economic development. But since South Africa is the most highly developed nation in Africa, Mbeki's view of the Renaissance is that South Africa should constitute the centre of that fast development by spreading its influence to other parts of the African continent through investment and trade. In South Africa's context, the African Renaissance also means the attainment of both economic and political power by the African people as part of the process of dismantling the apartheid system.

The neo-nationalist perspective of the African Renaissance, while acknowledging the need and necessity for fast socio-economic and political development, it also sees the need and necessity for that process to be anchored on both past African traditions and post-independence nationalist ideas and philosophical perspectives. This means that Africa should now pursue an alternative path to development, an alternative to the neo-liberal ideological and philosophical perspectives.

Among African scholars who have greatly advocated the neo-nationalist perspective of the Renaissance in question is Chango Machyo W'Obanda. W'Obanda has argued for the African Renaissance that entails the revival and further application of the African nationalist approach to development and, therefore, the abandoning of the neo-liberal theory and ideology. He has further viewed the African Renaissance as the awakening of African consciousness ideologically and culturally. Ideologically, it constitutes a return to African humanistic values and, culturally, it

calls for the reinstatement of positive, African development traditions and practices such as a genuine, participatory democracy. He also viewed the African Renaissance as the second liberation struggle for genuine development and progress.

This means that the neo-nationalist perspective of the Renaissance is that struggles for fast socio-economic and political development should involve both a fight against the neo-liberal ideology and policies, and the revival of positive African traditions and the nationalist ideological and philosophical ideas of the early and immediate post-independence African leaders and philosophers such as Julius Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah, Senghor, Sekou Toure and Frantz Fanon. In the 1950s, 1960s and even 1970s, these early African philosophers produced various ideas such as Conscionalism by Nkrumah in Ghana, Socialism and Self-reliance or “Ujamaa” by Nyerere in Tanzania, Humanism by Kaunda in Zambia, Common Men’s Charter by Obote in Uganda, Negritude by Senghor in Senegal and Session Paper No. 10 on

African Socialism by Kenyatta in Kenya.²⁰² Although these philosophical and ideological ideas cannot be taken wholesale under the changing current conditions, they can, after modifications, form the basis for a new phase in nation-building characterized by self-reliant and fast socio-economic and political development in Africa.

It should be noted, however, that this second of the neo-nationalist perspectives of the African Renaissance can be compared to the European Renaissance, which began in the 14th century and ended in the 16th century. Basically, the movement entailed a struggle against the feudal system, a struggle which resulted in the emergence of the capitalist system. Like the neo-nationalist African perspective, the European Renaissance was characterized by the revival of important ideas of ancient Greece and ancient Rome. Such ideas included democracy which was

²⁰² Nyirenda, "Political Ideas of Early Post-Independence African Thinkers", *op.cit.*

adapted for ancient Greek democracy and turned into liberal democracy.

Therefore, the African Renaissance refers a struggles by the African people in the third phase of nation-building characterized by real and people-centred democracy, and people-centred socio-economic development. This can be observed in different forms of struggles. At the political level, we have witnessed demands for people-centred democracy. This has gone hand in hand with a new wave of struggles for new constitutions which can facilitate the development of a much more workable democratic system under a multiparty political system. At the socio-economic level, we are witnessing struggles for economic reforms so that African nations can control their own resources for the good of their people.

4. The African Renaissance and Struggles in the Third Phase of Nation-Building in Tanzania

The post-independence nation-building process has had two phases in Tanzania. These include the post-independence period

up to the 1980s and the neo-liberal phase from the late 1980s to present. The first phase is also divided into two periods, the pre-Arusha Declaration period, 1961 to 1967, and the Arusha Declaration period, 1967 to the 1980s. During this period the nation-building process was characterized by four main strategies.²⁰³

The first strategy entailed the development of ideological and philosophical perspectives that could guide the nation-building process. The main architect of developing these perspectives was Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, who had led Tanganyika through the nationalist struggles for independence and who was the first Prime Minister and the first President of Tanganyika after independence. Mwalimu developed two main types of ideological and philosophical perspectives. These involved democracy and

²⁰³ G. P. Mpangala and R. Mawazo. *Historia ya Mkombozi: Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere* (Dar es Salaam: TUKI, 2015), pp. 38-51.

socialism.²⁰⁴ One month after the independence of Tanganyika, in January 1962 Mwalimu resigned as Prime Minister of the new Government of Tanganyika so that he could have time to develop these philosophical ideas. The second nation-building strategy during this period was the process of decolonizing the political and administrative structures and systems in Tanganyika. Three important measures were taken.

These entailed first transforming Tanganyika from a colony under the Queen of Britain as its Head of State into a republic in 1962. The new Parliament of Tanganyika passed a resolution in June 1962 to make Tanganyika a Republic; this was realized on 9th December 1962. The second involved strengthening TANU as the ruling Party so that it could effectively lead the nation-building process. The consolidation of TANU was finalized with the transformation of the party system from a multiparty system into a one-party system (Cliffe, 1969).

²⁰⁴ J. K. Nyerere. *Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1962).

