

Ujamaa Experiment: Lessons for Nigeria

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Abstract

This work titled, “Ujamaa Experiment: Lessons for Nigeria”, is a survey of Nyerere's philosophy of Ujamaa in an attempt to sieve out positive points that should guide future development schemes in Nigeria. Ujamaa was a political philosophy that emphasized African identity and distinctiveness in meeting the development demands of post-independence Africa. The central objective of Ujamaa was to deliver to the people of Tanzania and Africa a blueprint for political and economic contentment through a vigorous pursuit of self-reliance. Although, several weaknesses beset Ujamaa during implementation, this work affirms that, Ujamaa still holds great lessons in strategizing for development in Nigeria and Africa as a whole; and if these lessons are properly harnessed, it will go a long way in helping Nigeria come out of her development challenges. The specific aspects of his philosophy that have been interrogated in this piece of work include education for liberation, self-reliance, communalism and respect for human dignity. In essence, the data used in the study were generated from existing documents. The methods of textual analysis, criticism and argumentation were thereafter applied in exploring Nyerere's Ujamaa, development in Nigeria and the way forward. At the end, the work recommended among other things, that Nigeria must be ideologically focused; consistency in social, political and economic programmes is required for stability. And Failing forward as a pattern of mastering and learning from failure should be adopted if Nigeria must develop.

Keywords: Ujamaa, Socialism, Politics, Nigeria, Development

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Background to the Study

The question of political development in Nigeria is not only recurrent; it is extensive and pervasive. The pace of development in the country has since become a major source of concern to many. Given the enormous human and natural resources that providence has favoured Nigeria with, the question why Nigeria is developing at snail pace becomes even more worrisome and indefensible. Nigeria has been described variously by scholars as a backward country and a confluence of political challenges. This has made Nigerian development an unavoidable question so much so that any useful discourse about Nigeria in recent times must bother around the question of Nigeria development.

Sequentially, a plethora of literature has already been devoted to this topical issue, but these have yielded little or no significant result. African political development still cries out to scholars for extensive investigation. The reason for which, we are devoting this piece of investigation to add credence to the issue. It has been argued that the central problem in the quest for African development has been that of conception of the nature and purpose of development as well as theories and strategy for attaining them. Thus, at the dawn of the 1990s social scientist studying African development announced a paradigm crisis and embarked on a search of a new paradigm (ISENPAD 3). In advancing this search, a number of new homegrown development strategies emerged. Most of which turned out to be mere recycling of the old strategies as it was evident later. The question of African political development has become a puzzle. Many seem to ask whether, it is in the very nature of African countries that development will continue to elude her in spite of concerted effort.

The past is very important in the presents study for good reasons; as Rooney pointed succinctly, 'it would be impossible to understand how the present came into being and what the trends are for the near future' (7). In other words, the scientific method of cause and effect entails the careful study of African past to understand the present state of Africa as well as help out in determining what the future holds. It is not out of place therefore, to see the present African maladies as symptoms which have their foundation back in history.

The last six centuries have recorded various degrees of tragedies that have hindered progress and development in the continent such that has not been seen elsewhere. The space between 15th and 19th century saw the trading out of Africans as slave to Europe and America. This exodus cost Africa numerous lives, most of whom were at their prime. The slave trade era left behind a trail of generational gap, psychological distortion and a deep sense of inferiority complex. Sequel to this was the era of colonialism, covering 19th and late 20th century. African states were partitioned among the western powers and governed as satellite of their metropolis. Like the slave trade era that sapped Africa of man power and raw materials, colonialism was a continuation of European parasitism in and another dimension. By the end of the colonial era in 1960s, when most Africa countries had gained political independence, the continent had lost her identity, culture and sense of direction for any meaningful development.

For over half a century after political independence Africa is yet to recover from Atlantic slave trade and colonial ravage. Like an abnormal baby, Africa is still a baby continent, un-weaned from her mother countries. Our concern here is not to look at the West as the cause of African

political backwardness. Rather, we are focusing on the present state of Africa as a child that needs to outgrow infancy. The notion of African socialism emerged in the 1950s at the time when African countries were preparing for independence from colonial rule. The common problem confronting the political elites was how to harness and mobilize the values and the people for the needed development. It was within this political aura that African socialism emerged as a road map to the political promise land (Alofun 2014). Among the prominent African advocates of African socialism were: Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Leopold Senghor of Senegal, Kwameh Nkrumah of Ghana, Nnamdi Azikiwe and Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria and Sekou Toure of Guinea. Our choice of Nyerere's Ujamaa for deeper appraisal is informed by its prominence and deep commitment in knitting African traditional political thought with the colonial experience to bring about development.

