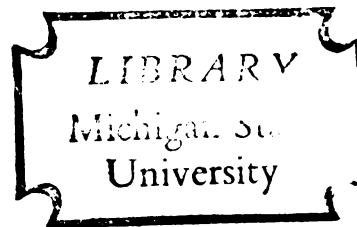


THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF
PRESIDENT JULIUS K. NYERERE

A Dissertation
for the Degree of Ph. D.
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Tapera A. Chiwocha
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THESIS



This is to certify that the

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ABSTRACT

THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF PRESIDENT JULIUS K. NYERERE

By

Tapera A. Chiwocha

Most independent African States are searching for a socio-cultural and political identity of their own. Of these states, Tanzania has achieved a significant success in defining and articulating its own goals and desired national identity. Though some descriptive works on Tanzania's social and political integration have been done over the past decade, there is still a need for a descriptive analytical, and evaluative study of the seminal and foundational ideas which underlie the whole movement toward the creation and achievement of national identity in Tanzania. Since in Tanzania education is regarded as the essential agency for the creation and shaping of national identity, this study attempts to meet the stated need by an analytical clarification and evaluation of the philosophy of education which obtains in that country--the educational philosophy of President Nyerere.

The fundamental ideas which determine Tanzania's philosophy of education are expressed in President Julius Nyerere's prolific speeches to various audiences on various

official occasions. These addresses, therefore, make up the main body of primary source materials for this study. Further useful documents are those produced by TANU, the National Party, during its deliberations on policy matters. Parliamentary debates in the Hansard also reflect and project foundational, philosophical ideas on education and the direction of society. All these documents, along with outside reactions to and criticisms of them, are basic to this study. The second category of sources used is that related to the theory of education and to learning theory

Equally important, but hardly cited, sources are those dealing with methodological approaches to analytical philosophy of education. These sources have proved indispensable, though no single method was adopted at the exclusion of others.

The strategy in the analysis, and evaluation of Nyerere's philosophy of education has been to contrast his ideas with, and test them against, some of these fairly well tried theoretical works. The present author's own positions and preferences have emerged out of this process of analyzing and evaluating as well as contrasting.

Several findings and conclusions have resulted from the study. A critical analysis of the basis on which Nyerere claims that human beings are equal was made. This

Tapera A. Chiwocha

analysis led to the realization that, notwithstanding the bases Nyerere gives as justification for that claim, a valid justification can be better found in the theory of valuation.

Further, it is found that Nyerere's concern with social justice is the cornerstone of his philosophy of education. Generally embodied in the concept of "Human Dignity", Nyerere's "social justice" is conceived of as attainable through a special kind of African socialism he calls Ujamaa. In turn, Nyerere's philosophy of education is calculated to bring about an Ujamaa society, and, through it, social justice.

In evaluating the official Tanzanian education policy, the Education for Self-Reliance, it is argued that, despite widespread skepticism in the West, Nyerere's philosophy of education is more likely to be effective in creating an Ujamaa society than in bringing about optimal academic development of students--the people in whose hands the destiny of Tanzania will ultimately come to rest.

THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF PRESIDENT JULIUS K. NYERERE

By

Tapera A. Chiwocha

A DISSERTATION

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TO

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	Page
I. THE BACKGROUND.....	1
II. HUMAN EQUALITY.....	11
III. SOCIALISM, DIGNITY, AND EQUALITY.....	43
IV. EDUCATION AND SOCIALISM.....	67
V. EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTATION AND THE "GOOD LIFE".....	96
The Premise of Education.....	96
Education for Self-Reliance and Rural Development.....	101
Education for Self-Reliance and the Ideal Society.....	129
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	135

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND

In planning this analytical study, several factors played a decisive role. Because of the author's aspirations as a future educator in Zimbabwe, it was decided that a substantial part of the exercise should be a personal exploration of the sorts of ideas, problems, and situations which are likely to arise during the course of the development of that country's system of education. In this regard, the ideas of President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania were selected as most appropriate for study. For despite the fact that Zimbabwe and Tanzania have differing historical, geographical, educational, and social organizational patterns; and though the two countries have different problems and demands to contend with, the sort of man President Nyerere is, and the sort of political and educational ideas he had generated within a single decade, occupy such a prominent place in philosophising about African education today that the choice to study his ideas was almost compelling.

Within the past decade, President Nyerere has emerged as one of the few stable and influential leaders of Africa. A philosopher president, Nyerere's ideas on politics, education and social organization currently receive wide attention both in the African continent and abroad. His ideas will, without doubt, continue to influence the thinking and behavior of many generations of Africans to come. If he is wrong in his prescriptions, his influence could be cancerous; on the other hand, if he is right, his ideas could potentially benefit many an African in the future. Nyerere's ideas demand a close scrutiny by any young African who intends to participate in the future development of his country's education system. For Nyerere has, indeed, formulated and implemented a unique and revolutionary educational reform in Tanzania.

Born in 1922 in a small tribal village of Butiami on the east coast of Lake Victoria in Tanganyika, Nyerere is one of the twenty-six children of the chief of the Zanaki tribe. This is one of the smallest of the well over one hundred twenty-five tribes in Tanzania. Hence it is significant that due to his own personal ability and charisma as a fair and broadminded national leader, he has been able to rise to his present political preeminence and win the overwhelming support of all the tribal groupings in Tanzania. Moreover, Nyerere has held together in peace and

cooperation groups whose history is characterized by a propensity to conflict--such as, Christians, Muslims, Jews, Buddhists, and Animists. His success reflects the soundness of his egalitarian philosophy as well as his own personal character as a leader.