The third measure was the Africanization process. This involved Africans or Tanganyikans filling the top and middle positions in the country's political and administrative structures left behind by the British colonial masters. This was accompanied by the establishment of the unification of Tanganyika and Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanzania. The fourth measure involved strengthening the country's defence and security. Among the steps taken included the establishment of the National Service in 1963 and the new defense force called TPDF in 1964. This was mainly stimulated by the army mutiny that took place in that year. The mutiny also took place at the same time in Kenya and Uganda.²⁰⁵

The fourth strategy of nation-building during this period was developing and implementing various policies of socio-economic development. Among the social services provided, the education system was transformed from a race-based system into a national

²⁰⁵ J. M. S. Magotti. *Simba wa Vita Katika Historia ya Tanzania: Rashid Mfaume Kawawa* (Dar es Salaam: Matai and Company Limited, 2007).

one. Expansion in the provision of education was carried out at primary, secondary and university levels. Since there was only one University College in Tanzania at the time, i.e. University College, Dar es Salaam, many Tanzanian students were sent to foreign universities. At the economic level, the first step was to transform the agricultural sector by establishing settlement schemes as settlement villages where some peasants from the rural areas were persuaded to move so that they could be provided with modern facilities that would enable them transform agricultural production. However, due to poor planning and mismanagement, the settlement schemes collapsed.²⁰⁶ The First Five-Year Programme was implemented from 1964 to 1969 to effect the process of industrialization and agricultural development.

The second part of the first phase of nation-building in Tanzania was mainly characterized by the declaration and implementation of the Arusha Declaration, which ushered in the policy of

²⁰⁶ Mpangala and Mawazo. *Historia ya Mkombozi, op.cit.*, pp. 41-51.

Socialism and Self-Reliance. Despite the strategies taken during the first period, the nation-building struggles encountered many contradictions. One of them was rapid class formation and the growing gap between the rich and the poor. This was contradictory to the principles of Socialism or Ujamaa which Mwalimu had been developing since 1962. The second contradiction was the perpetuation of structures of the colonial economy left behind by the British whereby the major means of production were in the hands of foreigners, including some European settlers. The third contradiction, which is related to the second, was the growth of a dependent economic system.

The Arusha Declaration was declared in Arusha on 5th February 1967 during the Assembly of the National Executive Committee of TANU. The Declaration was a new policy guideline for building a socialist and self-reliant Tanzanian nation. It contained policies of rural development and education for self-reliance (TANU, 1967). Implementation of the Arusha Declaration

included the nationalization of the major means of production, thus putting the economy basically under state control. Other aspects of the implementation of the Declaration included establishment of Ujamaa and Development Villages in the rural areas and management of the education system through the policy of Education for Self-Reliance.

Although the Arusha Declaration and its implementation lasted for only a short period 1967-1980s, it registered some positive results. First, the villagization policy made it possible for the Government to provide social services, notably education, health, water and modern housing to people in the rural areas. Second, a number of industries were set up during the various five-year programmes. On the whole, the early nation-building objectives of fighting against the three basic post-independence enemies,

that is, poverty, ignorance and disease, were achieved to a considerable extent.²⁰⁷

The second phase of nation-building in Tanzania began in the 1990s. This is what we regard as the neo-liberal phase. This is because this phase has greatly been characterized by the domination of certain neo-liberal policies in the process of nation-building. Like in the rest of Africa, in Tanzania the neo-liberal policies included imposition of the SAPs which started in 1986; the SAPs included liberalization, privation, state-withdrawal from the economy, devaluation of the currency and establishment of a market-based economy.

The neo-liberal policies had considerable effects on the first-phase policies on nation-building, particularly on the socialist and self-reliant policies under the Arusha Declaration. On the whole, they meant that Tanzania had to abandon the socialist policies and

²⁰⁷ G. P. Mpangala and B. U. Mwansasu (eds.). *Beyond Conflict in Burundi* (Dar es Salaam: Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, 2004).

embrace the capitalist policies instead. The Government of Tanzania had strongly and persistently opposed this change. For example, from 1979 to 1985, the Government constantly refused to accept the SAPs imposed by the IMF and WB. But in 1986, under President Ali Hassan Mwinyi and given the seriousness of the economic crisis, the Government accepted the SAP conditionality. The climax of the process was the abandoning of the Arusha Declaration by the CCM National Executive Committee (NEC) in its Zanzibar Declaration of 1991.²⁰⁸

It has to be noted that the forces that led to these changes were not wholly external. Within CCM and the Government there were some considerable ideological struggles. There were those who were committed to the Arusha Declaration and there were those who embraced the capitalist ideological perspectives. However, the effects of these changes on the nation-building process were obvious. Despite the positive effects of the surmounting of the

²⁰⁸ Mpangala and Mawazo. *Historia ya Mkombozi, op.cit.*, pp. 100-104.

economic crisis and the realization of economic growth, there were many negative effects. These included erosion of the important achievements which arose out of the implementation of the Arusha Declaration, domination and control of the national economy from outside, the looting of resources by companies and multinational corporations and the growing gap between the few rich and the majority poor. The situation has been made worse by the growth of petty and grand corruption, and massive unemployment. In terms of class formation, these changes resulted in the growth and consolidation of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the impoverished workers, peasants and the Lumpen proletariat.

At the political level, the multiparty system was reintroduced in July 1992. Thirteen political parties, including CCM, had been registered by that time. Since then, the number of political parties has been increasing such that there are 23 registered political parties at present. Since the adoption of the multiparty system,

multiparty elections have been held every 5 years and the 5th general elections were held on 25th October 2015.

However, given the neo-liberal nature of the policies, and in particular, the nature of class formation the expected multiparty democracy has not been achieved. First, the transition from the one-party political system to the multiparty political system was managed in such a way that for a long time CCM was the strongest political party in the country. With the exception of Zanzibar, there has been a de jure multiparty system and a de facto one-party system in the country.²⁰⁹ Second, multiparty competitions through elections have, to a large extent, been characterized by elections which are not free and fair, and, in the case of Zanzibar, the situation has resulted in continuous post-election conflicts. This means that the basic principle of democracy which requires people's participation IN WHAT??? has largely been marginalized. Given these political and socio-

²⁰⁹ Oyugi, "Ethnic Relations in Kenya", *op.cit.*

economic conditions, struggles for the third phase of the nation-building process have been inevitable.