By the use of the word Ujamaa, Nyerere and his party think-tank, stated that for them socialism involves building on the foundation of African past, and building also to their design. The following excerpt captures Ujamaa socialist blue print:

We state that for us socialism involves building on the foundation of our past, and building to our design. We are not importing a foreign ideology into Tanzania and trying to smother our distinct social patterns with it. We have deliberately decided to grow, as a society, out of our own root, but in a particular direction and towards a particular objective. We are doing this by emphasizing certain characteristics of our traditional organization, and extending them so that they can embrace the possibility of modern technology and enable us to meet the challenges of life in the twentieth century world” (Nyerere 1976).

With emphasis on humanism, equality and democracy, the Ujamaa experiment was to take African socialism beyond rhetoric. Implementation was a challenge. But whatever his policy error, Nyerere made original contribution to progressive dialectic with his idea of Ujamaa. Rural development, self-reliance, non-exploitative development, human integrity, education as well as equitable economic production and distribution were the selling points of Ujamaa. This work looks at Ujamaa as a plausible philosophy for political development. In doing so, we are going to highlight the root causes of the policy setbacks and point how to get it right in Nigeria sieving from Ujamaa experiment.

Ujamaa's Central Assumptions and Strategic Plan

The main argument in the Ujamaa pamphlet is that capitalism is an economic system that is alien to indigenous Africans, because it emanated from the Western history. It also argued against socialists thought system like Marxism, which evolve in Europe through social and economic analysis. Nyerere believes they contain elements that are alien to indigenous Africans, making them not suitable in African context. The best way to construct an economic system that will fit Africans, the Ujamaa pamphlet asserts, is to deduce it from African values that survived the colonial period. The values of Africa that Ujamaa perceived and feel an economic system can be built on include:

1. Respect: Nyerere claims that in Africa all individuals are respected, for they all play different roles in the society. Due to this respect, all are cared for. In the document, Nyerere claimed that:

[An] African... does not look at one class of men as his brethren and another as his natural enemy, [that] he does not form an alliance with the 'brethren' for the extermination of the 'no brethren' [and that] an African regards all men as his brethren – as members of his extended family” (Nyerere, 1977, 1112).

This means that Nyerere believes that people in Tanzania and Africa at large respect and care for one another.
2. Common ownership of basic goods of the community: It was believed that basic goods like food, shelter, land etc were held in common and assigned to members of the communities as need arise.
3. Classless: In the Pamphlet Ujamaa argues vehemently that traditional African societies were classless. For him, classes only existed in those societies that had experienced agricultural and industrial revolution that divide people into classes. African had not gone through that and thus was classless. African traditional society had not had “the benefit of the agrarian revolution or the industrial revolution” (Nyerere 1977, p.11).
4. Work: Nyerere believes that laziness and idleness are alien to African societies for everybody is expected to engage in one kind of work or the other. For him, “in traditional Africa everybody was a worker” (Nyerere 1997, p.4). In traditional African society, “every member of society – barring only the children and the infirm – contributed his fair share of effort towards the production of its wealth” (Nyerere 1977, p.5). In these societies, there were no “[loiters], or [idlers] who accept the hospitality of society as [their] 'right' but gives nothing in return”. Against this background Nyerere asserted that in traditional society, “loitering was an unthinkable disgrace” (Nyerere 1997, 5).
5. Wealth was shared: Wealth according to Nyerere was shared to all in traditional African societies. In those societies he claims, no one gathers wealth for the sake of power and influence, rather one's wealth is wealth of all. The member of the society according to Nyerere were rich or poor depending on whether the whole community was rich or poor (Nyerere 1977, 9). This means the riches of an individual is dependent on the riches of the community and the poverty of an individual is dependent on the poverty of the community.

Holding these values in mind, Ujamaa sought to build a modern socialist state that is in tune with African realities. This modern state though was expected to incorporate the positive values of Africa, it was also expected to correct some of the weaknesses of traditional African life like: inequality between men and women and low production. Other problems perceived by Nyerere were that local farmers as a result of colonial trade policy were engaging more in cash crop than food crops. Cash crops he argues reduces the need for cooperation between farmers; it breeds individualistic farming as it connects farmer more to the national and international market than with fellow farmers. This means the farmers according to Nyerere were working more individually than they used to do in traditional periods of food crops

production. These problems he believe made Tanzanian farmers vulnerable to international importers who control prices and also made them incapable of feeding the nation. Other problems noticed by Nyerere was that Tanzania was gradually moving into a feudal, pre-capitalist society which prevents all Tanzania from sharing the wealth of the nation. One particular trend he noticed was that big farmers were investing in cultivation of more acres of land, which means they were employing other farmers who work for them without sharing in their profit or being properly employed.

