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The Philosophical Background of Nyerere's Concept of Human Dignity

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ABSTRACT:- A critical reading of Nyerere's works and speeches shows that Nyerere is very much aware that human dignity has to do with the status of human beings entitling them to respect; a highest value that affects human beings at the deepest possible level; a highest value constitutive of personal identity, simultaneously in the self and in all other human beings; a principle that affirms the fundamental value of every human being, or of human beings as such; and which enjoys general acceptance all around the globe as a basic ethical principle. The purpose of this paper is to discern the sources of the rich idea of human dignity in Nyerere's speeches and writings. It aims at discerning the philosophical background of Nyerere's concept of human dignity, that is, the extent to which Nyerere is familiar with the evolved concept of human dignity. It traces Nyerere's educational background and cites the sources of his philosophical ideas, that is, the philosophers whom he read and who influenced his future philosophy. In this case, we see philosophical influence on Nyerere's concept of human dignity from the Selected Writings, his own Lecturers at Edinburgh University, the Fabian society, Christianity and finally from the African Traditional society.

Key Words: Human dignity, fundamental value, education, Christianity, African traditional society, Fabian society

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to discern the sources of the rich idea of human dignity in Nyerere's speeches' and writings'. It aims at discerning the philosophical background of Nyerere's concept of human dignity, that is, the extent to which Nyerere is familiar with the evolved concept of human dignity. It traces Nyerere's educational background and cites the sources of his philosophical ideas, that is, the philosophers' whom he read and who influenced his future philosophy. In this case, we see philosophical influence on Nyerere's concept of human dignity from the Selected Writings, his own Lecturers at Edinburgh University, the Fabian society, Christianity and finally from the African Traditional society.

Overview of Nyerere's Concept of human Dignity

A critical reading of Nyerere's works and speeches shows that Nyerere is very much aware that human dignity has to do with the status of human beings entitling them to respect; a highest value that affects human beings at the deepest possible level; a highest value constitutive of personal identity, simultaneously in the self and in all other human beings; a principle that affirms the fundamental value of every human being, or of human beings as such; and which enjoys general acceptance all around the globe as a basic ethical principle. Moreover, it is in everyone's interest to be respected as having the highest value due to an inalienable humanity. This is solidly in line with his African socialism. According to Nyerere, the essential elements to

¹ Julius Nyerere, "Kazi ni Kipimo cha Utu", In *Chama cha Mapinduzi*, *Darubini*, 5. East African Publishing House (T), 7.

² Julius Nyerere, Freedom and a New World Economic Order: A Selection from speeches 1974-1999, (Dar es saalam: The Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, 2011), 25.

being human have something to do with matters of morals or ethics. Nyerere's perception of the essentials of 'human dignity' can be classified under three categories: *firstly*, there is something inherent in human nature; *secondly*, there is something found in one's status; and *thirdly*, there is something given by community or society.³

The *first* case, is where human dignity is seen in relation to a human being who possesses rationality; a being created in the likeness of God;⁴ in this sense, human dignity is inherent in human beings.⁵ In the *second* instance, a human person acquires human dignity in virtue of office; the authority s/he has and the contribution which s/he offers to the society/ community; it is the dignity which is not natural but is cultivated by the person himself/herself through his/her contribution to the society and the way s/he respects herself/himself.⁶ In the *third* place, Nyerere perceives human dignity in terms of communal sense; an individual becomes aware that s/he is a part and parcel of his/her own community.⁷ An exhaustive analysis of this claim is beyond the interest of this paper. What this paper is interested in is to show the sources of his position.

Nyerere's Educational Background

Julius Kambarage Nyerere was born on 13th April 1922 in Butiama village, in Musoma Region, Tanganyika, a place known as Mwitongo, ⁸ a Zanaki word which means 'the abandoned place.' ⁹

He began his formal education in February, 1934 at Mwisenge primary school, in Musoma before joining Tabora secondary school on government scholarship in 1937.¹⁰ The school was by then an exclusively reserved for boys from the "royal" families of Tanganyika. He was presented as an excellent pupil in different subjects, ¹¹ with an admiration from his classmates for his behavior and academic efforts.

By September 1943, Nyerere joined Makerere University¹² where he was introduced to a new world of strongest students from the best secondary schools in East Africa. It was an opportunity for Nyerere to prove his intellectual and reading capacity. His main preoccupation we are told, was books, not to pass exams but to know things about everything. His conversationalist skills started to shine and students liked to talk to him. There is evidence of many talks that were given by Nyerere on many African personalities, while at the college, which were attended to by a number of students. His reputation got to grow through his debate and other academic talks¹⁵ which resulted into articles of which two stand out, one on "African Socialism," and the other on *Uhuru wa Wanawake* (essay on subjugation of women).

As the political changes of the post-World War II affected imperialism all over the world, the British Government realized that it needed to move away from imperialism towards a self-rule policy. The British Government needed to modernize local government in the British African colonies and employ western-

³ Cranford Pratt, *The Critical Phase in Tanzania 1945-1968: Nyerere and the Emergency of A Socialist Strategy,* (London: Cambridge University Press 1976), 32-33.

⁴ Julius Nyerere, *Man and Development*, (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University press, 1974), 86.

⁵ Nyerere, World Economic Order, 25.

⁶ William Duggan, and Civille John. *Tanzania and Nyerere: A Study of Ujamaa and Nationhood.* (New York: Marryknoll Orbis Books, 1976), 6.

⁷ Julius Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968), 7. (See also Nyerere, *Man and Development*,5-14).

⁸ Thomas Molony, *The Early Years*, (Edinburgh: James Curey, 2014), 12.

⁹ Cf. Molony. *Nyerere*

¹⁰ Molony, Nyerere, 11-12.

¹¹ Molony, *Nyerere*, 46.

¹² Molony, *Nyerere*, 61.

¹³ (Among them are Alliance High School, Kakamega and Maseno (Kenya): King's College Budo and Namilyango (Uganda); and Maseno (Kenya); and Tanganyika's St. Mary's (Tabora, which served Catholics) and Minaki (Kisarawe, formerly St. Andrew's College Kiungani, which served Anglicans). (See also Nyerere J.K., 'Statement to the U.N, Fourth Committee, 1956', in *Freedom and Unity*, 40-44.

¹⁴ Kosukhin and Nikolai. *Julius Nyerere, Humanist, Politician, Thinker*, translated by B.G. Petruk, (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, 2005) 1.

¹⁵ Kosukhin and Nikolai, Nyerere: Humanist, 66.

¹⁶ Julius Nyerere, *Uhuru na Wanawake* (Dar es Salaam: Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, 2009).

¹⁷ The article on African Socialism appeared in the *Tanganyika Standard* of 21 July 1943 only six months into his time at Makerere; the article on Uhuru wa Wanawake was written in 1944 as prize winning Essay in an East African Literary Competition. Nyerere says, "he was reminded of his Zanaki society and an essay he had written before in 1941 on "the Wa-zanaki country and customs of the Wa-zanaki,"

educated Africans in it.¹⁸ There was a realization that the future of British colonial Africa was to be placed in the hands of a tiny cadre of Africans, who were to be educated as black facsimiles of white colonial officials. A need arose of incorporating African students, as future leaders, in the social, political and economic scheme. Many African students were therefore sponsored by colonial governments to study in Britain. Within this sponsorship program, Nyerere got a scholarship to do his studies in London.¹⁹

The next few paragraphs present an overview of Nyerere's reason for deciding to take a degree at the University of Edinburgh; an outline of the courses that he took over his three years in Edinburgh, and some of the readings that were prescribed.²⁰ The major concern is on the works of classical and later European philosophers whom Nyerere studied and his appreciation of their position. This is followed by a discussion on the impact of Fabianism on Nyerere²¹ and the key text on political economy and moral philosophy that he studied for his degree. Emphasis is placed on Nyerere's understanding of religion, traditional society and democracy and how he sees them to be applicable to his homeland. The paper finally shifts from philosophy that Nyerere studied at Edinburgh to history and anthropology that he was exposed to and how it relates to his later philosophy of human dignity.