From the 1990s onwards, the struggles have taken the form of normal political struggles for a democratic multiparty political system in which all political parties could enjoy equal space in the multiparty competitions. Since the political reforms associated with the multiparty system led to the growth of the civil society and the media, struggles also took the form of demands for human rights and great freedoms of speech and the press. As the monopolistic tendencies of the ruling party continued, the demands for greater democracy and the need to write a new constitution grew during the 2000s.

With the deepening of poverty and unemployment and the corresponding growth of petty and grand corruption, coupled with the decline in the quality of education, health and other social services, the struggles began to take the form of mass movements; the people were demanding political and socio-economic change.

They became more and more conscious and, thus, some opposition political parties such as CHADEMA got more members and followers. Towards the end of the 2000s, CHADEMA came up with slogans that captured the people's demands for political and socio-economic change. Thus, the slogan "Movement for Change (M4C)" made the party grow as a strong challenger to the ruling Party during the 2010 general elections.

Struggles for change have been much more conspicuous with the struggle for a new constitution. As noted earlier, demands for a new constitution began in the early 1990s when the multiparty political system was reintroduced into Tanzania. For example, the Presidential Commission for One Party or Multiparty Political System had noted that, due to the reintroduction of the multiparty system into the country, there was a need to write a new constitution (URT 1992). But the ruling Party and its Government

resisted this move and preferred the amendment of the 1977 Constitution.

As struggles for change grew, demands for a new constitution also grew because of pressure from the opposition political parties, civil society organizations, the academia and the people in general. Therefore, in 2012 a Constitutional Review Commission was established by President Jakaya Kikwete. The Commission collected views from the people all over the country and came up with a proposed draft constitution in 2013. To a large extent, the proposed draft constitution reflected the demanded change in terms of building democracy and effecting people-centred socio-economic development. However, the proposed draft constitution didn't sail through because of some strong forces from the ruling Party that opposed it. The nation found itself plunged into a hot debate between what we may regard as progressive forces that demanded or demand change through the new people-centred

draft constitution and reactionary forces that were or are opposed to progressive change.

The consciousness of the people and their struggles for change were greatly “sharpened” towards the October 2015 general elections. Having realized the high level of consciousness among the people, the political parties, including the ruling Party, organized their campaigns around the issue of change which is commonly known in Kiswahili as “Mabadiliko”. Change became the central slogan but, certainly, the perspective of change differed from one party to another. For UKAWA, its members and supporters and, particularly, for the majority of the youth, “mabadiliko” meant two things. First, it meant change of the ruling Party through the elections. Second, but arising out of the first, it meant effecting change in terms of socio-economic development and, hence, eradicating poverty, unemployment, corruption which would result in the amelioration of the people’s living standards. For the ruling Party, particularly for its

presidential candidate, “mabadiliko” meant correcting the shortcomings of the Party and its Government, hence effecting socio-economic development. This means that, for the ruling Party, “mabadiliko” meant carrying out reforms within the Party and the Government.

All the struggles for change have been characterized by a popular appeal to the first phase nation-building policies and philosophical perspectives. For a period of more than a decade, there have been calls from some politicians, academics and civil society organizations on the need to readopt the Arusha Declaration. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere’s ideas and philosophical perspectives have consistently been taken as the guiding principles of nation-building. The academic community has been at the forefront in calling for the readoption of Mwalimu’s philosophy, ideas and leadership principles. In addition to the establishment of the Julius Nyerere Professorial Chair at the University of Dar es Salaam, a number of universities in the

country commemorate Nyerere Day by organizing conferences and symposia.

This reviving of Nyerere's development perspectives or ideas has even reached the stage of academicians carrying out research and, thus, producing publications on Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. Recent publications include a history of Nyerere as a liberator and a collection of poems by him.²¹⁰ A comprehensive biography of Nyerere is in the pipeline.

Thus, Tanzania provides a typical example of the African Renaissance characterized by the struggles by the people for change. Although it is not clearly stated as to which is the direction for change, it is obvious that the struggles constitute demands for change from a neo-liberal political and socio-economic system to a new and better system. The popular appeals to the Nyerere legacy imply the need to revive the principles of socialism and self-reliance and modify them so that they are

²¹⁰ Mpangala and Mawazo. *Historia ya Mkombozi, op.cit.*

suitable for the current, internal and global political and socio-economic contexts. There is no doubt that the third phase of the nation-building process requires a clear ideological and philosophical perspective that can guide the building of a true democratic society based on self-reliant and people-centred socio-economic development.

5. Conclusion

This paper has analyzed struggles for a third phase of nation-building in Africa, with Tanzania as a case study. The concept of renaissance has been taken and used as the theoretical perspective for explaining the nature of such struggles. In essence, the African Renaissance entails change from an old political and socio-economic system to a new one.

Historical Association of Tanzania

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Abstract

This is a description of activities of the Historical Association of Tanzania, which was founded in 1966 at the University College, Dar es Salaam. It is divided into six sections. Section One dwells on how higher education institutions around the world enabled their history departments to form historical associations that connected them with the masses of people in the respective countries. Section Two describes the most successful beginnings for the Historical Association in Tanzania marked by, among other things, setting up of an Executive Committee elected through meetings of representatives of history teachers from various regions in the country; production of reading materials for schools; and holding of annual conferences that resulted in publication of books based on papers presented during the conferences. The third section gives a picture of decline in the years from the late 1970s, as manifested in the ceasing of production of paper series, irregularity of meetings and a major drawback in publication of books. Section Four discusses some aspects of revival as witnessed in the period from 1983 to 1986, including the resumption of the annual conferences that had stopped for a number of years. The fifth section looks at the period from 1998 to 2001, during which an aspiration for growth was signaled although no practical outcomes were registered. Despite the registration of HAT as an NGO in 1999 the state of 'dementia' continued till 2015, when the Department of History at the University of Dar es Salaam started taking promising measures that were still continuing at the time of writing of this article.