This for Nyerere was against socialism. Besides he observed that this large scale farmers were accumulating lands which he believes could lead to a feudal system in the future, where the resources of the nation will be controlled by a few. This sort of economic growth that is not followed by fair distribution of economic resources, for Nyerere was not in tune with African values. In spite of these negative observations, Nyerere believes that there were positive trends that needed to be looked into and developed by the state. One of such was that cooperatives were being formed by farmers to assist members and needed help to enhance their managerial skills and also to direct them towards socialism. This is because; according to him cooperatives alone do not lead to socialism, for even capitalists could form cooperatives. Organization of these cooperatives was necessary to ensure the enthronement of socialist principles and values. This reasoning leads to the idea of Ujamaa villages. The policy guidelines for Ujamaa villages could be summarized as follows:

1. Establishing village-based cooperatives. In this cooperative all working members of the villages are expected to be members. The cooperative will be responsible for managing the village farms and other basic needs like water, public education, sanitation, health etc.
2. Division of labour is to be encouraged. Nyerere believes that in this system, democratic structural arrangement of labour should be encouraged, with women as equal partners. He states that these Ujamaa villages are to proceed through promotion and incentives and not through force and coercion. Distribution of wealth in these villages should be fair, simple and based on contribution and real needs. Reinvestment of portion of the village wealth into educational, health and other services that will benefit the community was to be highly encouraged.
3. Dependence on traditional technologies. Nyerere noticed that Tanzania was poor and would not be able to afford heavy machineries at that time for production. Thus, he encouraged Ujamaa villages to depend on hard work and traditional technologies for farming, until they are able to afford heavy machineries.
4. The scheme to start with already-existing villages. Nyerere believes that the villagization scheme would start with already existing communities of kinship and from there resettle other rural populations in Tanzania.
5. Private farms were to continue. Nyerere feels there was no real need to discourage or stop private farming, as long as those farmers operate it themselves and do not involve wage workers. He felt the move to community farming would be a gradual process.
6. Rural industries should be gradually encouraged. When population, communal activities and production increase, industries development should be encouraged in villages. The state would support this drive technically.

7. The state shall be the main coordinator of these village communities. The responsibility of coordinating Ujamaa villages and urban areas was to be on the state and also representative of international community who wish to engage in trade. The government would support and assist Ujamaa village workers when needs arise. Among others, the government shall concentrate in provision of leadership and education to the villages.

The Ujamaa pamphlet held the rural sector as very important and had its focus primarily on this sector. Nyerere made it clear that investment in this area has to take priority over development and industrialization plans in the urban sector. The aim was to strengthen and enhance agriculture which was the primary source of funds of the country, because over 90% of Tanzanians depended on agriculture. This is perhaps why strengthening the agricultural sector was a top priority for Ujamaa. The pamphlet stated that heavy industrialization had to wait for agricultural development, because technical and capital knowledge was not yet enough amongst Tanzanians.

Relevance of Ujamaa Principles

Ujamaa may not have delivered the expected dividends to Tanzania, this does not mean it totally failed. There are the good sides of Ujamaa that could be sieved out and applied to boost the development of Nigeria nation. This aims at pointing out what aspect of Ujamaa are desperately needed in Nigeria and the effects there will have on the Nigerian economy. However, before this is done, the sides of Ujamaa that should be avoided (that led to its failure) are presented below

Weaknesses of Ujamaa

Many factors contributed to the demise of Ujamaa scheme in Tanzania and thus any attempt to reinvent Ujamaa in whatever form must avoid them. The major factors that militated against Ujamaa include:

1. Poor implementation. The Ujamaa scheme as captured by Freyhold (1979, 75) at its inception was received by Tanzania with a lot of enthusiasm. Promised state aid made the peasants embraced it almost in its entirety. However, these high expectations did not materialize as government officials failed to provide the special needs and priorities of the peasants. They rather dictated for the peasants what should be their needs and priorities. This gave a knock to the promised democratic nature of Ujamaa – the needs of the majority did not count as it should in a democracy. As reported by Freyhold, government officials determined for the people and exercised their powers often to intimidating levels. Due to the frustration and disappointment experienced by the peasants, individualism could not be halted as was intended by Ujamaa scheme. For as explained by Freyhold

Where communal progress was blocked, individualistic leanings easily came to the fore thus eroding the unity of the village from within... Material progress was once more associated with individualism, whereas Ujamaa was linked to the self-contained sharing of poverty without all those modern things which everybody wanted. Villagers were losing their faith in the potential of producer cooperatives when they found that they made no technical progress (Freyhold 1979, 76).