As a boy, Nyerere was not able to attend school until the age of twelve at which time he went to a boarding school. Upon graduation, Nyerere entered a Roman Catholic secondary school and later turned a good Christian and forty-two years later an American journalist reported of him that he "attends mass regularly."¹ At the secondary school level of his education, Nyerere's academic excellence surfaced and he won a scholarship to Makerere College in Uganda where he received a Diploma in Education. While at Makerere College, Nyerere became more politically aware, participating in the non-political civil service organization, then called Tanganyika African Association, which he later converted into the independence movement, the Tanganyika African National Union. That is now the ruling party; in 1965 it was declared the only legal party in Tanzania.

Before Nyerere formed TANU and became a committed full-time politician, he had won another scholarship in 1949-1952

¹New York Times, Sept. 16, 1976, p. 2.

to attend the prestigious Scottish University of Edinburgh. At the end of his study, he was awarded an M.A. Degree in History and Economics. Upon his return to Tanganyika, Nyerere took up a teaching post at a respected secondary school, St. Francis, near Dar es Salaam, the Tanzanian capital. These were to be his last years as a school teacher since in three years he abandoned teaching to assume the presidency of his fledgling Party in its pursuit of national independence.

In his new found profession as President of TANU, Nyerere embarked on a vigorous campaign to capture African support for the movement. Nyerere and his party's growing influence soon began to irritate the officials of the British colonial government who, after failing to silence Nyerere's denunciations of them, attempted to co-opt him by appointing him into the legislative council in 1954, and again in 1957. President Nyerere unsuccessfully tried to use his new position on the Legislative Council to move the colonial government towards granting independence to the Africans as represented by TANU. Apparently, those were the very aspirations the government wanted to discourage by integrating Nyerere into the established government machinery. However, Nyerere would not be distracted from his goal of national independence, and he quit his appointed post in protest and continued with his demands ever more vociferously and vigorously.

The special circumstances of Tanganyika's history had some influence on the success or failure of Nyerere's quest for independence. From the eighth century through the sixteenth century, the Indian Ocean, which undergirds the eastern border of mainland Tanzania, was firmly in the control of Arab traders. The Arabs traded in nearly everything including humans. They did not penetrate far into the interior of Tanganyika, but haunted the coastal regions and the Islands of Zanzibar, Mafia and Pemba. The significance of this historical fact is that over the centuries of rubbing shoulder to shoulder between the African and Arab cultures, Swahili developed and came to be spoken over extensive areas of the country. Today, Swahili is Tanzania's national language and medium of instruction in schools. Swahili is also an important uniting factor in the process of political integration in Tanzania.

After the sixteenth century, the dominance of Arab influence was tempered by that of the Portuguese who intermittently gained an upper hand on the coastal regions of Tanzania. About 1885, the appearance on the Indian Ocean shore of the Germans not only foretold the eclipse of both Arab and Portuguese power, but also heralded a new era for the area. The Germans opened up the coastal area for intensive missionary activity, but as Arabs proved impervious to Christianity, the German missionaries moved further inland

to more receptive African communities where they engaged in a somewhat mad competition for converts. The effect of stressing conversion as a major goal of missionary schools was that the German colonial government in Tanganyika, then known as German East Africa, found that education unsuited for the production of competent, skilled African civil servants. Accordingly, the government set up schools with emphasis on technical skills rather than morality and religion. Government schools were, however, always grossly outnumbered by the missionary ones.

After World War I, German East Africa (Tanganyika) passed from a German colony to a mandate territory entrusted to the British by the League of Nations. The German colonial system of government and education had been settled for over thirty-one years but now they had to be transformed to suit the new British masters. The British were allowed to retain their responsibility over Tanganyika under the United Nations Trusteeship Council after the abrogation of the League of Nations at the end of World War II.

This historical background affected the choice of strategy in the struggle for national liberation. The British, as well as the international community of nations, had considerable say in the decision to grant Nyerere and his Party political independence. According to the Trusteeship Agreement, Britain was entrusted with the responsibility

to develop Tanganyika in preparing it for independence. This is why President Nyerere decided to take the demands for independence before the United Nations Trusteeship Council in 1955 while at the same time pressing the British government to let Africans rule themselves. The history of the country thus dictated a two-pronged approach to the nationalist struggle. This historical situation also meant that the liberation struggle was going to be relatively easier and less bloody than in some other British colonies such as Rhodesia and Kenya where independence movements have had to resort to violence as a solution.

Actually, unlike many British colonies where decolonization involved the redrafting of the constitution, in Tanzania the devolution of power to the African occurred within the framework of the established colonial government. After a hard drive for support, TANU made a good but insufficient showing at the 1958 elections; but in 1960 Nyerere and his Party commanded an overwhelming majority so that Nyerere became a Colonial Prime Minister under the British government! Within the following year, however, he was able to negotiate independence for his country.