1. Introduction

Academic discipline associations are common in many countries where a system of formal education exists. In African countries the history of such associations is more recent because political liberation is also a recent achievement. One interesting phenomenon noted in many African countries is the urgency put on the formation of historical associations almost as soon as there were professional historians at the university level. Two important reasons can be given for this urgent recognition of the importance of history in new nations. First, the role played by “nationalist historiography” worldwide in rejecting distortions created by colonial historiography which claimed that history in Africa began with the arrival of Europeans on the continent. But secondly there was recognition of the prime role played by African societies in the preservation of their historical traditions.

Thus, as soon as the Department of History was established at the University College, Dar es Salaam in 1964 the young department

quickly found ways of popularizing historical studies in the new nation, whose independence was won in 1961. It was not until 1966 (two years after its establishment) that the Department of History was able to form the Historical Association of Tanzania so that it could play this role. The Association had the following main objectives:

- To promote and encourage interests in history in Tanzania;
- To assist in the teaching of the history of Tanzania;
- To issue bibliographies, information sheets, pamphlets, occasional papers, or other materials of general history interest or of particular relevance to historical teaching and research;
- To provide a clearing-house for ideas and a forum for discussion of the history of Tanzania;
- To encourage historical writing in Tanzania;

- To hold general and regional meetings, and to encourage the formation of local branches; and
- To do such other things as may be necessary to achieve these objectives.²¹¹

2. The Formative Period

The formative period is divided into two phases, namely 1966 to 1973 and 1973 to 1977. One impressive thing in the first phase of the formative period (1966–1973) is how swiftly the Department was able to set up machinery for implementation of the constitution. Through cooperation with the Ministry of Education and the Institute of Education, it was possible to establish the central organization by holding meetings of representatives of history teachers from the regions together with those from Dar es Salaam and the Department of History itself. The central machinery consisted of members of a small Executive Committee, including a Chairman (later President), Secretary,

²¹¹ Copy in Historical Association file in the Department of History.

Publications Secretary, Treasurer and at least three members representing the regions.

The existence of the Executive Committee enabled the implementation of programs, which quickly publicized the Association and raised historical interests in different parts of the country. From 1966 to 1973, reading materials were made available to schools and various interested people. The most attractive production of the Historical Association was called Paper Series. During this formative period, more than ten pamphlets were published through the East African Publishing House in Nairobi and distributed by the Association with the help of the Institute of Education and the Ministry of Education. The Association introduced itself in the pamphlets (back page) in the following statement: “The objectives of the Historical Association of Tanzania are to encourage the study, writing, and teaching of

history throughout the United Republic [of Tanzania].”²¹² The list of the pamphlets which were published is given at the end of this paper.

The second stimulating machinery was that of the annual conferences. In the formative period, it was possible, through the three cooperating institutions (Ministry of Education, Institute of Education, and Department of History), to organize annual HAT conferences, and at least every second conference would discuss papers covering an important theme aimed at contributing teaching materials. The proceedings of such conferences were edited and published as books written in simple language so as to support teaching and learning in secondary schools and teacher training colleges. At least three such books had been produced by the end of the 1960s: *Aspects of Central African History*, edited by Terence O. Ranger, 1966; *Tanzania before 1900*, edited by Andrew Roberts, 1966; and *A History of Tanzania*, edited by

²¹² Back page of the Historical Association of Tanzania Paper No. 9, *Mbiru: Popular Protest in Colonial Tanzania*, 1971.

Isaria Kimambo and Arnold Temu, 1969. These texts became useful to both schools and the Department because the latter was training historians to teach in the former.

When combined with the paper series, publication of these books contributed greatly to the promotion of interest in the subject. The involvement of students in research increased the inspiration because the students went out both as teachers and as promoters of historical studies. One of the Department's research projects was on the Maji Maji War. At least two pamphlets were produced on this topic, one in English: *Records of the Maji Maji Rising, Part I*, HAT Paper No. 4, edited by G. C. K. Gwassa and John Iliffe, 1968. The second was the translation of this pamphlet into Kiswahili, a call coming from the expanding membership from primary school teachers and interested leaders from the rural areas. The only other pamphlet translated was that of *Ali Migeyo* mentioned below, but, generally, the Swahili series did not succeed because of lack of personnel to handle it. Students'

participation in the history research projects raised their ability to do research and write the results. Some of them did so well that the Department decided to publish the results under their names. At least two such papers are known to have been published; Mapunda and Mpangala, *Maji Maji in Ungoni* and G. R. Mutahaba, *Portrait of a Nationalist: The Life of Ali Migeyo*.

The outcome of all these activities was interest in establishing local branches. The main initiative came from the regions initiated by some enthusiastic history teachers. The pressure on the Department was enormous. The organizers in the regions needed the central organ to assist in suggesting suitable themes as well as providing speakers. These tasks had to be performed by the Department's teaching members. Very soon there were calls for week-end schools taught by members of the Department in the established regional branches as well as in the numerous history clubs, which had been established in secondary schools. The cost of sending these speakers was borne by the Institute of Education.