This is a problem that affected the effectiveness of the Ujamaa scheme; unfortunately this problem is still very evident in contemporary Nigeria. The real needs of the masses are not attended to. The government and its officials dictate for the people what they need and provide it, without ensuring that the real needs of the people are sought and catered for. The government of Nigeria does what it likes without adequate recourse to the actual yearnings and aspirations of the populace. This makes the government to alienate itself from the people, leading to the various agitations that have been witnessed in Nigeria. Nigeria, has witnessed many agitations against the government, showing dissatisfaction with the government activities. She has had agitations from groups like Boko Haram, Niger Delta Militants, Movement for the Actualization of the sovereign State of Biafra. These groups are not happy with the Nigerian government for not paying adequate attention to their plights and not making right efforts to alleviate their sufferings. This sort of rebellion is what led to the demise of Ujamaa. It is also hindering the real progress of present government schemes. No matter how fantastic a scheme may be, if it fails to be democratic in sharing and meeting of needs of the people, it will crumble like Ujamaa did. Nigeria governments in order to ensure that their schemes do not fail like Ujamaa, should endeavour to reach out and supply the actual needs of the people.

2. Poor planning. Most socialist's attempt in other countries like USSR and China came to practical life after many years of theorizing about it. These many years of theorizing aids in imbuing the spirit of socialism in the citizens. In the case of Ujamaa, the scheme was put to practice almost immediately it was developed by Nyerere without enough time for theorization and planning. Thus, the peasants were not very familiar with most of the principles of Ujamaa. They were not familiar for instance with modern collective production and collective decision-making as was demanded by Ujamaa. The government officials did not make much attempts to train the peasants on this or practiced these principles themselves. Freyhold captures this sentiment well, when he asserts: "Most of the village members were not used to any conscious planning and had no idea of how their private experiences on their small farms could be of any use to a larger enterprise. Nor were they used to depersonalized discussions on farm management problems." (Freyhold 1979, 84).

It was also observed that the government officials and even party members were not in tune with Ujamaa principles. Shivji summarizes the same observation by saying that, "it is revealing of Nyerere's political style and practice that there was no one in his party or the state to defend his ideology." (2012a, 112). This is a failure of Nyerere as he did not count it worthy to train his leading officials to fully understand Ujamaa as "an attitude of mind," (1968, 1). This training was very important, at least for the members of the management team, who will instill it in others. On the technical side of management, "yields per hectare were lower [in communal farming land] than in private farming in almost every village because the villagers were encouraged by official policies to aim at maximum number of hectares rather than maximum yields." (Freyhold 1979, 91). This shows that Ujamaa was not ready for implementation, as necessary plans and procedures were not put in place. They were no adequate research programmes to boost crop yield, not enough agricultural tools and equipment, and also there was paucity of skills in commercial farming. This is a pointer to other government, to ensure that there is enough planning and educating of the people about a

scheme before implementation. Had Nyerere taken enough time to plan and educate his officials well about his Ujamaa scheme, it would have perhaps fared better. The importance of training and awareness, to the success of a scheme that involves the cooperation of others cannot be wished away. In today Africa, this problem that contributed to the demise of Ujamaa still rears its head. Most ruling parties do not have time to train its members on the objectives and goals of the party. Most Nigerian politicians belonging to political parties for instance, do not know exactly the ideals pursued by their parties. If the scheme of a political party is not well known by its officials, it is more than likely that the party would not succeed in implementing its schemes. It is thus, very important for parties to have constant training and retraining of its members, who should train the populace about the ideals, goals and programmes of the party. Failure to do this, would lead the scheme to its grave as experienced by Nyerere's Ujamaa.

3. Wrong assumptions about traditional African life. Nyerere had an unrealistic image of traditional rural Africa and went ahead to build Ujamaa on this wrong image. Nyerere saw traditional African societies to be classless, and thus devoid of class conflict that is the character of modern societies. Most scholars believe that Nyerere's refusal to accept this reality caused the failure of Ujamaa. Traditional African societies were communal in nature but could not be rightly termed socialist. For in this communalist society, there were noticeable class differences. Somewhere given preferential treatment based on their classes, while some were scorned. For instance, the chiefs were not considered to be in the same class with everybody else; also warriors were respected and honoured above others. Titled men and women too were placed in another class. There were thus class differences in traditional African societies. To assume that there were no classes in Africa and build a scheme on such a wrong assumption was a move towards failure. This is one serious reason why Ujamaa crashed, for the class differences and crises actually ate up his socialist scheme. Socialism is a beautiful dream that is difficult to put to reality, especially in Africa of today. Government coming up with schemes for Africa development, should not think of introducing socialism into its scheme. Abolishing classes even if it was possible, will not be the best for Africa. Absence of classes, tantamount to absence of motivation, creativity and eventually development. It is the conflict between classes as Hegel and Marx rightly observe that lead to advancement and development. Struggles to catch up with a higher class, makes individuals to work harder and by that improving the economic growth and development of their nations. Socialism thus as was gorily experienced by Tanzania, should be abhorred and new schemes should be built with the consciousness of class differences in Africa.