At this stage, some characteristics of Nyerere can be recognized. We can also begin to see a crude construct of his philosophical ideas--although these ideas had yet to be tried over the forthcoming years of administrative experience. We can discern his ability to set out clear goals

for his followers. This ability to delineate Party and national goals has apparently served him well as leader of TANU and Tanzania. Other emerging qualities of Julius Nyerere include the ability to make independent decisions and to carry these decisions through. Nyerere's independent mindedness is responsible for the fact that Tanzanian education, like many other areas of public policy, has followed a direction which in the context of Africa, is significantly unique. Some of the Tanzanian social reforms, such as, the policy of building a socialist state, have provoked intensive and extensive outside criticism. Yet Julius Nyerere, firm in his convictions, has gone ahead and attempted to implement these policies.

President Julius Nyerere shows a strong sense of humanism. This love of mankind has come to underpin his social and educational philosophy with the result that he has become a father image in Tanzania and in many parts of Africa. The same humaneness seems responsible for the enviable security which an average Tanzanian, unlike nationals of some African countries, enjoys.

Nyerere's conception of the "Good Life" derives from his commitment to social justice. Upon reading his essays and examining his policies, one comes to realize that "Good Life" for Nyerere means the preeminence of a concern for the material, social, political and general well-being,

not of a select few, but of every member of society. It means that political power for its own sake should be re-proached and that economic power for its own sake or for exploitative purposes should be condemned. Nyerere's "Good Life" demands an equitable, universal distribution of the basic benefits of society to all individuals who are members of that society. That is, Nyerere's "Good Life" is a widely shared improvement of the human condition which does not arbitrarily leave out anyone or any one group of people. This view of the "Good Life" discourages a vertically differentiated social improvement and instead encourages a horizontal, more organistic, form of social improvement. Subsumed under the "Good Life" are the concepts: human dignity, equality, freedom, sharing and responsibility. These concepts are then interwoven into a network of political, social and educational philosophy.

In Nyerere's pursuit of the "Good Life", the concepts "Equality" and "Socialism" play such an important role that the next two chapters will be devoted to their analysis, exposition, and criticism. Although many other concepts configure into Nyerere's philosophy, these two appear to be so basic to Nyerere's thinking that any treatment of his educational philosophy and policy without taking full account of them would probably be incomplete.

One of my main aims in this study is the description and critical analysis of Nyerere's educational philosophy, hence, the lengthy examination of Nyerere's central concepts. In order to understand the means by which Nyerere proposes to achieve his philosophical goals, I shall critically analyze his policy of education for self-reliance.

In summary, the scope of this study encompasses: the identification of Julius Nyerere's conception of the "Good Life"; the analysis of Nyerere's social philosophy, and educational philosophy; a critical examination of "Education for Self-Reliance" as Nyerere's means to the "Good Life"; and most importantly, the use of President Nyerere's ideas as a basis for my own personal exploration into possible alternatives for African education.

CHAPTER II

HUMAN EQUALITY

As stated in the preceding chapter, Nyerere's idea of the "Good Life" is a configuration of several concepts. "Human equality" is one of the most important of these concepts. Since this concept is the key to understanding such other important ideas as human dignity--indeed to understanding Nyerere's whole philosophy and educational policy--it is imperative that we give a rather extensive treatment to this idea. In Nyerere's writings, one finds a discrepancy between his abstract assertions about human equality and what he means by it in practical application; the relationship between the two is at least unclear, if not altogether contradictory. I hope that this analysis will effectively reconcile Nyerere's theoretical and practical meanings of "human equality".

Theoretically, President Nyerere assumes and argues that the equality of man is a reality. The constitution of Tanzania makes the categorical claim that all human beings are equal.¹ It is therefore asserted that every

¹Julius K. Nyerere, Ujamaa--Essays on Socialism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 43.

human being has an equal right to dignity and respect. In many instances, President Nyerere clearly demonstrates his view of human equality as objective. In a speech at Dar es Salaam University College on August 5, 1967, he told the audience that,

The real question, therefore, is whether each one of us is prepared to accept the challenge of building a state in which no man is ashamed of his poverty in the light of another's affluence, and no man is ashamed of his affluence in the light of another's poverty.²

Having said that he then went on to ask the question,

Are we prepared to build a society in which all men can treat with others [sic] on terms of complete equality and in the spirit of cooperation?³

The expression 'complete equality' suggests an objective quality.

Further on in the same speech, President Nyerere leaves no doubt about the objectivity of human equality.

He says:

But the basis of rural life in Tanzania must be the practice of co-operation in its widest sense--in living, in working, and in distribution, and all with an acceptance of the absolute equality of all men and women.⁴

Other statements could be produced to show that President Nyerere appears to hold a definitional equality of man.

²Ibid., p. 105.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 120.

One way to clarify his position is to examine his bases for claiming a definitional equality of man.

At one level, President Nyerere proposes the universal brotherhood of man and man's creation by God as the grounds of equality. Nyerere's justification of the equality of man on these two bases can be seen clearly in the following statement:

The man or woman who hates 'Jews', or 'Asians', or 'Europeans', or even 'West Europeans and Americans' is not a socialist. He is trying to divide mankind into groups and is judging men according to the skin color and shape they are given by God. Or he is dividing men according to national boundaries. In either case, he is denying the equality and brotherhood of man.⁵

This statement was printed in the Nationalist on February 14, 1967.

Later in a speech to the University of Cairo, Nyerere says that there is no room for racialism and aristocracy in socialism; that there is no room for the kind of arrogance which leads educated men and women to despise the uneducated. He says that "the human equality" before God which is the basis of the great religions of the world is also the basis of the political philosophy of socialism.⁶ These two bases of the equality of man--the brotherhood of man and the common origin of man as creatures of God--take

⁵Ibid., p. 39.