Formative Years of Nyerere's Philosophy in Edinburgh

The first point in this section is an overview of Nyerere's reason for deciding to take a degree at the University of Edinburgh. It is said that Nyerere's win of the scholarship was not without challenges.²²

It is apparent that it may not have been a good idea to some of the British officials to send Nyerere for further studies. One account goes that a local British official wrote to the Governor in belief that Nyerere should be prevented from studying overseas because he was 'politically minded and might pose a threat when he returned.'²³ Nyerere was nevertheless allowed to apply for scholarship under the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme (CDWS).²⁴ The Tanganyika Territory appears to have considered Nyerere to be well suited to undergo a Teaching Course at the Colonial Department of the Institute of Education at London University. However, Nyerere had applied not for London University but for a Scottish university.²⁵ Nyerere's desire for an arts degree seems to have been thwarted by some officials, who were skeptical towards the academic abilities of Africans to reach the required standard for an arts degree. So, the British colonial Africa opted for a science degree so that Nyerere would indeed become a qualified science teacher. While the Director of Colonial scholars supported the idea of general arts degree, the Secretary of the State for the colonies, was of the understanding that Nyerere would use his studies in the United Kingdom to become a qualified science teacher.²⁶

Once in London, Nyerere is said to have raised his wish to study an arts degree²⁷ at his opening meeting with Colonial officials in London. Despite his demonstration against studying Science, Nyerere's scholarship was extended for coaching for a non-qualifying year in science subjects. At first Nyerere is reported to have reluctantly taken Chemistry and Physics as preparation for entry qualification to a university degree only to drop them afterwards.²⁸ Molony narrates well the dilemma that lay before Nyerere:

To avoid Science and to pursue the Arts degree [that he preferred], Nyerere had three options. Scotland's ancient University of St. Andrew, some distance north-east of Edinburgh, was mentioned at an early date. This was soon dropped, presumably because, as the correspondence point out, for a St. Andrews Arts degree he would have had to take up Arabic from scratch. The *first* option that was presented was to move south to Durham University. The *second* option was to stay in Scotland and replace his non-qualifying course in Science with one in the Arts. This meant continuing with Latin, and the tedium of a year of study without a certificate at the end. The *third* option, which Nyerere favoured and pursued, was for a Scottish Arts Degree that would commence in only a few

¹⁸ Molony, Nyerere, 96.

¹⁹ Molony, *Nyerere*, 96.

²⁰ Molony, *Nyerere*, 100.

²¹ Molony, *Nyerere*, 95, 100, 103.

²² Molony, *Nyerere*, 94.

²³ Duggan and Civille, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 48. (See also Molony, *Nyerere*, 94).

²⁴ Molony, *Nyerere*, 94. CDWS was a programme which was funded by Colonial Government Act of 1940 which provided imperial finance for long term colonial development plans.

²⁵ Molony, Nyerere, 97

²⁶ Molony, Nyerere, 107.

²⁷ Molony, Nyerere, 108.

²⁸ Molony, Nyerere, 107.

months. This required him to pass English Literature or Higher English as an 'Attestation of Fitness'- and, yet again, to study Latin. Nyerere quickly passed Higher English in the Scottish University Preliminary Examination. As a special concession the University of Edinburgh allowed him to take English as a foreign language so that he would no longer be troubled with his Latin.²⁹

Thus, in October 1949, Nyerere, received an official admission at the University of Edinburgh's Faculty of Arts for Master of Arts Degree, which according to Molony, could either be completed as Master of Arts with honors, which took four years or as an ordinary degree of Master of Arts, which took three years. Nyerere, opted for the latter with a purpose. His choice of this degree, at this point, was to make him useful to his country after studies. He thought, he could be more useful if only he took an arts rather than a science degree. He was, thus, very keen with the future application of his Edinburgh studies and its possible impact on Tanganyika. The was are received an official admission at the University of Edinburgh's Faculty of Edinburgh's Faculty of Edinburgh's Faculty of Arts for Master of Arts Master of Arts, which took three years.

Conscious of the need to broaden his horizons, Nyerere seized the chance with his choice of courses.³³ In the first year of his university program, at Edinburgh, Nyerere chose to study political science, English Literature, moral philosophy and social anthropology. In his second year he opted for economic history with the intention of getting some knowledge of economic forces in history. He also took a survey course in British history.³⁴ In his third and fourth year he chose constitutional law and moral philosophy again, which introduced him to the rule of law, formal rules of the game of colonialism and knowledge of American English and Scottish Constitutional affairs.³⁵ This choice of courses allowed him to explore more beyond his formal studies. As Molony puts it, he found himself with ample time to read many other things outside his degree besides evolving the whole of his political philosophy.³⁶

It is not just the courses taken at Edinburgh that mattered for Nyerere but also the environment. The stay in Edinburgh slowly influenced powerfully on Nyerere's development as a politician. It slowly refined his vision of his life-view, his basic orientation about things like the nature of government, the rights of the individual, his future life and that of his country. He seems to have been humbled by the racial discrimination and demeaning ways he suffered from the way some teachers treated black students in East Africa, in both Tanganyika and Uganda and now in Edinburgh.³⁷ Nyerere seems to have spent much time on the issue of race when he was in Edinburgh.³⁸ In Edinburgh writing on race, Nyerere suggested a more proactive approach, representing Europeans as the problem and Africans as the solution: "I appeal to my fellow Africans to take the initiative in this building up of a harmonious society." He goes on to adopt a more conciliatory tone:

The Africans and all the Non-Africans who have chosen to make east Africa their home are the people of east Africa and frankly we do not want to see the non-Africans treated differently either to our advantage or disadvantage... we must build up a society in which we shall belong to east and Africa and not to our racial groups... we appeal to all thinking Europeans and Indians to regard themselves as ordinary citizens of Tanganyika and we are all east Africans.⁴⁰

²⁹ Molony, *Nyerere*, 107-108.

³⁰ Molony, *Nyerere*, 107-109.

³¹ Molony, *Nyerere*, 108-109.

³² Molony, *Nyerere*, 109.

³³ Molony, *Nyerere*, 111,

³⁴ Molony, *Nyerere*, 112,

³⁵ Molony, *Nyerere*, 113.

³⁶ Molony, *Nyerere*, 114-115.

³⁷ Nyerere's *Race-Problem* was from his days in Tabora, Makerere and Edinburgh. He was influenced by the experiences not just his own country men, but also Kenyans and Ugandans who shared their stories of worse race relations. In Makerere he had an experience of 'Race Problem,' being at Makerere University in Uganda, Nyerere experienced the sense of racial discrimination; he saw a lot of discriminatory signs in many shops, restaurants, swimming places among others. There were special places for Europeans, Asians, and Africans among others. For example, there was a sign board at a bathing area which read that it was out of bounds for "Africans and dogs". In Edinburgh the vast majority of his classmates from England, or East side of Scotland entered at around the age of seventeen or eighteen Nyerere was treated like the young boys studying with him although he was twenty eight years old. The issue of Colonial House in Edinburg...family allowance (See also Molony, *Nyerere*, 115-120).

³⁸ Molony, *Nyerere*, 143.

Molony, Nyerere, 144.

⁴⁰ Molony, Nyerere, 144.

More importantly, Edinburgh University built in Nyerere the philosophical foundation which made him to become a great African philosopher. He seemed to have enjoyed in Edinburgh new levels of intellectual freedom. 41 He read widely and keenly all the prescribed texts of the courses, which he selected wisely. As noted before, Nyerere's wise selection of courses in political philosophy, moral philosophy, social anthropology, economic history and constitutional law had a big impact on him in shaping his ideas as it is illustrated in the following section.