4. There was no balance of power between the government and the peasants. Ujamaa policy gave too much power to the people, thereby unwittingly making the government dependent on the people, rather than people depending on the government or better still the two depending equally on each other. It is arguable, that the best way to get the most from an individual is to make him dependent on you. When the staff are more dependent on the employer, they are likely to obey and please the employer more than when they are less dependent on him/her. Nyerere made the government dependent on the peasant farmers instead of the other way round. Hyden made clear the implication of this when he asserts:

Development is inconceivable without a more effective subordination of peasantry to the demands of the ruling classes. The peasants simply must be made more dependent on the other social classes if there is going to be social progress that benefits the society at large. The concept of dependence is crucial to the analyses of both power and development (1980, 31). In Tanzania, it was not the peasant that dependent on the government, it was rather the government that dependent on their production, since they were the main driver of the economy. Hyden argues that the government failed to employ what they should to bargain with the peasants for improved agricultural productivity. What the government should have used to bargain with the peasants are: technical support, infrastructures, amenities, rather these were promised and given for free, making the peasants to see these as their right. If government had made it clear that the productivity of the peasants would determine the kind and quantity of support of the government, then the peasants would work harder in order to get the support of the government. Since the government failed to bargain well with what it has, the peasant felt no obligation to pay back to the government with increased productivity to the annoyance and frustration of Nyerere.

This prompted his speech on radio that blamed the peasants for not doing enough for the government compared to what the government did for them. This speech prompted the forceful resettlement of peasants into Ujamaa villages, though this force did not at the end improve anything. In most African countries, the citizens think of what the government ought to do for them, and not what they ought to do for the government. This was the mindset of the Tanzanians in Nyerere time, they expected from the government without understanding that they ought to give to the government in turn. This is a wrong understanding among Africans that have tended to keep Africa stagnant and poor. The flow of power is one directional in Africa. The government attempts or are expected to please the people and the people are not made to feel the same obligation. The government like Nyerere experienced, needs the people to raise the economy by improving productivity, which they failed and are still failing today. The people need the government to provide facilities and amenities. These facilities and amenities should not be provided for free, they should be commiserating to the level of production of an area. The government ought to make the people understand that they can only get its support, if they do their own quota. Amenities and facilities cost money and these monies are only available if the citizens raise their productivity.

Thus, it is wrong and dangerous for citizens to be demanding from the government more than they are contributing to the government. Government support should be an exchange for high productivity of the people and nothing more. When this arrangement is in place, many states would not just fold their hands and wait for government support. They would understand that the support they will get would be equivalent to their level of productivity, which will encourage them to work harder. Because of the imbalance of power, the governments in Africa are forced to enter into huge debts to service the needs of its people. If the government had to go borrowing to provide for the people, it simply means the people are getting more from the government than they actually deserve. It also means the government leans on the people more than the people leaning on it. One who depends on the other is under the control and influence of the other. Since the government is not able to control and influence its members to boost productivity, it means the government is not in charge but depended on the

people. This was the frustration that led to Nyerere's outburst in the famous radio broadcast. It is also what has made many African countries to be debt-laden. The government needs to be fully in-charge.

5. Government attitude to Foreign Aid was inconsistent. Nyerere was clear at the beginning as regards foreign aids and how they could affect self-reliance of a nation. However, he was not consistent with his stance against foreign aids. Right from 1972, international NGOs participated in the Ujamaa scheme and also the World Bank was allowed in along the way. The entrance of International NGOs and the World Bank had some dire consequences for Tanzania. Reacting on this Freyhold asserts: "The World Bank has shown in Tanzania that it was not opposed to state ownership as such, but to state planning and workers' and peasants' collective participation in economic decision-making." (Freyhold 1979, 115). Allowing foreign aid therefore, inhibited the self-reliance goal of Nyerere's Tanzania. Over-dependence on foreign aids foiled Nyerere's effort to evolve a self-reliant Tanzania. Over-dependence on foreign aids has continued to foiled the attempts of African countries to reach the exalted status called, development. Foreign aids has led Africans to incur huge debts burden; it has made Africans to be incapable of producing their own food; it has made the minds of Africans to be redundant and thereby incapable of advancing technologically; it has made Africans to lose even their Africanness. These are the side effects of overdependence, it makes one a perpetual beggar. Africans seems to be perpetual beggars, bereaved of ideas, lazy and uncreative because aides are supplied on platter of gold from abroad. A truly independent country should feeds herself and depend less on others. African countries would need to take the tougher road to independence by depending less on foreign aid.