This initial success should also be attributed to the dedicated services of the HAT Secretary during this formative period: Dr. Israel K. Katoke, who kept very close contact with each local branch. Some of the branch files still survive in the Department of History. Those seen are connected with seven branches established as follows: Mwanza Branch, established in February 1968; West Lake Branch, also established in 1968; Dar es Salaam Branch, established in 1969; Shinyanga Branch, , established in May 1969; Iringa Branch, established in September 1969; University Branch, established in November 1971; and Mara Branch, established in 1971.

These are not all the files, but are examples that indicate that Dr. Katoke corresponded with the leaders of these branches guiding them on how to solve various problems raised by them. Some of the branches were active in doing research on histories of their local communities. Some of them produced writings discussed in their regional conferences. The University Branch produced its

publication called *Kale: The Magazine of the University Branch of the Historical Association of Tanzania*. This publication became a forum for the local research efforts of the branches. The stimulation of such activities, of course, came from the success of the central journal called *Tanzania Zamani*, which has been recognized as an international journal. Dr. Katoke's correspondence with the regional branches ended in 1973 when he left the University of Dar es Salaam so that he could work for UNESCO.

The second phase of the formative period (1973-1977) was still characterized by the activeness of the Association in terms of organizing annual conferences which discussed papers for history books for secondary schools. The central organizing organ during this period was the History Curriculum Development Unit of the Institute of Education. Professor Gaudens P. Mpangala was the Chief Curriculum Developer of History for Secondary Schools from 1973 to 1977 and succeeded in soliciting funds from the

Ministry of Education for the Association's conferences. Indeed, conferences were held every year in order to produce history reference books for secondary schools. At the same time, history textbooks for primary, secondary and teacher training institutions were being written by the History Curriculum Development Panel of the Institute of Education under the chairmanship of the late Prof. Gwassa. The last conference of that kind of panels was held at the Teachers' College in Songea in 1976.

Apart from producing textbooks, the Association continued with its tradition of holding conferences which resulted in the publication of general books. This tradition continued under the able leadership of the Executive Committee. The diligence of the office bearers and of other members of the Committee was described as the prime factor that determined cooperation among the concerned institutions (Ministry, Institute and Department); this cooperation raised the Association's level of efficiency in carrying out its activities. We noted the exemplary work of the

Hon. Secretary, Dr. I. K. Katoke. We should also note the stable position of the Chairman, Mr. E. Mhina (later Ambassador Mhina), who was a respected Headmaster of Minaki Secondary School and a known historian who was involved in writing history textbooks. Throughout the formative period he was an active Chairperson, following up issues for discussion. Thus, there was a stable Executive Committee.

The Chairperson, who had replaced Ambassador Mhina, was Professor A. Temu, who was then the Head of the Department of History. The Secretary was Dr. Martin H. Y. Kaniki, who was considered able to promote the preparation of papers. The representative from the Institute of Education was Gaudence P. Mpangala, who later moved to UDSM's Institute of Development Studies. Using these strong members, the Chairperson of HAT (Prof. Temu) was able to organize three consecutive annual conferences in the tradition already established. The first conference (1974) produced a manuscript for Tanzania under

Colonial Rule published in 1980 under the editorship of Dr. Kaniki. The second conference followed in 1975 and produced papers for Kenya under Colonial Rule and the third in 1976 produced papers for Zanzibar under Colonial Rule. The editing of the manuscripts of 1975 and 1976 was affected by the “dispersal of academics from the University in the late 1970s [that] hindered the preparation of the subsequent volumes.” Zanzibar under Colonial Rule, ix, of 1975 could not be edited and that of 1976 on Zanzibar was completed in 1987; it was edited by Abdu Sheriff and Ed Ferguson. The problem of foreign exchange prevented its immediate publication. But after soliciting a generous grant from the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Development Co-operation *Zanzibar under Colonial Rule* was published in 1991 by James Currey (London); copies of the book were given to members of the Association.

It is, however, important to note that all was not rosy during the formative period. Leadership and/or administrative, policy and

economic problems hampered the smooth running of the Association. The movement of leaders of the Association to other kinds of employment, as explained earlier, caused HAT to be devoid of experienced leadership. The lack of experienced leadership meant that the Executive Committee was manned by young personnel, mostly under training and, therefore, not able to stay in office permanently. There were several changes in the Chair, Secretary and Treasurer because of the movement of the office bearers. Sometimes at prolonged times the Vice-Chairman had also to handle the duties of the Treasurer or the Publications Officer had also to handle the duties of the Treasurer. Before changes were officially made by the Executive Committee, several other changes could take place. Sometimes, an opening might occur and members from schools might apply and move to the Department of History or the Institute of Development Studies, and, at the same time, the newcomers also handled HAT's activities.

The meaning of the movement of the Association's office bearers is that there was little follow up of issues, including HAT's publications. The Executive Committee was able to meet at least once every year, but, in most of these meetings, there were complaints about things which were not going well. All these taken together, made the then Secretary of HAT, B. Omari, report:

It is very difficult to tell why things have collapsed. In many ways problems started since (sic) Dr. Kaniki was Secretary. But during my period as Secretary a number of factors can be mentioned: (1) Lack of continuity within the executive committee, (2) The Association has not been provided with funds, (3) The Department of History should have been more central in making many of the activities of the Association going, (4) Failure to produce our publications has been a major blow to its life, (5) The making of history as an option has also reduced interest in the subject in schools.²¹³

This quotation summarizes well what we have discussed in this section. Perhaps it should be added that the financial crisis also had affected local publishing. The East African Publishing House and similar local firms were no longer available. The Tanzanian

²¹³ Quoted in Isaria N. Kimambo. *Three Decades of Production of Historical Knowledge at Dar es Salaam*, Dar es Salaam: DUP, 1993.