The Philosophical Influence of the Selected Writings on Nyerere

As noted above, in his first year Nyerere opted for a course in moral philosophy⁴² in order to understand well the moral structure of western civilization and its origin. The course is said to have been presented with a religious tone, which left an imprint in Nyerere that in moral philosophy, the religious voice cannot be excluded.⁴³ This means that, not the voice of an institutional interest group, but the voice shaped by a belief in the deepest possible ontological ground of understanding the human person/human dignity. 44 This philosophical/religious influence from his lecturers is reflected in Nverere's future carrier, when he makes some reflections, such as:

> There is not the slightest necessity for people to study metaphysics and decide whether there is one God, or no God, before they can be socialist...what matters in socialism and to socialism is that you should care about a particular kind of social relationship on this earth. Why you care is own affair. There is nothing incompatible between socialism and Christianity, Islam, or other religion which accepts the equality of man on earth.⁴⁵

More than this, the course in Moral Philosophy I and II exposed Nyerere to the analysis of the European notions of freedom. 46 However, the greatest influence comes from the readings of Kant's liberalism and Mill's interpretation of freedom. Kant's ideas on freedom seem to have indirectly influenced Nyerere. Molony quotes Cornelius, who tries to make a link between Kant's concept of freedom and Nyerere's concept of freedom.⁴⁷ Cornelius argues that scholars opine that there may be Kantian roots in some of Nyerere's philosophy, for example, the concept of the right to dignity and respect, which reflects the summary of the Kantian discourse of the personal right.⁴⁸ A little illustration will demonstrate why these Kantian roots are inevitable in Nyerere. Kant is well known for the principle of Moral autonomy, which is usually traced back to him. 49 This principle is the capacity to deliberate and to give oneself the moral law, rather than merely heeding the injunctions of others.

In Kantian Moral Philosophy, the word 'autonomy', refers to the capacity of one's own person, to live one's life according to reasons and motives that are taken as one's own and not the product of external forces or power. Since the moral law is categorical, and man's will is free from external forces. Kant sees the will itself to be the source of moral law, and consequently, the moral law as a self-imposed law. It is man's rational will, which imposes the moral law. Kant, calls this principle 'the Principle of autonomy of the will.' Kant writes: "... we must in any case first recognize obedience to God as a duty. Thus, before obeying God we must in any case legislate as rational beings. The autonomy of the moral will is thus the supreme principle of morality."50

Thus, according to Kantian Moral Philosophy, the autonomy, is the supreme principle of morality.⁵¹ Nyerere adopts this in his own notion of autonomy which he recounts as 'Uhuru' or national freedom.⁵² He

⁴¹ Molony, Nyerere, 114.

⁴² This course on Moral philosophy was taught by Professor John Macmurray. Macmurray taught this subject with special reference to other ancient philosophers, such as Plato, Aristotle, Stoicism, including the Christian bible. These were the sources of Nyerere's philosophical foundations from which he drew both political structure and human dignity for Tanzania and Africa at large. Macmurray, his lecturer was a committed Christian who could not forget to make a reference to a Christian Bible during his lectures on moral philosophy. Nyerere chose moral philosophy with special reference to the Bible. (Edinburgh University, 1951-1952, 222-223. (See also Molony, Nyerere, 149).

⁴³ Molony, *Nyerere*, 149. (See also Kirkpatrick, Macmurray, 150).

⁴⁴ Molony, Nyerere, 149.

⁴⁵ Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, 13. (See also Molony, 149).

 ⁴⁶ Molony, *Nyerere*, 157.
 47 Molony, *Nyerere*, 156-157.

⁴⁸ Molony, *Nyerere*, 150.

⁴⁹ Molony, *Nyerere*, 150.

⁵⁰ Joseph Omoregbe, A Simplified History of Western Philosophy. Vol.1. Ancient and Medieval Philosophy, (Lagos: Joja Educational Research and Publishers Limited, 1991), 228.

⁵¹ Omoregbe, A Simplified History of Western Philosophy. 230.

harmonizes the Kantian influence with other philosophical sources, which he happened to access during his formative years at Edinburgh University to shape his own ideas on the significance of a human person.⁵³ Molony cites the concept of freedom, which Nyerere gets from John Stuart Mill's version of utilitarianism liberalis,⁵⁴ the famous Mill's concept of three basics of freedom: first, the freedom of thought and emotion; secondly, the freedom to pursue tastes, that is, in exercise of one's freedom, one should not harm others; and thirdly, the freedom to unite, as long as, this unity does not harm others. In line with Mill, Nyerere perceives freedom as uhuru in Swahili, that is, the ability of the citizens to determine their own future. He formulates his own view that there is a right to live in dignity and equality with others, the right to freedom of speech, freedom to participate in the making of all decisions which affect every individual who really wants...freedom to pursue his personal interests and inclinations.⁵⁵ All these readings had a remarkable inspiration on Nyerere's future policies, particularly on his philosophy of human dignity.

He is heavily influenced by Kant's and Mill's idea of democracy, which he uses to formulate his own theme of 'equality of man', by linking it to the 'rationality of man.' This rational knowledge is in Kant's Metaphysics of Morals and Mill's Utilitarianism.⁵⁷ In Mill's philosophy we get the concept of rational choice, which later. Nyerere uses as a title of his speech on socialism as the new nations' only rational choice.⁵⁸ Thus, Nyerere writes: "Given that Man is a rational being, and that all men are equal, democracy or government by discussion among equals is indeed the only defensible form of government."59 In the same piece Nyerere then establishes that democracy in Africa, is 'Government by the people.' He announces that his government should be of that type where people settle issues together by engaging in dialogue, and reaching a consensus. This for Nyerere is the "Government of all the people by all the people, for all the people." 60

Furthermore, Mill insists on working in cooperation, something which circulates in Nyerere's speeches and writings as an essential requirement for the development of the nation. 61 The three aspects of development, namely, land, people and good policy are basic requirements for national progress. Cooperation is something natural in African traditional culture. 62 Molony comments that Nyerere has the same tone with Mill 63 which demonstrates how Nyerere is highly influenced by both Kant's and Mill's philosophy. However, he keeps adding his own insights in order to strike the balance.⁶⁴

Nyerere seems too to have been greatly influenced by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, on the concept of freedom. This is clearly seen in Nyerere's book on 'Freedom and Unity,' where he mentions Rousseau, as he makes the introduction.⁶⁵ Nyerere concurs with Rousseau in many instances with regard to the notion of freedom. In his book of *Social contract*⁶⁶ Rousseau declares:

> Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains. One thinks himself the master of others, and still remains a greater slave than they. How did this change come

⁵² Molony, *Nyerere*, 165.

⁵³ Molony, *Nyerere*, 150. (See also Costello. J. E. John Macmurray: *A Biography*. Edinburgh: Floris, 2002. 147-148). Immanuel Kant, The Philosophy of Law: An Exposition of the Fundamental Principles of Jurisprudence as the Science of Right. (Edinburgh: T&T. Clark, 1887), 210. (See Molony, 150, argues that there may well be Kantian roots in some of Nyerere's philosophy; the right to dignity and respect, for example, is indeed as summary of Kant's discourse on the concept of personal right. See also Nyerere, 'Arusha Declaration', 231; Nyerere, Introduction to Freedom and Socialism, passim; Kant, Fundamental Principles, 100-108, Cornell, 'Critical Analysis', 56-58.

Molony, Nyerere, 157. (See also Nyerere, Democracy, 16).

Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, 7.

⁵⁶ Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, 8.

⁵⁷ Molony, Nyerere, 157.

⁵⁸ Mill. J.S, "Representative Government," (1861), 184. (See also Molony, *Nyerere*, 157)

⁵⁹ Molony, Nyerere, 157.