⁶Ibid., p. 79.

the issue out of the realm of experimental knowledge; that human beings are equal becomes a product of faith. Under these conditions, no equality of man subject to empirical verification can be sustained, and any suggestion that Nyerere might hold equality as a definitional quality of man cannot be justified on the ground of universal brotherhood and common origin as creatures of God. Yet, Nyerere seems to use these two grounds precisely to justify the claim that human beings are equal as a fact of human existence.

In purely analytical terms, it would seem to be too precipitous a leap from the claim that all men are brothers to the conclusion that they are therefore equal. Unless one means to change the ordinary meanings and usages of words, how can the relatedness of things be equated with their equality?

The idea of the brotherhood of man is obviously used to imply a certain kind of fellow-feeling or love of one another. To use an illustration most readers will be familiar with, individual humans are related in the same way coins as money are related. One can infer a sort of obscure equality embodied in the common purpose of money and perhaps in the ~~common~~ substance used to make money. That is, the common purpose of all money is buying and selling of commodities or services; yet, should this not be

better described as a sameness or similarity of purpose rather than the equality of money? Would not the equality of money have to be tested or assessed precisely on the grounds of the function of money? The value of all denominations of money depends on their power in the activity of buying or selling, and not simply on the fact of bearing the name 'money'. Similarly, the brotherhood of man and the common origin of man whether from creation by God or from the accident of the evolutionary process, would seem to provide merely a common basis for comparison rather than evidence of equality. As a matter of fact, any attempt to compare human beings is bound to find, not their equality but the striking uniqueness of each individual. In addition, unlike the various denominations of money, there is no universal agreement on the exact purpose of people which would give us a basis for measuring their equality. For those who believe in a common God, a deity provides the standard, of course; but the point here is that there is no universally accepted and verifiable standard to warrant the claim that human equality exists as a fact of life according to the President's argument.

Another complication in this problem of assessing human equality is that man is himself the assessor and that, as a result, the sheath that covers his ego would not stand objectivity. That Nyerere may be overreacting to the

tendency of people to overrate themselves at the expense of others is indeed an intriguing possibility. Examples of this are all too abundant in the colonialist attitudes and practices in Africa. In any case, President Nyerere argues stubbornly, for the objectivity of human equality, even though he cannot prove it. A careful scrutiny of his arguments leads one to the conclusion that the notion of human equality is a facet of Nyerere's statecraft, as can be deduced from the following example.

In the introduction to the book, Uhuru Na Ujamaa, President Nyerere does not find a valid basis of human equality except to state that man is the purpose of society; he rejects all obtrusive manifestations of inequality and stubbornly insists on the absolute equality of man. He writes,

The word man to a socialist means all men--all human beings. Male and female; Black, White, Brown, Yellow; long-nosed and short-nosed; educated and uneducated; wise and stupid; strong and weak; all these and all other distinctions between human beings are irrelevant to the fact that all members of society--all the beings that are its purpose--are equal.⁷

This last sentence seems to suggest that equality is based on the fact of man's being a concern of society. One might infer from this that an empirical, though not absolute, basis of human equality, has been found. As if in

⁷Julius K. Nyerere, Uhuru Na Ujamaa/Freedom and Socialism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. H.

anticipation of that possible interpretation, the President continues,

The equality of man may or may not be susceptible to scientific proof. But its acceptance as a basic assumption of life in a society is the core and essence of socialism. No one who qualifies his belief in the equality of man is really a socialist.⁸

This could be taken to mean that proof of human equality is not easy to come by; but that one should nevertheless accept it, notwithstanding all the manifestations of human inequality.

President Nyerere's categorical claim of the reality of human equality involves the problem of the acceptable basis of human knowledge. From the metaphysical point of view, is one free to make any sort of assumptions he wishes and act on them as if they were true? Even more serious than that, should one be free to campaign and try to persuade others to accept such assumptions? If the answer to these questions were "yes", some individuals might make the kinds of assumptions about truth that would have no correlation with anything in the experience of man whatsoever. In fact, such assumptions have probably been made many times during the course of human history; and some of them, rightly or wrongly, may have shaped the whole direction of human destiny. In matters of such potentially momentous

⁸Ibid.

human consequences, modern man seems inclined more and more to require that a priori assumptions should be reconciled with empirical human perceptions.

These requirements of modern scientific experimentalism extend even to those assumptions and statements of a normative or moral character. Glen Allen has analyzed the use of the concept 'ought' and demonstrated this necessity to reconcile abstract ideas and empirical perceptions. He argues that there are basically three types of 'oughts'.⁹

First, there is the theoretical 'ought' which derives from a general observation such as: when one sees certain familiar clouds, one may conclude that it 'ought' to rain; when one sees smoke shooting into the air, one may conclude that there 'ought' to be fire; or when darkness begins to clear up at dawn one may conclude that the sun 'ought' to be about to rise. In all these cases, some theory of causal laws which falls within the experimental experiences of man is involved.

The second 'ought', the 'practical ought', tells what specific steps need to be taken in order for one to achieve a certain objective. If one wants to go to college, for instance, one 'ought' to apply and take the scholastic aptitude test; if one is to become a competent physician, one

⁹Ethics (University of Chicago Press: Vol. 82, No. 82; April 1972), pp. 184-190.

'ought' to be good at chemistry, biology, and physics. Here again, 'ought' implies a theory of causal laws that can be or has been at least partially verified by human experience.