Publishing House, as we shall see later, was unable to deliver what was required for lack of funds. We shall see in the next section how HAT's revival could be possible, despite all these challenges.

But there was a happening which touched almost all members. In 1974 the education policy issued by the Ministry of Education introduced "biases" in secondary schools and made History an "option". When the policy was implemented there was a loud cry on the status of History as a discipline at various levels of education in this country. It was noted that the teaching of History in secondary schools could not be guaranteed beyond Form II. It was also noted that the numbers of those studying History were diminishing at A-level and at the University of Dar es Salaam.

Despite these challenges, it is clear that the formative period was very successful in fulfilling the objectives of the Historical Association of Tanzania. The Department's efforts to popularize the subject in order to initiate historical studies and interest in finding out histories of local communities had materialized. The

existence of young enthusiastic lecturers ready to travel to various parts of the country and the diligence of the Central Secretariat contributed to this success. This makes the formative period markedly different from the succeeding ones.

3. The Period of Decline 1978-1983

The economic crisis in Tanzania beginning the second half of the 1970s is a well-known story. But the ending of the declining cycle for HAT in 1983 may not be easy to explain because this was still in the middle of the national economic crisis. In the next section, we shall demonstrate that, despite many difficulties, it was still possible to revive some of the activities of the Association. In this section, it is important to note that, besides the economic crisis, there were also a number of other academic and administrative problems. For example, from 1978 to 1982, Gaudens Mpangala was the Chairman of the Association, but in 1978 he shifted from the Institute of Education to the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Dar es Salaam; thus, he could no longer solicit

funds from the Ministry. The History curriculum developers who continued in the Institute of Education such as Mrs B. Omary also found it difficult to solicit funds from the Ministry due to policy changes arising out of the economic crisis. Therefore, too much dependency on funds from the Ministry of Education through the History Curriculum Unit, Institute of Education, was one of the major factors for the decline of the Association's activities. This decline phase continued until 1983 when efforts to revive the Association began.

4. The Period of Revival 1983-1986

The level of the Association's decline was summarized in 1983 in two terms: the Association was holding its meetings for the first time since 1978. This means that the central organization was inactive all this time. Second, of the regional branches and history clubs that had been organized in the whole country, only the Kilimanjaro Branch and the History club at Mzumbe survived. The 1983 conference was convinced that there was need "for

reappraisal of our commitment to the development of the discipline.’²¹⁴

The 1983 conference was crucial: it was attended by 46 participants representing history departments of many active secondary schools. Many of these were those which had active regional branches before. Centrally, there were new representatives: S. C. Nguni from Minaki Secondary School, G. M. P. Michongwe from Kileruu Teacher’s College and N. Z. Reuben from Dar es Salaam. Perhaps, the other change was that of electing Prof. Isaria N. Kimambo as Chairman, who had been outside the Department for 12 years and who had retired from the University administration as Chief Academic Officer the previous year.

The cries voiced in 1983 about the education policy had an impact on HAT and the teaching of History in the country. The guest of

²¹⁴ Conference Paper Report of 1983, Department of History.

honor at the 1985 conference was the Commissioner for National Education. Before him, the Chairman expressed gratitude:

Thanks to (sic) deliberate action of (sic) Ministry, the teaching of the subject has received a new encouragement. Our efforts to revive the Association have also received great support from the Ministry of Education, the Ministry responsible for Culture, the Institute of Education and the Institute of Adult Education.²¹⁵

The revival effort reported in 1985 produced some encouraging results. There was then an active central Executive Committee with regional branches of the Association in Dar es Salaam, Coast, Iringa, Mwanza, Mara and Kilimanjaro. The Iringa branch had even pioneered the formation of district branches; the first one was opened in Njombe a few months before the conference. Institutional branches existed at the University of Dar es Salaam, Mzumbe Secondary School (Morogoro), Kilakala Secondary

²¹⁵ Conference Report of 1985, Department of History.

School (Morogoro), Songea Secondary School (Ruvuma) and Korogwe Teachers' College (Tanga).

The main stimulus for this new life came from the Executive Committee and the other institutions mentioned above. During the 1985 conference, the Chairman had to acknowledge the weaknesses then still remaining in the central machinery. "On our part, the responsibility of providing stimulating teaching and learning material has not been as successful as we would have liked it to be. For one thing, publishing has remained a bottle-neck because of the prevailing economic situation."²¹⁶ But there was still hope that in collaborating with the Institute of Education and the Tanzania Publishing House (TPH) some of the pending manuscripts would be published. There was mention of the two volumes on "Aspects of the Economic History of Tanzania" which were then with the TPH for publication. There was also mention of three pamphlets (not specified) ready for printing.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

The HAT journal, *Tanzania Zamani*, had also not been published and the decision was to produce an enlarged issue in a mimeographed form during the conference “so that members can get advantage of new ideas rather than waiting for a long time for printing possibilities.” Other works which were awaiting publication were *Kenya under Colonial Rule* and *Philosophies and Methodology of History*. It is quite clear that an active central organization can make a big difference. There were other activities that could also be revived so as to ensure that knowledge and training capability available in the Department of History could be harnessed to respond to new interests raised in the regions despite lack of teaching materials. They included Weekend schools, talks in regional conferences and in school clubs.