⁶⁰ Nyerere, 'Opening of the New National Assembly', in *Freedom and Socialism*, 88. (See also Molony, *Nyerere*, 158).

61 Nyerere, *Essays on Socialism*, 4-5. (See also Molony, *Nyerere*, 148).

⁶² Nyerere, Essays on Socialism, 33. (See also Molony, Nyerere, 148).

⁶³ Molony, *Nyerere*, 155-159.

⁶⁴ Molony, Nyerere, 155. (Nyerere's philosophy of human dignity has taken a lot of influence from Mill's philosophy; there is parallelism between Nyerere's philosophy of human dignity and Mill's philosophy of human dignity).

Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, 12. (See also Molony, Nyerere, 159).

⁶⁶ Jean Jacques Rousseau, The Social Contract or Principles of Political Right. Trans. G.D.H. Cole (Geneva: Foederis Aequas Discus leges, 1762), 2.

about? I do not know. What can make it legitimate? That question I think I can answer. $^{67}\,$

Rousseau argues that man's natural freedom is lost due to the formation of civil society. Since then, man finds himself everywhere in chains, it is not possible to go back to the state of nature. Thus, Rousseau proposes a solution in his book of *Social Contract*⁶⁸ that a kind of association should be formed whereby every member voluntarily agrees to place himself and his possession under the direction of a sovereign. This means that all the members of the association constitute the sovereign. Every member pledges to submit himself to his own direction. When he promises to obey the sovereign s/he obeys himself/herself. Rousseau writes:

A form of association which will defend and protect with the whole common force the person and the goods of each associate, and in which while uniting himself with all, may still obey himself alone and remain as free as before.⁶⁹

The above association is guided by the general will which is the absolute norm of conduct for all the members. Rousseau argues that the general will is the true will, the authentic will of the individual. Therefore, each individual member of the society has to bring his own will in conformity with the general will. In line with Nyerere, who argues that "as an individual becomes a member of society, he must sacrifice, in the interests of the society, certain of the private freedoms which he possesses outside society." Thus, there is no development without freedom. Nyerere attests; "development of a man can, in fact, only be effected by that man; development of the people can only be effected by the people [who have free will].

While at Edinburgh, the course on social anthropology greatly influenced Nyerere by giving him strong feelings about the need for social justice in the world. Molony attests that Nyerere indeed got a lot of influence from Social Anthropology. He obtained important ideas from the recommended readings, which included Ralph Piddington's *Introduction to Social Anthropology;* Meyer Fortes and Edward Evans-Prichard's *African Political Systems;* Ralph Piddington and John Graham's *Anthropology and the Future of Missions;* and Lucy Mair's *Native Policies in Africa.*

From Piddington, Nyerere borrowed the idea on 'how a human being acquires his/her basic needs.'⁷⁶ In a very special way, Nyerere adopts this principle to the implementation of *Ujamaa* policy that people should work and live together.⁷⁷ The principle of working and living together was affirmed by Piddington in the year 1950, in which human beings satisfy their needs collectively. Nyerere likewise raised this in the year 1968, that "Africans hold a recognition of mutual involvement for one another...and each member of the family recognize the place and rights of other members." The *second* element in Nyerere, which resembles Piddington's view, is the commonality of basic goods and their availability for all. Each member should receive a share. Hirdly, Nyerere seems to have taken the concept of *freedom and work* from Piddington, his Lecturer, which later after independence, he coins in Swahili phrase *Uhuru na* Kazi. This concept is emphasized after independence that people should be free but with responsibility. Piddington had coined this two concepts in order to put an emphasis on people's obligation to work and this entails the valid claim to share the common income. Nyerere

⁶⁷ Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, 3.

⁶⁸ Ouoted by Omoregbe, *History of Western Philosophy*, 14.

⁶⁹ Rousseau, Social Contract, 61.

⁷⁰ Quoted by Omoregbe, *History of Western Philosophy*, 14.

⁷¹ Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, 7-8.

⁷² Nyerere, Man and Development, 28.

⁷³ Social anthropology was taught by the Australian Professor Ralph Piddington, a famous scholar in his field and one of the many of Nyerere's Professors at Edinburgh who had strong feelings about the need for social justice in the world. Piddington, on the other hand, recommends that Nyerere was academically excellent, his name was in the merit list at second class certificate level. (See also Molony, *Nyerere*, 111). It is said that Piddington published a book in Edinburgh in early 1950, Nyerere bought immediately. From Piddington's book Nyerere obtained important ideas, which he applied later.

⁷⁴ Molony, Nyerere, 163.

⁷⁵ Molony, *Nyerere*, 166.

⁷⁶ According to Piddington people can acquire human basic needs in a collective way. He called it a 'universal process.' For Molony, Nyerere adopted this idea from Ralph Piddington.

⁷⁷⁷ Nyerere, Essays on Socialism, 8-9. (See also Molony, Nyerere, 164).

⁷⁸ Nyerere, *Essays on Socialism*, 8-9. (Molony, *Nyerere*, 164).

⁷⁹ Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, 338. (See also Molony, Nyerere, 164).

⁸⁰ Molony, Nyerere, 165.

⁸¹ Uhuru na Kazi, means, Freedom and Work.

follows suit particularly in his ideas on, social justice, freedom and work, the spirit of living and working together, as well as on how a community can acquire basic needs. 82

As Molony indicates, Meyer Fortes and Edward Evans-Prichard's *African Political Systems* were helpful in providing Nyerere with some of the proof about the traditional African society to which he frequently referred in his later writings. ⁸³ Their introduction classifies two groups of African societies, A and B, the latter lacks centralized authority, and has no sharp divisions of rank, status or wealth. Nyerere's experience of Zanaki society fits most closely with Fortes and Evans-Prichard's 'Group B', in which kinship ties play a prominent role and distinctions of rank and status are of minor significance. ⁸⁴ Within these societies "there is common material interests such as the need to share pastures or to trade in a common market-place", which the celebrated anthropologists summarize, as "complementary economic pursuits binding different sections to another." ⁸⁵

Once again Rousseau's concept of 'family' impacts on Nyerere. Rousseau opines that, 'the most ancient of all societies, and the only one that is natural, is the family.' He writes:

The most ancient of all societies, and the only one that is natural, is the family; and even so the children remain attached to the father only so long as they need him for their preservation. As soon as this need ceases, the natural bond is dissolved. The children, released from the obedience they owned to the father, and the father released from the care he owned his children, return equally to independence. If they remain united, they continue so no longer naturally, but voluntarily; and the family itself is then maintained only by conversion. ⁸⁶

The family then may be called the family model of political societies; the ruler matches to the father, and the people to the children; and all, being born free and equal alienate their liberty only for their own advantage. The only difference is that, in the family, the love of the father for his children takes the place of the love, which the chief cannot have for the peoples under him. The line with Rousseau, Nyerere sees the political society as one family. Nyerere extends Rousseau's views to *Ujamaa*, which he translated to 'brotherhood' or 'familyhood.' For Nyerere, in traditional society, Africa has always been a free individual, a typical member of the society, who lives and works in collaboration with others, without conflict between his own interests and those of the community, because its structure has been established reflecting the ground of the real family, and real democracy.

Clearly, Nyerere uses a number of ideas of the philosophers he studied in Edinburgh to justify his philosophy. His emphasis on freedom and unity as a guarantee for the struggle against foreign domination both before and after independence. Nyerere's will is to unite people so as to fight against white domination and restore human dignity. Another important recommended text for Social Anthropology that Nyerere read was Ralph Piddington and John Graham's Anthropology and the Future of Missions. An One of its central themes is the consideration of 'the lack of adjustment of native education to native needs' in a future Africa. A carefully planned educational policy', they argue, would include 'a careful consideration of claims of the mass of natives against the "favoured few," whom Nyerere acknowledged in his article, published in 1946 in Makerere magazine. As the title of the book suggests, the authors make a case for the important role that they believed missionaries had to play in a future Africa governed by Africans. They expected the missionaries to "co-operate"

⁸² Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, 338. (See also Molony, Nyerere, 165).