Finally, the moral 'ought' is much like the second or the practical 'ought' in the sense that it concerns itself with the effective means necessary to attain a certain objective. The only difference is that the moral 'ought' implies a firm commitment to only one most appropriate of the available alternative means to that object. For instance, the objective of political independence can be achieved by a bloody revolution, negotiations, economic boycott, or by mass non-cooperative civil disobedience. According to Glen Allen's analysis, the moral 'ought' might insist that political independence can and must be achieved by negotiations only because the other alternatives involve human suffering. The important point in all this is that even in this moral position, the causal relationship between negotiations and political independence remains intact, and its proof can be found in the realm of human experience. Furthermore, even normative statements should be grounded in the experimental world of what is possible.

Thus, Glen Allen's theory would find President Nyerere's a priori assumptions of human equality unacceptable since they lack an empirical basis for validation. For according to this, how can one experimentally ascertain the equality

of all men before God? In any event, all attempts to do so are bound to raise as many difficult questions as answers can be found.

John Dewey, the renowned American philosopher, takes a very clear position that would strike down Nyerere's application of a priori assumptions to human equality as an absolute truth. He writes graphically:

Traditional empiricism was accordingly right in insisting that no amount of conception, of thought material, could by itself deliver any knowledge of existence, no matter how elaborate be the conceptual system and how internally coherent.¹⁰

He underscores this criticism by concluding that, "We cannot derive existence from thought--pace idealism."¹⁰

Instead, what Dewey advocates as an acceptable basis of claims or knowledge combines both human reasoning in abstract and sense perception. On the same page as the one cited above, he says,

The senses are, existentially speaking, the organs by which we obtain the material of observation.... Merely physical interactions whether of external things or of the organism, yield observations that form the material of enquiry; problematic material.¹⁰

Applying this to President Nyerere, unless human equality can be corroborated with observable human phenomena, it cannot have an existence and cannot count as a reality.

¹⁰John Dewey, The Quest for Certainty, p. 56.

For President Nyerere as a political practitioner, such empirical experimental basis of knowledge would seem to be even more imperative since to him the value of knowledge is its susceptibility to practical implementation. In any event, President Nyerere's concept of human equality based on the brotherhood of man and on the equality of man before God does not conform to the principles of experimental knowledge and is, therefore, not admissible as real truth that exists in the living world.

It must be made clear, however, that the idea of human equality in social and political practice is significantly important and even necessary for a just society. Its use in this connection should mean procedural treatment of man by institutions such as society or government in their provision of services to people. The equality of man should mean such things as equality before the law, and the claim to equal civil rights. This is the way in which "human equality" seems to have been used historically in democratic practice; and this is also the way in which Nyerere seems to use the concept in his practical application as compared to his theoretical formulations.

This difference between the practical and the theoretical meanings in Nyerere's use of the concept "human equality" can be easily illustrated. Nyerere frequently uses the concept "equality" as merely a desirable thing

socially and politically, and not something that necessarily exists in actuality; he appears to do this in contradiction to his own theoretical propositions as demonstrated in the statements cited above. He says, for instance, that

... socialism is secular. It has nothing to say about whether there is a God. Certainly it rests on the assumption of equality of man, but people can reach this conclusion by many routes. People can accept the equality of man because they believe all men were created by God, they can believe it because they feel that scientific evidence supports such a conclusion, or they can accept it simply because that is the only basis on which life in society can be organized without injustice. It does not matter ... why people accept the equality of man as the basis of social organization; all that matters is that they do accept it.¹¹

The thing then that really matters is not a descriptive human equality, but the social justice that results from a normative acceptance of human equality. That is, a procedural human equality is clearly necessary as a means to human dignity, but the fact that Nyerere does not care how one comes to accept it seems to undermine a real foundation of its descriptive reality, and underscores, instead, its instrumental and normative role.

In a speech to the students and staff of the University of Cairo, President Nyerere reveals that his major concern is not human equality per se but its effect on society and on social institutions. He argues in this speech that socialism is a state of mind--an attitude.

¹¹Nyerere, op. cit., p. 13.

Without this attitude, he feels that the society and its institutions are apt to be subverted from their true purpose—"which is man." He says that, first and foremost, there must be an acceptance of human equality for the right attitude consistent with socialism.¹² Again, this kind of social equality is something that can be nurtured and formed into attitudes for the sake of a harmonious society.

Within President Nyerere's philosophy, much of the human suffering and conflicts are seen as coming from the disunity among people because of the classification of them into various social groups, and especially from inequalities of different sorts. Such social and political situations demand that all government and social policies be conducted in a manner that presumes the equality of man, but it is a qualified equality: it is an equality of economic opportunity, of political opportunity, or before the law; it cannot be a definitional equality of man as such. Certainly in the applied sense, the equality of people cannot be as absolute a reality as Nyerere seems to suggest. President Nyerere has not forgotten that deliberate inequality due to official policies was the very thing that struck down all of the European colonialisms one by one. The fate of an African independent government would be no different.

¹²Ibid., p. 309.

The consequences of discriminatory policies would have the same disruptive result. The African government of Tanzania, as well as any other African country, must avoid this pitfall.

It follows, therefore, that whether or not human equality is absolute, policies based on it are nevertheless politically desirable. Whether equality can be attained in its entirety or merely in relative degrees, President Nyerere feels that it must be pursued for the sake of harmony and peace in society. This in actual practice is what President Nyerere means by, and does with, human equality.