6. Nyerere overemphasized the value of communalism. Traditional Africa is generally believed to be communal in nature, where the community is seen as bigger and taller than the individual. Thus, the values of the community are placed over and above that of the individual. Most African scholars have advocated the revival of communalism and to enthrone it as a distinguishing mark of Africa. This is obviously the stance of Nyerere and also what he aimed to achieve first for Tanzania and then for all Africans. The failure of Ujamaa scheme to bring forth socio-economic growth shows the poverty of this communalism.

Communalism inhibits growth of individuals, who are forced to remain at the wealth, thinking, ideological and growth level of the community, due to the pressure to conform to communal demands and aspirations. The building of Ujamaa on such a footing by Nyerere was a mistake that was sure of crumbling the great and visionary scheme.

Ujamaa Scheme and the Future of Nigerian Development

There are essential elements of Ujamaa philosophy that need to be prominent in any scheme that is aimed at lifting Nigeria and Africa at large out of her present quagmire. Ujamaa may not have fared well in Tanzania as was hoped, (due to the weaknesses stated above), this does not mean the entire edifice of Ujamaa should be thrown aboard. While uploading the bad elements, the essential ones should be retained and made to reflect in present and future schemes geared towards the promotion of African socio-political environment. Below are the major points in Ujamaa that could be synchronized functionally in all spheres of existence in Africa.

Team Spirit: Nyerere saw team spirit as the foundation of Ujamaa, necessitating him to form Ujamaa villages to enhance its growth. He believed that when Africans, worked cohesively together as one family they can achieve mutual help and consequently growth. Studies conducted in Tanzania and Malawi made it clear that group spirit was an outstanding value in these societies (An Afro-centric Alliance, 2001:59-74). Nyerere was obviously aware of this value and its importance in African societies and thus sought to revive and make it stronger. He was well aware that family is a centre piece of collectivism of Africa. This is why using the 'family metaphor' is important in the motivation of Africans towards team spirit and work. It is thus not surprising therefore, that Nyerere used the metaphor 'Ujamaa village' to seek to draw this motivation from Tanzanians. While not recommending that Africa should be divided into Ujamaa villages as Nyerere did, it will be worthwhile if the idea or philosophy behind the 'Ujamaa villages' is sieved and build into any philosophy or policies for African development and well-being.

Human Dignity: The raising of human dignity was a primary aim of Ujamaa. Nyerere was sorry for Africans (Tanzanians) whom he believed have been subordinated, abused, alienated, humiliated and dehumanized through the instrumentality of colonialism and slave trade. The ill-treatment of Africans during that era, made Africans to loss their freedom, self-confidence, values, cultures, prestige and even humanity, leading to the formation of inferiority complex in them. Since these factors are boosters or destroyers of human dignity, it means human dignity in Africa was swept off by colonialism and slave trade. Ujamaa was thus an attempt to restore this lost dignity of Africans. Most of the principles set down in the Ujamaa pamphlet were actually geared towards restoring Tanzanians dignity and lost freedom.

This realization of the importance of restoration of human dignity to the growth and development of a nation, is one reason Nyerere has continued to be applauded even after the failure of Ujamaa scheme. Restoration of dignity is restoration of self-confidence and abolishment of inferiority complex – this is very necessary in citizens of a country, if that country hopes to compete favourably internationally. Citizens with high self-confidence impact more to a society than those with self-disbelief. Self-confidence enhances creativity which is a product of belief in the self. It creates that sense of independence in individuals which translate eventually to true independence of a nation. For if the citizens are largely dependent on other countries for their needs and aspirations, and then the whole country could be called dependent, even if it is a sovereign state in name. It is important therefore for citizens of a country to be independent minded as this will ultimately translate to independence of the nation and by that become a respected nation internationally. Nyerere understood this, which is the reason he formulated principles aimed at making the citizens free, self-reliant and self-confident.

Respect for Others: Nyerere in his vision for Ujamaa and Africa was well aware of the importance of respect for one another to the formation of a good working and living relationship. He believes traditional Africans respect all humans. For him an “ African...does not look at one class of men as his brethren and another as his natural enemy, [that] he does not form an alliance with the 'brethren' for the extermination of the 'nonbrethren' [and that] an African regards all men as his brethren – as members of his extended family” (Nyerere, 1977,

11-12). This means that Africans traditionally respect and care for one another. This he believed is what sustained them in existence, in spite of the existential challenges that came upon them. He felt this spirit is vital for the survival of Africa and the promotion of unity and thus makes it a central aim in his Ujamaa scheme.