⁸³ Molony, Nyerere, 166.

⁸⁴ Fortes. Meyer, *African Political Systems*, (London: International African Institute, Oxford University Press, 1950, 218. (For more clarification see also Molony, *Nyerere*, 166).

⁸⁵ Molony, Nyerere, 19-21

⁸⁶ Rousseau, *Social Contract*, 3.

⁸⁷ Rousseau, Social Contract, 4.

⁸⁸ Nyerere, Essays on Socialism, 12.

⁸⁹ Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, 2.

⁹⁰ Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, 105.

⁹¹ Nyerere, "Africa's Place in the World," in *Symposium on Africa*, ed. Barnette Miller Foundation, 148-163

<sup>148-163.

92</sup> Nyerere, *The Challenge of Independence* (East Africa and Rhodesia, 1961), 339-340. (Molony, *Nverere*. 155).

⁹³Nyerere, *The Challenge of Independence*, 339-340. (Molony, *Nyerere*, 155).

⁹⁴ Molony, Nyerere, 166.

⁹⁵ John Graham and Ralph Piddington, *Anthropology and the Future Missions* (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1940), 14.

⁹⁶ Molony, *Nyerere*, 166.

increasingly in the administration of Indirect Rule and... to prevent the degeneration of this policy into *laissez faire*."97

Underlying the emancipatory argument from Piddington and Graham is the assumption that the wise paternal hand of enlightened white religious humanitarianism would necessarily be there to guide black people into an indefinite future. Piddington and his co-author believe that self-government for Africans is influenced by Lucy Mair. They repeatedly refer to her, *Native Policies in Africa*, which is another book recommended by Piddington. In it, Mair addresses African education, at one stage raising the point about privileges that Nyerere had made himself in his Makerere article. On 'the educated African', she asks whether "his superiority over his fellows is so great as to justify their sacrifice to his interests and goes on to point out that a transformation of native society on lines admittedly felt as desirable by only a small group must mean the sacrifice of the rest."

II. POLITICAL ECONOMY

According to Molony, political economy is another important course that influenced Nyerere while he was at Edinburgh. Students were examined on Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations;* ¹⁰¹ John Stuart Mill's *Principals of Political Economy,* ¹⁰² T.H. Green's *Principal of Political Obligation,* Bernard Bosanquet's *Philosophical Theory of the State,* Harold Laski's, *Grammar of Politics.* ¹⁰³ Nyerere was, however, able to go beyond the prescribed texts for the course. For instance, he is able to read the two volumes of Frank Taussig's *Philosophy of Economics* as a background reading for Gray's *Introduction to the Fundamentals of Economy.* ¹⁰⁴ These three books taken together form a part of the literature that influences the political beliefs of Nyerere. The course also offered him a study of the development of political theory from Hobbes to the present day. ¹⁰⁵

Furthermore, Molony suggests that Nyerere was also influenced by Smith's book, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations;* ¹⁰⁶ which contains a fundamental work in classical economics that offers one of the world's first collected descriptions of what builds nations' wealth. By reflecting upon the economics at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, the book touches upon such broad topics as the division of labour, productivity, and free markets. The book is the product of seventeen years collection of notes and earlier works, as well as an observation of conversation among economists of the time concerning economic and societal conditions during the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. ¹⁰⁷ It seeks to offer a practical application for reformed economic theory which would replace the mercantilist ¹⁰⁸ and physiocratic ¹⁰⁹ economic theories that were becoming less relevant in the time of industrial progress and innovation.

In his 'Ujamaa' paper, Nyerere touches on Smith's treatise on the production of wealth. Nyerere explains that Tanzanians already possess what Smith sees as the essential requisites to prosperity, 110 labour and

¹¹⁰ Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, 164. (Molony, Nyerere, 147).

⁹⁷ John Graham and Ralph Piddington, *Anthropology and the Future Missions* (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1940), 18.

⁵⁸ L.P. Mair, *Native Policies in Africa* (London: George Routledge Sons, 1936). Mair dedicates her books to Bronislaw Malinowski, whose Argonauts of the Western Pacific, The Sexual Life of Savages, and Crime and Custom in Savage Society also featured on Nyerere's Reading list.

⁹⁹ Molony, Nyerere, 167.

¹⁰⁰ L.P. Mair, *Native Policies in Africa*, 284. (See also Molony, *Nyerere*, 167).

¹⁰¹ Morony, Nyerere, 147.

¹⁰² Molony, Nyerere, 147.

¹⁰³ Molony, Nyerere, 150.

Molony, Nyerere, 147.

¹⁰⁵ Molony, Nyerere, 150.

¹⁰⁶ Molony, Nyerere, 147.

¹⁰⁷ Molony, Nyerere, 147

Mercantilism is a national economic policy that is designed to maximize the exports of a nation. Mercantilism was dominant in modernized parts of Europe from the 16th to the 18th centuries before falling into decline, although some commentators argue that it is still practiced in the economies of industrializing countries in the form of economic interventionism (Kanopiadmin (2017-02-15).

Physiocracy (French: *Physiocratie*; from the Greek word for "government of nature") is an economic theory developed by a group of 18th-century Enlightenment French economists who believed that the wealth of nations was derived solely from the value of "land agriculture" or "Land development" and that agricultural products should be highly priced. Their theories originated in France and were most popular during the second half of the 18th century. Physiocracy is one of the first well-developed theory of economics. "physiocrat". Oxford Dictionaries. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 27 October 2013.

appropriate natural objects. Tanzania has land (given by God), tools (Nyerere's list being predominantly agricultural), and human exertion (that is to say, the 'hard work' he perpetually exhorts). 11

John Stuart Mill's Principals of Political Economy considers the means of production, and begins with the key statement that 'the requisites of production are two: labour, and appropriate natural objects.' 112 Both are central to Nyerere's writing on *Ujamaa*. Nyerere's political party's constitution attests that 'people' (who control 'the major means of production') and 'Land' are the first prerequisites to national development. The Arusha Declaration outlines hard work as a condition for these two prerequisites to flourish. Mill advocates the establishment of co-operatives as combining the best of capitalism and socialism. Mill's support for collective work raises in Nyerere's mind the potential of harnessing the first two requisites of production; the nation's land, and its labour. Molony opines that Nyerere and Mill have the same tone in a number of aspects. 1 Nyerere explains the emphasis of *Ujamaa*'s focus on Tanzania's rural-based population of farmers and agricultural labourers "be the person 'a peasant working on his own shamba, (Smallholding) a member of a cooperative farming group, or a woman looking after her small children and the family group and the family home."¹¹⁵ Nverere regards hard work as the labourer's duty to society. ¹¹⁶ He directly links Mill's two basic requisites of production; the people and the land to the wealth of the nation.