5. Aspiration for Growth 1998-2001

Members of the Association had come out of the 1985 conference with raised hopes for the enhanced development of their organization. It was hoped educationists would bear in mind the

stressed role of history in molding society. At the HAT conference of 1984, the Minister for Labour and Manpower Development, Daudi Mwakawago, had made an encouraging statement as Guest of Honor. He said: “History is to the social sciences what Mathematics is to the natural sciences.”²¹⁷

In 1986, the Patron of the Association, Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, who had been Patron since its formation and who had just retired from the Presidency of the United Republic, attended the conference of the Association as Guest of Honor and reiterated the statement made by the Hon. Mwakawago. This attendance by the Patron was different from the previous ones because he could spend more time with members of the Association. After his speech he moved round, talking with individual members and listening to their problems. He was happy to hear that the Association had become alive again. In the previous years, HAT had less opportunity to talk to the Patron

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

because, as President, he had many more pressing national issues to handle. But at least annually, when there were new publications, it was possible for HAT leaders to visit their Patron and give him copies of the new publications and, at the same time, brief him about the status of the Association. Of course, it was difficult to make such visits without being productive. The Patron's attendance of the HAT conference in 1986 was an encouraging happening which made the organization to continue to find ways of solving the existing challenges.

The hopeful mood continued until the mid-1990s. Mr. Laurenti Sago from the Institute of Education who was elected Secretary in 1986 described how the Association continued to be active. The regional branches continued to challenge the centre for active support of their activities. In relation to this, there was an enhanced possibility in the Institute of Education because there was a Director who wanted to promote "subject associations". So, it was possible to support a conference every two years and

support members of the Department of History who were invited to participate in activities organized in the regions.²¹⁸

The publication problem had not yet been solved. In fact, the manuscripts of the two volumes of *Aspects of Economic History of Tanzania* were nowhere to be seen. Worse still, both *Kenya under Colonial Rule* and *Philosophies and Methodologies of History* were no longer expected to come out. The conferences of the 1980s had at least produced a manuscript on the history of Southern Africa. The Executive Committee struggled and eventually produced a textbook entitled *Landmarks in Southern African History*, edited by Josiah R. Mlahagwa et al., 1989. But these efforts were still not enough to satisfy the enthusiastic members. This aspect frustrated the active branches in the regions. They saw the central machinery as an area blocking their progress. There were attempts to want to register their branches. They discovered that it was not possible. The Historical Association had

²¹⁸ Interview with Mr. Laurenti M. Sago in the Department of History, 16/03/2009.

not been registered with the Ministry of Home Affairs; instead, it had been registered with the Office of the Commissioner for Education. It was learned that the Mathematics Association had already been registered as an independent NGO with the Ministry of Home Affairs. So, in order to solve the problem of lack of funds, the Historical Association of Tanzania also decided to meet this requirement and in 1999 the Association was registered with the Ministry of Home Affairs. It was hoped that this new move would further strengthen the revival mood in the Association. The NGO could seek additional support from private corporations and parastatals to supplement what the traditional channels could give. Second, enterprising regional branches could use the registration of the Association to raise funds locally.

When funds were obtained for an international conference in 2001, organized by the Association, it was considered an opportune time to reach the level of growth anticipated by the branches enabled by vigourized central organization. Both the

Chairman and the Hon. Secretary had reached their retirement period, and so a new Executive Committee was elected. An interview with the current President of the Association by this writer indicated that the organization was unfortunately at another stage of inactivity.²¹⁹

6. The Second Period of Decline 2001-2014

During this phase the Association remained dormant, despite some efforts to revive it. Following the election of office bearers by the HAT conference of 2001, the Executive Committee tried to implement two programs aimed at reviving HAT's activities. The first was to revive the branches and the second was to produce pamphlets. In the first, at least a trip was made to Songea, financed by the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. In Songea, HAT members raised the question of the Maji Maji centenary, but because of lack of funds the matter was taken over by the Department of History. In relation to the second matter, a

²¹⁹ Interview with the late Prof. Kapepwa I. Tambila, HAT President, in the Department of History on 16/03/2009.

number of topics suggested by members were worked on and materials on them produced in the form of pamphlets. But because of the constant movement of the Hon. Secretary there is no clear picture of what happened to them. Since then, a number of issues have remained unsolved: registration of the Association has not been renewed for a number of years; there are problems with HAT accounts; and conferences have not been held. Unfortunately; we have lost the President of the Association. One would have liked to learn what brought HAT's activities to such a sad collapse. What happened to its accounts?

7. The Second Revival Phase 2014 to Present

Since 2014, there have been a number of activities aimed at reviving the Association. From 2015 to 2017 HAT, annual conferences were held at the University of Dar es Salaam. During the conferences, HAT members, who came from various secondary schools and universities, presented papers that have been published in the journal, *Tanzania Zamani*. Members also

discussed different strategies of reviving the Association. As a result of these conferences, HAT has its interim leadership, revived its registration as an NGO and has a constitution.

6. Conclusion

This paper has sketched the history of an important Association connecting an academic discipline with the aspirations of the masses. At times the activities undertaken by the Association demonstrated encouraging achievements as academic extension services. But at other times they signified gross irresponsibility on the part of the Department of History and the Association at large. Unfortunately, the Association's constitution had not committed the responsible Department to the duty of ensuring the success of such extension programs. The Hon. Secretary said during the 1983 conference that "the Department of History should have been more central in making many of the activities of the Association going." However, the intention of reviving the Historical Association of Tanzania now, in a context of an enlarged

population of professional historians, and perhaps as many as 40 departments of history in the country, has brighter chances of success. The new context may bring forward many more committed members of academic staff, plus a control system which may not allow the kind of collapse the organization experienced in the past.