President Nyerere reveals this concern with promoting social peace through the application of principles of social equality in a statement in which he discusses socialism. He says that socialism is an expression of the belief that man can live in harmony with man and can develop to his full potential as a unique individual only in a society "the purpose of which is man," a society based on the principles of human equality, and so organized as to emphasize both man's equality and his control over all the instruments of his life and development.¹³ Otherwise, without regulating the gross inequalities among men, there would

¹³Ibid., p. 22.

inevitably arise exploitation of one group by another which would ultimately lead to social eruptions and disharmony. In this context, principles of human equality would seem to refer to the government practice of regulating inequalities rather than to equality as a natural relationship among human beings.

President Nyerere stated his concern over potential social and political violence, unless the governments presume all their citizens to be equal before government policies and before the law in the so-called 'Dag Hammarskjöld Memorial Lecture', at the University College, Dar es Salaam. He gave a strong warning. The fact that each member of society is of a different physical, mental, or moral strength does not allow any society to assume with impunity that its citizens can be separated one from another as regards the law which applies to them. For however small the number that is discriminated against, their existence remains a threat. He says, in addition, that it does not matter on what grounds these differences are excused, anyone who is deliberately excluded from the benefits of certain laws would have less interest than others in the maintenance of the society and peace within it. President Nyerere concludes this admonition by stressing that anyone discriminated against by law will be a constant threat to the other members of society; that attempts to make him

less than a man would rebound, for in order for this person to keep his self-respect, he would be forced to strike back on the society at the earliest possible opportunity.¹⁴

The observations in the above paragraph are founded on empirical evidence that human beings expect and demand fair treatment by the laws of a government which professes to represent everyone's interests. They object to preferential treatment of some, and the arbitrary discrimination against others. Thus, it does not seem that definitional equality of man is the issue, but that people want equality before the law. If the notion of equality is involved, it is in the sense that the government should represent the good of everyone, and that if it does not, some people would try to get one that represents either the good of everyone or at least their own good. It is of this threat that Nyerere warns all governments and societies; and the only escape from this is for governments to make laws and social policies that presume the equality of all. Consequently, it is not the problem of human equality that triggers the inquiry; but it is the need for a basis of social peace and harmony that seems to start the inquiry into the nature of human equality. Regardless of whether or not the exact

¹⁴Julius K. Nyerere, Uhuru Na Umaja/Freedom and Unity (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 268-269.

nature of human equality is discovered, it is nevertheless known that equality of treatment is a viable solution to the social problem of disloyalty, rebellion, or revolt. No sensible politician would want to wait until this exact basic foundation of equality is defined before implementing it; and while President Nyerere is busy taking measures to curb inequality, he may well be groping for an understanding of the nature and foundation of human equality. Such an equality can hardly be called an absolute reality, though the need for it may be real beyond any shadow of doubt.

The kind of society President Nyerere envisions in Tanzania reflects the concerns about the effects of social inequality among people. He portrays that kind of society in the following terms:

This is the objective of socialism in Tanzania. To build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities; in which all can live at peace with their neighbors without suffering or imposing injustice, being exploited, or exploiting; and in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material wealth before any individual lives in luxury.¹⁵

In that practical application of human equality, as in those cases cited immediately above, Julius Nyerere is talking--not of the equality of man qua man--but of the

¹⁵Nyerere, Ujamaa, p. 110.

equality of opportunity which means quite a different thing. This sort of use of equality results from the kind of experimental knowledge Glen Allen and John Dewey are talking about. That is, Nyerere has, through the senses, perceived the problems emanating from social and political inequality; he has used abstract ideas to interpret the problem and to hypothesize a solution which can be tested by direct application. Having experimentally found that application of the principles of social equality reduces political tensions, Nyerere may then accept this solution of human equality, as a fact. But it seems unjustifiable to conclude that because equal treatment of human beings would solve social problems, human beings are therefore equal. It is quite another thing to say that because social equality solves political problems, let us try to find means of bringing it about. In the latter case, equality would be something to work for--an ideal which may not be attainable

except in relative degrees. There is no reason why this could not be said without forfeiting all the essential qualities of a socialist as Nyerere claims.

Maybe the best way to understand what a politician means is to look at the practice of what he says. When Julius Nyerere speaks abstractly he seems to give "human equality" a qualitative, definitional, meaning. When we look at his political practice, we find that by human

equality he really means a desirable and effective basis of social policy. This is the sort of discrepancy philosophical analysis should clarify and reconcile. Although it is difficult to find a convincing, rational justification for perceiving "human equality" as a qualitative, definitional, characteristic of the species, we can readily agree with Nyerere that in political and social practice, people should be assumed to be and treated as equal. Otherwise there is bound to be disorder. For this reason, Nyerere is concerned about the ever present tendency of individuals to want to exploit one another. He, therefore, develops social policies designed to keep gross inequalities to the minimum. He asserts that the government has the right and power to intervene in order to prevent exploitation of one man by another. In other words, the government creates economic 'equality' by reducing the mechanisms of exploitation in human relations. He feels that equality was possible in traditional African society because of the structure of that society before the coming of European colonialism which then introduced individualistic and exploitive materialism. According to President Nyerere, the government can and must encourage the growth of human equality by manipulating and regulating the social, economic, and political relations of people.