T.H. Green's *Principles of Political Obligation* formed the basis of Nyerere's class lecture textbook, and it was an examination text. This book provides a systematic breakdown of fundamental issues to governance in a tolerant society free of foreign domination. It offers something of a blueprint to the fundamentals of a new state. It deals with liberty, rights, family and property, and considers in details the necessity of public spirit to maintain a peaceful nation. ¹¹⁸ As Molony tells us, at the time when Nyerere studied Principles of Political Obligation he was questioning British rule in Tanganyika. 119 Green's ideas cannot but have impressed Nyerere. The concerns addressed by Green in the book speak a lot to Nyerere and play a great role.120

Molony, furthermore, suggests that the same impact that Green's book had on Nyerere can also be said of Bernard Bosanquet's *Philosophical Theory of the State*. ¹²¹ This is a book of political philosophy, which is a response, and continuation of earlier idealists of the nineteenth century. It is a response to the utilitarian positivism of Mill; it is a continuation of earlier idealist philosophy found in Green. Bosanquet adopts several ideals of the liberal tradition, and explains them in a language more similar to Nyerere's than any other of the philosophers he studied in Edinburgh. His emphasis is on autonomy and self-government. He is concerned with the improvement of character and self-realization of the individual. He sees it right that limits must be imposed on the State to prevent it from interfering with this development. ¹²³ Bosanquet insists on liberty as the essence and quality of the human person. ¹²⁴ His writings confirm to Nyerere that human liberty is an issue of immense relevance in the twentieth century. ¹²⁵ More practically for Nyerere's purposes, Bosanquet is a cuttingedge, modern day philosopher who succinctly summarizes Macmurray's entire Moral philosophy II course. 126

¹¹¹ Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, 164. (See also Molony, Nyerere, 147).

¹¹² Stuart J. Mill. Principles of Political Economy with some of their applications to social philosophy, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1904 [1848]), 15. (See also Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, 164. (See also Molony, *Nyerere*, 147).

113 Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, 164. (Nyerere, "Arusha Declaration,"233, 243-245).

Molony, Nyerere, 148.

Nverere, Introduction to Freedom and Socialism, 6. (See also Molony, Nyerere, 147).

Nyerere, Essays on Socialism, 30. (Molony, Nyerere, 147).

¹¹⁷ Molony, Nyerere, 160.

¹¹⁸ Molony, *Nyerere*, 160 (See also T.H. Green., *Political Obligation*, London: Longman, Green and Co., 1948, 175; Brink, O.D. Perfectionism and the Common Good: Themes in the Philosophy of T.H. Green, Oxford: Clarendon, 2003, 92).

¹¹⁹ Molony, Nyerere, 160.

¹²⁰ Molony, Nyerere, 147.

¹²¹ Molony, Nyerere, 150.

¹²² Molony, Nyerere, 160.

¹²³ Molony, *Nyerere*, 160 (See also Gaus G.F, Sweet, 'Introduction,' in Gaus, G.F., Sweet, W, (ed). *The* Philosophical Theory of the State and Related Essays by Bernard Bosanquet, (South Bend, Indiana: St Augustine's Press, 2001), vii-xxx, xxxii).

¹²⁴ Molony, Nyerere, 160.

¹²⁵ Molony, *Nyerere*, 160-161.

¹²⁶ Molony, *Nyerere*, 161 (See also Costello, Macmurray, 101-2 for excerpts of Macmurray's lecture notes on Bosanguet's *Philosophical Theory of the State*).

Harold Laski's Grammar of Politics is also another text that students at Edinburgh studied. ¹²⁷ Laski, an English socialist, follows Green in providing an overview of contemporary European attitudes to socialism and his perspective on mainstream United Kingdom politics. Laski was an executive committee of the Fabian Society. Grammar of Politics discusses and analyzes at length Fabian socialism, and details Laski's suggested reorganization of British industrial life to reflect those ideals. 128 It considers the State as where citizens go to realize themselves, whether 'barristers or miners, Catholics or Protestants or workers. The role of the State as Laski sees it, is to make it possible for each citizen to be his 'best self.' 129

Nyerere adopted Laski's aspiration in a revival of the older Fabian principle of 'civic minimum' in order to enable each citizen to achieve a sufficient share of the primary material needs: food, shelter, health, education and work. 130 Laski states that "the citizen must be left unfettered to express either individually, or in concert with others, any opinions he happens to hold...he is entitled to speak without hindrance of any kind."¹³¹ Laski, goes on to argue that opinions need to be "related to the government if the decisions of the latter body are to be wise... It means weighing their opinions, seeking their criticism, meeting their special needs." Laski presupposes familiar issues of rights and equality that Nyerere adopted. 133 With the outline that Laski presented in Grammar of Politics, Nyerere is able to contextualize contemporary views of socialism, which is 'the politics of the moment' that surrounded him in the United Kingdom. 134 He then combined those views with his own impression of traditional African society. 135

Generally, all the recommended texts for Nyerere's studies at Edinburgh had an impact on him. It is this same literature that informs his later writings and speeches. As an open minded thinker he borrows some good ideas from them which he intertwines with African traditional societal values, so as to meet the targeted goal, which is a holistic liberation of his own people. According to Cranford Pratt, Nyerere attempts to marry the beliefs of western philosophers with what he understood to be traditional African concepts of socialism and democracy. 136 There is more revealing in the parallels between Nyerere's writing and the writings of many academics he read and heard at Edinburgh. He seeks to demonstrate every point by considering it rationally, without reference to what his predecessors had said...However, while he tries and appears to approach each point afresh, he has undoubtedly pondered and absorbed the views of a wide variety of the earlier writers. 137

INFLUENCE FROM CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY

Nyerere's concept of human dignity is also influenced by some Christian philosophers. He is always critical of the policies, which seemed to involve violence. 138 His method is that of non-violence, a system attributable to his Christian background and faith. 139 He learnt and experienced Christian virtues from the Bible, experience with Christian religious communities and Christian philosophers. Core values in Nyerere's speeches and writings, such as equality, human dignity, socialism and justice have inherent religious underpinnings. A number of scholars back up this, such are: Reverend Kenneth Mackenzie, Thomas Molony, Casmir Nyaki, Laurent Magesa, Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg. 140

¹²⁷ Molony, *Nyerere*, 161; Nyerere refers to Laski in his introduction to *Freedom and Socialism*, 17.

¹²⁸ Molony, Nyerere, 161.

Molony, Nyerere, 161. (See also, Laski, H.J, A Grammar of Politics. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1950, 70. This section also draws on Sheerman, Kramnick, Harold Laski, 227-235).

¹³⁰ Molony, Nyerere, 161. (See also Laski, A Grammar of Politics (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1950), 184.

1950), 184.

Molony, Nyerere, 161. (See also Laski, A Grammar of Politics, 120).

1950 Jacki, Grammar of Politics, 94, 273

¹³² Molony, Nyerere, 161. (See also Laski, Grammar of Politics, 94, 273).

¹³³ Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, 8.

¹³⁴ Molony, Nyerere, 161 162. (See also Kramnick & Sheerman, Harold Laski, 227).

¹³⁵ Molony, Nyerere, 161.

¹³⁶ Molony, *Nyerere*, 161-162.

¹³⁷ Molony, Nyerere, 161-152. (See also J. W., Gough Introduction to Locke, J. The Second Treatise of Government: An Essay Concerning the True Original, Extent, and End of Civil Government. (Oxford: Blackwell 1966 (1989), xiii.

Molony, Nyerere, 171.

¹³⁹ Duggan and Civille, *Tanzania and Nyerere*, 49.