Book Review

Lawrence E. Y. Mbogoni. *Aspects of Colonial Tanzania History*. Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2013. Pp. v + 211, paperback, ISBN: 9789987083008

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Since the inception of the Historical Association of Tanzania (HAT) in the late 1960s, a significant body of historical literature on Tanzania has been produced. An overview of the produced knowledge reveals that there has been an accentuation temporally on the pre-colonial and post-colonial periods, and thematically on political, economic and social structures. A defining characteristic of almost all the literature published in that period is its theoretical and methodological subscription to grand narratives, particularly the nationalist and materialist narratives. Before its stasis in 2000, HAT had produced three big monographs, namely *A History of Tanzania* (1969), *Tanzania under Colonial Rule* (1981) and *Zanzibar under Colonial Rule* (1991). Its members had also published many individual works in the form of articles,

book chapters and books. Invariably, the works focused on specific themes and areas. John Iliffe's *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (1979), which followed the approach of P. H. Clarke's *A Short History of Tanganyika: Mainland of Tanzania* (1966), is the only individual publication to have transcended the conspicuously thematic and areal limitations of the ranks and file of HAT. Iliffe's work explored in detail the pre-colonial and colonial aspects, largely covering the whole of Mainland Tanzania.

In his publication, *Aspects of Colonial Tanzania History*, Lawrence Mbogoni breaks the tradition of HAT and non-HAT historians in several ways. Mbogoni presents a fairly balanced historical knowledge that covers many areas of Tanzania and several subjects. Temporally, as the book title suggests, he discusses a number of themes on colonial Tanzania. Spatially, he covers the two parts of Tanzania – Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar – an endeavour not achieved in many monographs. The

other way which distinguishes this publication from others on Tanzania's past is its fusion of novel, or rather under-researched, themes with a few popular themes. This fusion makes the book take the shape of an anthology; in his own words, the book is a "collection of essays examin[ing] the impact of colonialism and colonial rule upon the lives and experiences" of the colonial agents and subjects. Each essay carries a single sub-theme and a chapter. The sub-themes are categorized into four broader themes which form the four main parts of the book. The parts are: Economy and Politics in Tanganyika; Film Production and Radio Broadcasting; Affairs of the Heart in Colonial Zanzibar; and Slavery and Politics in Colonial Zanzibar.

Mbogoni uses Chapter 1, "On Colonialism as a 'Civilizing Mission'", to contextualize the issues that he examines in the other ten chapters. He offers readers a succinct critique of colonial rhetoric of civilization by juxtaposing it with colonial realities. The rest of the book is, therefore, an examination of how

the civilizing mission was imposed on the colonial subjects, how it changed the colonial subjects and agents, the media it used and how it generally shaped the colonial world. But this is nothing new in the colonial theory as many studies have questioned “the narrative of progress” and denied “passive backwardness of subjects” not only in Tanzania, but also in the rest of Global South (cf. Frederick Cooper 2005). What is new, and perhaps innovative, in Mbogoni’s book is that his accounts put into a wider perspective the actions and activities of individual colonial subjects such as Chief Makongoro of Ikizu (Chapter 4) and Oldus Elishira (Chapter 5) as well as those of such colonial agents as George Gilman Rushby (Chapter 3) and Dr. Henry Watkins-Pitchford (Chapter 8). The implicit argument that Mbogoni is making is that the colonial states in Zanzibar and Tanganyika attempted to control both the colonial subjects and agents, but with differential treatment which had certain implications for the colonial mission. However, the control had fundamental contradictions which can best be comprehended by examining

single cases and events involving people who appropriated and resisted the “civilized life”. This means that Mbogoni challenges historians to transcend the old historical approach that tends to explain colonialism through bigger social categories such as nation, town, ethnic group or “great” men such as Mkwawa, Nyerere and Mirambo for smaller social categories and common people like Oldus Elishira. Mbogoni’s approach calls for new ways of researching and teaching history in Tanzania.

The second aspect that makes Mbogoni’s book important is its two chapters on the introduction into Tanzania of film and radio technologies as communication tools. Histories of film and radio are scanty in the colonial world. Hence, their incorporation not only diversifies the book’s contents, but also broadens the research interests which Tanzanian historians and students can explore or pursue. Films were introduced into Tanzania in the 1920s and 1930s for circulating “European-conceived ideas and values to the colonized” Tanzanians (p. 83). Thus, it was not

accidental that most of the films were health- and agriculture-related for checking diseases in “modern” ways and improving crop yields for export purposes. The coming of radio broadcasting in 1951 was perhaps more transformative than film in the spread of the “colonial propaganda” of modernising Africa, because it reached many people in the rural and urban areas (p.115). Film and radio were more effective in moulding colonial cultures than were schools. Mbogoni describes how they also helped in studying the colonial subjects; how they added arrogance to the colonial agents over their subjects; and how the colonial officials in London and Tanzania argued over their usage.

In the last two chapters, Mbogoni revisits the contested issues of slavery and revolution in Zanzibar. The chapters are more of a critical review of the existing published literature than a “product” of original research. With the exception of those last chapters, the remaining eight chapters have been written using materials gathered through meticulous and original research as

well as through re-interpretation of materials from secondary sources. The book contains abundant information from primary sources, particularly from the British National Archives (PRO), the Tanzania National Archives (TNA), parliamentary records and from newspapers such as the *Tanganyika Standard*. Secondary sources are used to contextualize the information drawn from primary sources and enhance interpretation. The author has not employed any illustrations in the book, except for the illustration on the cover page. However, this limitation is compensated for through the use of pellucid and perspicuous language. This makes the book not only a useful text to university students and researchers but also readable and enjoyable to the general public.