In October, 1969, at a dinner with Soviet President Podgorny, in the Kremlin, President Nyerere said that Africa had communal or socialist traditions which were the bases of current efforts at building socialist Tanzania. He said,

It is on those traditions that we are building. We are trying to maintain the traditional equality of our people and to work out new forms of political and economic association which will enable us to increase our real wealth while completely eliminating both social and economic exploitation.¹⁶

The applied meaning of human equality involves active government intervention in the economic organization of Tanzania in order to stamp out and prevent exploitation. This is one of the points made in the Arusha Declaration:

The Declaration also declared war on exploitation of all kinds. The nationalization measures and the government action to secure majority control in major economic enterprises was one part of the action which has been taken, and has to be taken, against exploitation in Tanzania.¹⁷

President Nyerere goes on to list many other government measures taken to reduce economic inequalities and to uproot exploitation among the people. Nyerere expects this relative social equality to bring about human dignity and the general well-being of the masses.

In a speech at Cairo University Nyerere said that exploitation can be prevented by equal treatment before the

¹⁶ Julius K. Nyerere, Uhuru Na Maendeleo/Freedom and Development (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 135.

¹⁷ Nyerere, Ujamaa, pp. 153- .

law, and by following a fair social policy:

The Rule of Law, and Equality before the law are one essential means of preventing exploitation. But they are only practical when the society as a whole is based on the principles of equality--when in other words, a socialist policy is being followed.¹⁸

Surely, equality before the law and socialist policy which would prevent exploitation and therefore establish human equality are human and have their origin in human actions and decisions. Equality as a form of justice not naturally found in existence can only be established by deliberate human effort as is apparent in the President's concluding remarks:

Human beings being fallible, socialism does not guarantee justice; it has to be worked for and maintained even in a socialist society. But it is certain that it cannot be achieved except in this context.¹⁹

Thus whatever doubts Nyerere's abstract claims may raise regarding the "equality" of human beings, we can clearly and fully understand what he means by that concept by examining how he applies it to social policy in Tanzania.

There is, in any case, a clear distinction between the type of equality which is designed as a practical means to attain social justice, and the sort of equality which results from the process of valuation. In equality as a product of

¹⁸Ibid., p. 80.

¹⁹Ibid.

valuation, President Nyerere can be said to have developed positive feelings about freedom and equality from his experience in colonial Tanzania. His reaction to what he calls discrimination and exploitation by the British may have created in him a desire for social equality of all people. In this case, the pursuit of human equality becomes not only a means to human dignity and social justice, but also an end in itself. Equality, as an object of desire can also be distinguished from that other type which would, if it did exist, be objective and independent of the desires and wishes of men. It does not exist, however.

To give one illustration of the distinction between the two types of equality: President Nyerere's claimed absolute equality would be analogous to the existence in nature of jewels or diamonds before man develops a disposition toward them; whether such a disposition develops or not does not affect, one way or the other, the objective existence of the stones; valuation enters, however, the moment man develops a disposition toward or against them. Now, the third possibility of President Nyerere's basis of human equality, would have no such prior existence, but would derive its existence merely from his positive emotional disposition toward the idea of human equality. If you take away this positive attitude toward the idea of

equality, you also take away the existence of human equality.²⁰ Consequently, the method by which one promotes this kind of disposition among members of a society is not by demonstrating the existence of human equality first, but by sharing those emotional experiences that generate positive inclinations toward the idea of human equality--and this is precisely what President Nyerere does with his prolific and eloquent speeches against exploitation, colonialism, capitalism, racialism, on the one hand; and in favor of human freedom, sharing, mutual respect, and responsibility on the other. Out of the sharing, with other members of society, of these emotional experiences evolves a positive, favorable attitude toward the notion of human equality--the valuation process.

Valuation is also significant from the point of view of political and social action, and of an active pursuit of a philosophical objective. For until and unless objects such as jewels, or ideas such as human equality, receive a definitely positive or negative attitude from man, they cannot exact attention and action from him; they cannot engage his caring attention or energy. That is, only the process of valuation turns things and ideas into positive or negative objectives of man. For instance, people may

²⁰For an extensive treatment of "Valuation," see John Dewey, Theory of Valuation (University of Chicago Press, 1939), pp. 13-19.

become aware of the existence of such things as jewels, but without the act of valuation, none would attend to their collection and preservation; the same with the idea of human equality: the idea of equality itself may be capable of being conceived by man, and therefore of a technical existence; but without valuation it cannot be a component of President Nyerere's social, economic, political and educational philosophy.

Thus, for all intents and purposes we may disregard notions of absolute equality and concentrate our attention on equality as a desirable and effective basis of social policy and on equality as a product of valuation. In the case of equality as a product of valuation, for instance, we can easily see how Nyerere's positive personal affective disposition toward equality as an end in itself could be reflected in his public policy statements. Thus, our search for the bases on which Nyerere's assertions about human equality can be justified brings us back to Glen Allen's and John Dewey's theory of cause and effect: history has shown that social, economic, and political equality is necessary for a stable and harmonious society; and Nyerere's unqualified belief in the equality of all people can also be understood by examining his own personal existential experiences. These two analytical approaches to Nyerere's view of equality would explain and clarify the otherwise

apparent absurdity in such categorical claims as "all human beings are equal."