¹⁴⁰ At the Chaplaincy in Edinburgh, there was always mass, adoration, prayers, and reflection. Nyerere could not fail to attend such important occasions. (Moron, 176 (See also Ross, Root, 120-3 for a description of the Catholic Chaplaincy,). Father Arthur Wille, from Edinburgh opines that Nyerere wrote to Father Richard Walsh the Director at St Mary's and his mentor, to tell him that he was considering becoming a priest, thinking that he could do a lot for the people of God. However, Father Walsh replied negatively to Nyerere that he had

Molony suggests that much of Nyerere's Christian experience and faith come from his encounter with Fr. Walsh, Fr. James, and Fr. Wille and other Mary Knoll missionaries with whom he had worked with in Musoma. 141 The missionaries had a great influence on him. While at Edinburgh, Nyerere joined the Catholic Students' Union. With other members they used to assemble at the Chaplaincy office. 142 It is opined that in the course of these meetings, Nyerere happened to receive a gift of a book on *The Confessions of St. Augustine*, which he liked to read. 143 Nyerere may have borrowed from St. Augustine the value of justice. For St. Augustine, justice is something that comes from within. Firstly, he states "The Just man lives on the basis of faith."144 Secondly, justice is predicated upon a "certain just order" that is within man. 145 Again St. Augustine assumes the concept of justice to represent an essential connection between faith and action, which is faith conceptualized as reasonable and validated belief. It is faith that orders the thinking of man that, in turn, gives way to right action. 146 Right action for St. Augustine flows from right thinking. St. Augustine states that, "No man has a right to lead such a life of contemplation as to forget in his own ease the service to his neighbour nor has any man a right to be so immersed in active life as to neglect the contemplation of God."¹⁴⁷ This could be a possible reason why Nyerere as a political leader, throughout his life preferred carrying the constitution and a Bible to meetings and conferences. 148 Again, like St. Augustine, Nyerere was committed to the service of the poor. Nyerere, as an educator with deep Christian conviction in the Roman Catholic tradition, wrote within the context of social and political oppression, which caused him to reflect on the service of the poor. 149 as he illustrates:

This poverty does not arise exclusively from Tanzanian actions, or lack of them. A hard working Tanzanian peasant family, if the weather is kind, can, by their combined efforts, earn from their farm just a little more than is needed for subsistence. It takes them years of saving to buy a bicycle. ¹⁵⁰

He clearly understood the importance of liberation of human dignity which he believed could be achieved through education. In his Policy on *Education for Self-Reliance* Nyerere writes:

The educational system of Tanzania must emphasize co-operative endeavor, not individual advancement; it must stress concepts of equality and responsibility to give service which goes with any special ability, whether it be in carpentry, in animal husbandry, or in academic pursuits. Besides in particular, our education must counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance; for this leads to the well-educated despising those whose abilities are non-academic or who have no special abilities but are just human beings. Such arrogance has no place in a society of equal citizens. ¹⁵¹

no Vocation for the church. This critical reply from Father Walsh made Nyerere to think more about his future carrier. (Cf. Moron, 176)

For Casmir Nyaki, Catholic religious life had a great influence to Nyerere's policy of *Ujamaa*. He argues that Nyerere was inspired by the lifestyle of religious men and women in different catholic religious congregations in Tanzania. He was moved by the fact that they could live together, work together, pray together, own everything together, and administered projects such as schools, hospitals, vocational training, and workshops together. Thus, he was really inspired to such a wonderful idea of *Ujamaa* in the church's vision. (Casmir Nyaki, 123-124.)

- (Casmir Nyaki, 123-124.)

 141 Molony, *Nyerere*, 173. (See also Duggan and. Civille, *Tanzania and Nyerere* 42-50), he argues that there were not only the two priests mentioned earlier to have an influence on Nyerere. He was certainly influenced by the actions and philosophies of some African nationalists of the 1950's, some of whom include: Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Luthuli and the like. On international level "he appeared to have been influenced by Abraham Lincoln, Mahatma Gandhi, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Dag Hammarsjold.
 - ¹⁴² Molony, Nyerere, 176.
 - ¹⁴³ Molony, *Nyerere*, 176 (See also Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, 8:17).
- Augustine. (1999a). City of God, ed. P. Schaff. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (First Series, Vols. 1-8). Pearbody, MA: Headrickson), 4.
 - ¹⁴⁵ Augustine, (1999a), City of God, 4.
 - ¹⁴⁶ Augustine, (1999a), City of God, 4.
 - ¹⁴⁷ Augustine, (1999a), City of God, 19.
 - ¹⁴⁸ Molony, Nyerere, 149.
- ¹⁴⁹ Nyerere, *Freedom and A World Economic Order: A Selection from Speeches 1974-1999.* (Dar es Salaam: The Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Foundation, 2011), 45.
 - ¹⁵⁰ Nyerere, World Economic order, 45.
 - ¹⁵¹ Nyerere, Essays on Socialism, 52.

Social justice, according to Augustine, based on the local level, is the care given to the marginalized and the disadvantaged. It is from this understanding that Nyerere showed a concern in relation to the advent of globalization on international social justice issues such as: apartheid; poverty; famine; slavery; and women's right. Nyerere contributed significantly in education, especially of social justice on the dialogue he had in community.

Robert H. Jackson, Carl G. Rosberg, and Casmir Nyaki attest that Nyerere's hero was John XXIII. 152 The thinking of St. Augustine is carried on by Pope John XXIII. The Pope has written an encyclical called Pacem in Terris ("Peace on Earth" of 1963)¹⁵³ on the rights and obligations of individuals and of the State as well as the proper relations between States, Besides the encyclical's stated topic of peace, the Pope also makes a good analysis on the intrinsic dignity of every human person. In Pacem in Terris, John XXIII cites Sacred Scripture, St. Augustine, Aquinas, and Leo XIII, Benedict XV, Pius XI, and Pius XII. By applying the Augustinian concept of peace-as-order to contemporary conditions, Pacem in Terris stretches the classic Catholic moral tradition's thinking about statecraft while maintaining the tradition's intellectual tether to its

John Paul II also teaches that a just and peaceful human society is primarily a spiritual reality. He declares that a truly human society consists of 'spiritual values which exert a guiding influence on culture, economics, social institutions and political movements. Nyaki contends that Nyerere's idea of nationalization of private property is taken from Leo XIII's encyclical letter, *The Condition of Labour (Rerum Novarum)*. ¹⁵⁴ In this letter, the Pontiff articulates the role of the Church, workers and employers in working together to build a just society. He further argues that all people have the right to own private property, for the goods of nature belong equally to all. From John XXIII and the encyclical *Pacem in Terris* of 1963 Nyerere learns the principles of human dignity, equality, and respect, regardless of race. Nyerere finds much to support his own concepts of human dignity and the unity of human kind from Christian faith. This is how Nyerere's philosophical background gets impetus from Christianity, particularly Roman Catholic Church.

Influence from African Traditions

The last influence on Nyerere's philosophical background that is handled in this paper comes from African traditions. A number of major themes that Nyerere picks from traditional African society shapes his philosophical ideologies. These include themes like social justice, unity, freedom and work, and the spirit of living and working together. The African traditional society has good content from which Nyerere draws and integrates with his philosophy.

As already indicated above the course on social anthropology that Nyerere took at Edinburgh acts like a catalyst in reminding him of the values of traditional Africa. ¹⁵⁶ Among these values: social justice, is concerned with 'how human beings acquire their basic needs' and satisfy them collectively; the principle of working and living together, its concern is the recognition of mutual involvement for one another; the commonality of basic goods and the availability for all, the concern here is that each member should receive a share; the principle of freedom and work, its main interest is that people should be free but with responsibility. 157 Molony opines that Nyerere draws these essential African elements and makes a synthesis of his personal experience, which refers to the African tradition, recalling to mind the good qualities of the past, in order to regain the former attitude of mind which was weakened by colonial domination. 158 He merges the ideas of great thinkers with a system of his

¹⁵² Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg., *Personal Rule in Black Africa* (California: University of California Press, 1982), 221. (See also Casmir Nyaki, 88-89).

¹⁵³ The full title of the encyclical is On Establishing Universal Peace in Truth, Justice, Charity and Liberty. The short title Pacem in terris is derived from the opening words of the encyclical, as is customary with papal documents: Pacem in terris, quam homines universi cupidissime quovis tempore appetiverunt, condi confirmarique non posse constat, nisi ordine, quem Deus constituit, sancte servato." ("Peace on earth, for which all men of every era have most eagerly yearned, cannot be firmly established unless the order which God laid down is dutifully observed").

¹⁵⁴ Encyclical Rerum Novarum of Pope Leo XIII, 15 May 1891. http://www.vatican.va/holy father/leo xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf 1-xiii enc 1505189 relum novarum en.html.