In present day Africa, as it was noticed by Nyerere in his days, respect for others has diminished significantly. It appears no one cares any longer for the rights, values and personalities of others. It is now all about the self and those closest to the self. The legal and government enforcement agencies that are charged with the duty to ensure that people are accorded due respects have woefully failed in Africa. It is thus, an open secret that the law in Nigeria and most other African countries does not bite. Justice is for sale to the highest bidder. The police are no more the friends of the people – they extort, and loot the people it was formed to protect. Corruption has eaten deep into the fabric of the judiciary and government officials of the continent, making them to ill-function. This has resulted in the government, citizens and organisations not respecting one another. This lack of respect has been extended even to the environment. The environment is plummeted, exploited and destroyed with reckless abandon, without due consideration for its importance for human survival. The effects of this dissolution of the value for respect in Africa is vivid: environmental pollution, disrespect and disdain for African traditional values, disrespect and uncaring attitude toward elders, abuse of rights and privileges of people, negligence of corporate social responsibility, tax aversion etc. There is no gainsaying the fact that these are a major reason why Africa is still groping in the dark in search of development. For African nations to be counted among comity of developed nations, a philosophy of respect as inspired by Ujamaa must be planted, pruned and allowed to blossom in the minds of Africans. Respect is very fundamental and has far reaching effects in a country.

Hard Work: Nyerere was conscious of the importance of hard work to the success of his scheme and any scheme whatsoever, and thus encouraged hard work. He believes that, “in traditional Africa everybody was a worker” (Nyerere 1997, 4). for him, in traditional African society, “every member of society – barring only the children and the infirm – contributed his fair share of effort towards the production of its wealth” (Nyerere 1977, 5). In these societies, there were no “[loiters], or [idlers] who accept the hospitality of society as [their] 'right' but gives nothing in return”. Against this background Nyerere asserted that in traditional African society, “loitering was an unthinkable disgrace” (Nyerere 1997, 5). It is however, disheartening that today, young Africans loiter idly in the streets. This is because the belief in hard work has disappeared. It is an open secret in Africa that hard work does not pay. It is who one knows and is connected to that pays. Hard work no longer wins one riches, recognition, awards, titles etc, it is rather the well-connected that get it all. One can work hard in reading but still score lower in exams than someone who never read but had to buy grades. One can work hard and get himself/herself more qualified for a job, contract, award etc but will be condemned to merely watching in frustration as a less qualified person lands it, because he knows somebody in a high place. One can work hard in Africa and discover or invent something that could change but will get frustrated as nobody up the ladder will support him, because he is not known. One can work hard to become the best footballer and will still not be

selected for the national team, because he has no 'big person' to recommend him/her. In Africa one can work hard to get a first class degree and still not be able to land his dream job, while his friend with a third class gets it easily because he/she has somebody up the ladder. Such is the reality in the Africa of today. Hard work no longer pays.

In Africa, it is now almost impossible to study the dreamed course; get the expected job; win the pursued contract; get national recognition and awards, get desired positions etc through hard work. Since hard work does not pay, it is no longer attractive to Africans. Almost, everybody in Africa today seek to cut corners to get to what they want. Hard work and merit have been relegated to the background. It is not surprising therefore, that Africa cannot even feed itself. President Mohammadu Buhari of Nigeria recently banned importation of rice and other foreign goods and Nigerians almost starve, showing the level of dependence on foreign goods for food. This is disgusting, considering the numerical strengths and rich and fertile lands Nigeria is gifted with. Nigerians and indeed other Africans have failed to work hard to provide for its teeming population, that is the real reason it has continued to be a big dependent continent. Everybody seek wealth but only few wants to work for it. It is the reason why there is so many cases of embezzlement, looting, extortion, bribery, arm-robbery, kidnapping for ransom, money rituals, human trafficking and many other evils going on in Africa today. It is the reason why African countries are not only the most undeveloped but also the most corrupt countries. When hard work has lost its value, nothing much could be expected from that society.

Nyerere vision was to avert this and thereby encouraged hard work through his Ujamaa scheme. He cut out external aid, in order to ensure that Tanzanians laboured for what they needed. Any authentic philosophy or policy for the development of Africa will need to warp up measures to bring back hard work as a value in Africans. As long as hard work continues to be spurned by Africans, development may not be in sight for African countries. Hard work and merit need to replace tribalism, ethnocentrism, favouritism, nepotism, god-fatherism, sexism and other discriminating tendencies, before Africa can hope to attain development and stability in economy and politics.

Education: It is a general knowledge that education is indispensable in any country that seeks development. The development of a country is directly dependent on the level of education of its citizens. It is the citizens' resourcefulness and quality of service that add up to determine the level of development of a country. If the citizens are poorly educated, their output in terms of goods and services will be low. Nyerere was well aware of the tremendous importance of education for a country and thus invested much in education in Tanzania. Though, Nyerere was interested in education, he did not believe in just any kind of education for his country. He was not interested in the education that would produce elitist and bookish individuals like that offered to Tanzania by the West. The best education for him is one that enhances the goals and aspirations of Tanzania. This is why he emphasized that the first objective of education in Tanzania is “to foster the social goals of living together and working together for the common good” (Nyerere, 1977, 52). This means education was to be geared towards raising people who would see all as belonging to one large family, thereby enhancing brotherhood and team spirit.

The second objective of education in Tanzania according to Nyerere was “to prepare young people for the work they will be called upon to do in the society which exists in Tanzania” (1977, 52). The emphasis is on occupying available work in the society. It was not just education for knowledge sake, but one that would fit one for the available jobs.

It is unfortunate that this bright dream of Nyerere has not turned to reality. The educational curriculum of African schools is still replete with subjects that are of no real benefits to Africans and even the students themselves. It is therefore, not surprising that millions of graduates milled out every year from African schools remain jobless. This is because the education they got did not prepare them to fit into the available jobs in the environment. They acquire knowledge that does not translate into practical use. This curriculum was transported from the western world without any consideration of its suitability to the African environment. African countries must follow the footsteps of Nyerere and develop a curriculum that prepares the students to fit directly into the economic, political, religious, and other needs of their respective countries. Nyerere in his day saw agriculture as the available job for Tanzanians and geared his education scheme towards preparing students to be better and more productive farmers. African leaders must identify areas of needs and construct the educational sector to satisfy those needs.

Aside from preparing students to fit available jobs, education as rightly envisaged by Nyerere ought to train students to fit into the socio-cultural values of the country. This is why Nyerere made it strongly clear, that education in Tanzania “must encourage the growth of the socialist values we aspire to. It must encourage the development of a proud, independent and free citizenry which relies upon itself for its own development, and which knows the advantages and the problems of co-operation” (Nyerere 1977, 52). Education in Africa as envisaged by Nyerere should train children to appreciate and adapt to the values and norms of the African societies and not to follow that of the western world as it is presently the case. It is because education in Africa is fashioned after the western model, that Africans graduate follow the western values and spurn that of Africa. They are trained in western values and unsurprisingly imbibe and pursue these values. This is the reason why the culture of Africa is nearing extinction.

The African curriculum will need to be radically shaken up and modified to suit the African environment and people. It has to be geared towards providing an education that would develop team spirit, respect for one another, restore human dignity by enabling self-reliance, imbibe African values and promote peaceful religion. Most importantly, the value of hard work must be inculcated to students in schools. The grades of students should thus reflect their level of hard work and not their closeness to the lecturers or amount of money paid for the grades. Best graduating students should be highly rewarded to encourage others to work hard.

Conclusion

This work identified Ujamaa as a genuine attempt to lift Tanzania and by extension Africa from her deplorable socio-economic situation. Though, Ujamaa did not particularly succeed in its quest, this work argues that it should not be completely discarded as there is enough embedded in its belle to be extracted for the gliding of Africa towards a better future. Ujamaa

which was a blueprint of the government of Nyerere had several challenges. Its planning and implementation was defective. Its assumptions about traditional Africans were incoherent with empirical facts. Its internal mechanism was defective, it gave too much power to the people. Its failure to keep out foreign aids was also a detrimental factor to the demise of Ujamaa. However, its emphasis on team spirit, human dignity, respect for others, hard work and education for all are starling features that need to feature prominently in any developmental scheme in Africa.

Recommendations

This work recommends the following as the way out from Africa's dire socio-political and economic situation:

1. Africa must be ideologically focused. The conventional wisdom holds that for an ideology to take root in any political system there must be a time of gestation – a period of hard work, patience and preparation for growth.
2. There must be an inbuilt system of continuity and persistence through social, political and economic programming.
3. Failing forward should be the pattern, where every programme setback is not seen as an opportunity for despair and stagnation, but as an opportunity to learn from mistakes, re-calibrate and re-launch valiantly to achieve the required result.
4. Self-reliance must not be a mere wish. It should be backed up by the necessary institutional framework that will enable Africans harness their human and material resources for self-sustenance and development.
5. Stiffer penalties must be put in place to check corrupt and bad leaders who are bent on frustrating genuine efforts towards development.
6. An effective reward system for outstanding and exemplary leadership should also be in place.
7. Appropriate investment in leadership in terms of training and retraining is required because whatever is worth doing is worth training for. A nation cannot achieve the greatness which comes from quality leadership when it invest little in it, but it cannot also do so when it commits all resources into it only to overlook incredible abuse of all that undermines the foundation of its aspiration.

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