¹⁵⁵ Nyaki, Nyerere's Philosophy of Economy, 88-89. (See also Pope's Encyclical Letter 'Rerum Novarum').

156 Molony, Nyerere, 164.

¹⁵⁷ Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, 4-6.

¹⁵⁸ Nyerere, Essays on Socialism, 6.

own, which he thinks may better suit the situation in Tanzania and Africa in general. These are all summarized under one term *Ujamaa*.

The concept 'Ujamaa' may be identified as typical of African traditional societies, because it refers to the traditional social life-style of the Africans.¹⁵⁹ The term 'Ujamaa' implies 'brotherhood' of all men and women.¹⁶⁰ It is first of all an African word and, thus, emphasizes the Africanness. Its literal meaning is familyhood, so that it brings to the mind of our people the idea of mutual involvement in the family.¹⁶¹ Other words which Nyerere prefers to use in the field of family and community are; wananchi¹⁶², ndugu.¹⁶³ The term Ujamaa as African communities understand it, is very rich in human values. It has the following essential elements¹⁶⁴ namely: extended family, community life, familyhood and brotherhood that fosters togetherness or unity. The importance of man in the traditional roots is expressed in the purposefulness of the activities he carries out such as the distribution of what is produced and the method of distribution.¹⁶⁵ The distribution of land would be one of the core activities that man can engage himself in. Care of individuals in the society is what also defines what the African activities that can be expected from a man such as looking after widows, orphans and the elders. All these can be regarded as security and warmth to the members in the society as far as the African traditions are concerned.

Ujamaa as the concept of the extended family, has no place for racialism, tribalism, religious, intolerance, or any type of discrimination. Such practices are absolutely opposed to the first precept of socialism the equality of all people. The human equality implied by the extended family goes beyond the tribe, the community, and the nation for every individual on this continent is one's brother. The extended family must go further and embrace the whole of humankind. Thus, *Ujamaa* stresses on human equality and human dignity as pillars to build a classless society. As Nyerere, himself proposes:

We aim at building a classless society for one reason. In no State is there enough wealth to satisfy the desire of a single individual for power and prestige. Consequently, the moment wealth is divorced from its purpose, which is the banishment of poverty, there develops a ruthless competition between the individuals; each person tries to get more wealth, simply so that he will have more power, and more prestige, than his fellows. Wealth becomes an instrument of domination, a means of humiliating other people. ¹⁷⁰

The emphasis on the classless society means that the extended family makes no distinction among its members who use their own talents and skills to promote the well-being of the national community; People live together, and work together for their common good. Their educational system aims to foster the social goals of living together and working together for the common good. People have to live and work together; the fruits are equally distributed and the physically disabled are cared for by the society. The community is the point of departure and the individual is in essence constituted by others, bringing with it a web of social and ethical obligation. These elements are adopted by Nyerere in his philosophy of leadership and policy.

Nyerere regards *Ujamaa*, that is, African Socialism as an attitude of the mind. It is a way of life and a socialist cannot simply come into existence. ¹⁷⁴ A socialist society can only be built by those who believe in and

¹⁵⁹ Robert Calderisi: Why Foreign Aid Isn't Working The Trouble With Africa (New York: Plagrave Macmillan, 2006), 105.

¹⁶⁰ Nyerere, Essays on Socialism, 1-12.

¹⁶¹ Marie Aude Fouere, ed. *Remembering Nyerere in Tanzania: History, Memory, Legacy*. (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2015), 36.

¹⁶² The literal meaning of the word 'Wananchi' means "children of the country or citizens." (See also Fouere, *Remembering Nyerere*, 36.

¹⁶³ The literal meaning of the word 'ndugu' is 'extended family members' or 'Comrades'

¹⁶⁴ Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, 2.

¹⁶⁵ Nyerere, Essays on Socialism, 83.

¹⁶⁶ Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, 4.

¹⁶⁷ Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism, 30.

¹⁶⁸ Nverere, *Freedom and Unity*, 58.

¹⁶⁹ Nyerere, Essays on Socialism, 314.

¹⁷⁰ Nyerere, Essays on Socialism, 314, (See also Duggan and Civille: Tanzania and Nyerere: A Study of Ujamaa and Nationalism, 170-171).

¹⁷¹ J.T. Erumevba, "The Concept of African Brotherhood and Praxis of Unity: Nyerere Revisited", *In Philosophy in Africa: Trends and Perspectives*, edited by P.O. Bodunrin (Nigeria: University of Ife Press, 1985), 190-199.

¹⁷² Nyerere, Freedom and Development, 58-71, 67.

¹⁷³ Nyerere, Essays on Socialism, 102-103.

¹⁷⁴ Nyerere, Essays on Socialism, 1-12.

who practice the principles of *Ujamaa*. Thus, it has nothing to do with the possession or non-possession of wealth since even destitute people can be potential capitalist exploiters of their fellow human beings. ¹⁷⁵ The famous *Arusha Declaration* has become the highest expression and maturity of *Ujamaa* theory, ¹⁷⁶ which has enhanced *Ujamaa* to be an attitude of mind. *Ujamaa* is for man and society, it is an achievement of equality, as a self-reliance and self-help.

Nyerere's own family-chiefdom background, the Zanaki system, namely 'Eriisaga,'177 is a good illustration of Ujamaa. Kemal Mustafa's study of Ujamaa suggests that there is a strong link between Zanaki institutions and Nyerere's Socialism/Ujamaa. The study shows that there may be some Zanaki influence in Nyerere's concept of Ujamaa. This is confirmed by Nyerere himself when he is interviewed by Stoger-Eising, after his retirement.¹⁷⁹ He perceives traditional African society as the place where people work hard and basic goods are held in common and shared among all members. By the time Nyerere starts to develop the idea of Ujamaa, he is equally inspired by the current struggle for African independence and African figures like Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, Léopold Sedar Senghor to mention but a few, who had a good understanding of the African reality. Therefore, Ujamaa as a philosophy of Nyerere is something which comes from the heart of Africa, the so-called Africa's "popular socialist." 181

IV. CONCLUSION

In summary, this paper, has argued that since Nyerere accessed a number of philosophical writings and Christian literature during his formative years, he encountered some philosophical ideas which he later harmonized with African traditional values to formulate his own philosophy. The same sources contributed to his rich concept of human dignity. Therefore, it can be concluded assertively that Nyerere's concept of human dignity likewise arises from the philosophical formation received at Edinburgh University, and from various prominent philosophical figures he encountered and personal harmonization of their ideas with the African traditional values with the aim of reconstructing his policies for liberating the African people from colonialism. As already noted, Nyerere as a good thinker, did not hesitate to borrow good philosophical ideas and harmonize them into his own thinking in order to fit in his context.

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¹⁷⁵ Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, 2.

¹⁷⁶ Nyerere, Essays on Socialism, 7.

¹⁷⁷ Eriisaga is a Zanaki word, meaning, "communal style of life." People live together in harmony, work together; it is a form of cooperative labour system. It has similar elements with Ujamaa system of life. Nyerere saw his own family life style; his father had twenty two wives, who were living in the same compound, working together, living together, shared what they earned in one big farm, they had a sense of respect to each other, generosity among others. Nyerere saw such kind of cooperation and all sorts of virtues, and that is why he dares to say, "....in traditional African society, nobody starved, either of food or of human dignity, because he/she lacked personal wealth".

¹⁷⁸ K. Mustafa, "The Development of Ujamaa in Musoma: A Case Study of Butiama Ujamaa Village", M.A. Dissertation (University of Dar es salaam, 1975).

¹⁷⁹ Molony, Nyerere, 21.

¹⁸⁰ Molony, Nyerere, 166.

¹⁸¹ Claphaw Christopher, *The Collapse of Socialist Development in the Third World. The Third World Quartery*, 1/1992, 13-25.

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