The practical implications of the foregoing discussion can be easily demonstrated by looking at the situation in Tanzania itself. The first of the two bases of his doctrine of human equality is the practical need for social unity, political loyalty, and overall harmony in society. After the achievement of independence in Tanzania, a kind of reverse racism against the remaining Europeans began to grow, and a solution had to be found. Further, Tanzania consists of about one hundred twenty tribal groups that could potentially rise up in arms against each other; a preventive measure had to be found. Large groups of Asians, especially Indians, live in Tanzania. How could they be prevented from becoming an inevitable source of social and political disruption? And finally, the people of Tanzania embrace religions of various, often conflicting, persuasions such as Christianity and Islam; a solution to the probable conflict among them is an urgent necessity. An analytical study of these concerns, and of the application of human equality to these socio-political problems, reveals that President Nyerere conceives human equality to be a master solution to them all. That would be a pragmatic source of the concept. This does not give human equality any real existence except as a basis for social or political policy. In the context

of Tanzania, and equally of the rest of Africa, President Nyerere is certainly correct that there is no choice but to follow the policy of human equality.

This analysis brings us to a crucial point: Does President Nyerere recognize that there is no verifiable, empirically valid, basis for claiming the existence of human equality, but realize the social and political indispensibility of a policy based on it so that he is forced to tell something less than the truth by insisting in public pronouncements that people are indeed equal?

It is tempting to infer that since President Nyerere is a practicing politician, he actually understands that human equality has no real existence but that it would not be politic to tell the people that, although it is not a reality, they should nevertheless accept it because it makes for a good or effective policy. Such a position would encounter more skepticism and resistance than the more positive statement that human beings are actually equal.

However, a careful reading of the President's writings, and a careful observation of his own personal political conduct on both national and international issues, seems to prove his full integrity. His words and his actions always seem to be reciprocally supportive. Therefore, we may safely discard the Philosopher King's lie for the national good advocated by Plato in the Republic. The speeches and

other works of President Nyerere leave the reader with no doubt whatsoever that he sincerely believes in human equality as a fact of life, and not merely as an administrative contrivance.

The answer to this problem lies in the concept of valuation. The President really believes in the existence of human equality; but as a product of valuation, this existence depends on the person who makes the valuation. It exists only as the object of President Nyerere's positive desire or inclination. From this standpoint, the President can sincerely preach human equality without meriting any accusation of deliberately telling one thing while in fact he means something else. This way of looking at the doctrine of human equality is not only consistent with President Nyerere's theoretical claims; it is also consistent with what he is attempting to do in Tanzania--it coincides with what he believes to be the most effective political and social policy. Thus, we should be talking, not of human equality, but of the policy of human equality.

In a speech to a Catholic audience at the Maryknoll Mission Headquarters in New York, President Nyerere demonstrated the close relationship between human dignity and human equality. After advocating national economic independence in terms of control over natural resources by the poor countries, he said,

In other words, the development of peoples follows from economic development only if this latter is achieved on the basis of the equality and human dignity of all those involved. And human dignity cannot be given to a man by the kindness of others. Indeed it can be destroyed by kindness which emanates from an action of charity. For human dignity involves equality and freedom and relations of mutual respect among men.²¹

He goes on to explain that very few countries were organized for "social justice" by which he presumably means human dignity. This passage suggests that equality is necessary for human dignity without suggesting that human dignity is necessary for equality. In fact, throughout the President's works, one could most probably not find a single instance in which human dignity is used as an instrument to human equality. One would, on the contrary, find human equality invariably used as a means to the acquisition of human dignity.

We have already discussed the need to eliminate economic exploitation as a way of creating equality. Equality that results from the elimination of exploitative economic patterns may also be thought of as aimed at achieving the good life or happiness for all members of society. This can be detected from his statement on socialism and rural development where he says,

²¹Nyerere, Uhuru Na Maendeleo, p. 258.

And finally, the whole rural society must be built on the basis of the equality of all Tanzanian citizens and their common obligations and common rights. There must be no masters and no servants, but just people working for the good of all and thus their own good.²²

It is this relationship of human equality and human dignity as cause and effect respectively that seems to give credence to the classification of human dignity into the higher or primary category, and of human equality into the secondary status category in the overall scheme of President Nyerere's philosophical thought. That is, human dignity is the end of all ends; human equality, notwithstanding any aesthetic value it may have, serves essentially as one of the major social vehicles to human dignity.

As further evidence of the causal relationship between equality and dignity, the President says that if capitalist development continues to take place all over the country, Tanzanians might have good statistical increase in their national wealth but that the masses of the people would not be necessarily better off. On the contrary, he says, as land becomes more scarce, Tanzanians would find themselves divided into those who own the means of production and those who provide the labor for them, with the laborers not receiving their fair share of the product of work. These laborers would become a 'rural proletariat' who depend on

²²Nyerere, Ujamaa, p. 21.

the decisions of other men for their existence, and who would be subject in consequence to all the subservience, social and economic inequality and insecurity which such a position involves.²³ In other words, the inequality between the employers and the working class would rob the latter of the basic requirements of human dignity. By the prevention of the growth of a social class structure, human equality would produce those requirements of human dignity.

In yet another instance, President Nyerere states that through socialism, the government controls human inequalities, be they physical, mental, or skill, for the purpose of preventing the exploitation of one person by another and hence of preventing the thwarting of anyone's human dignity.²⁴ This is an example of Nyerere's practical statements which show clearly that he recognizes the natural inequalities among people, in contrast to his stubborn insistence in his theoretical statements that human beings are equal. In my analysis we have seen that we can get a more accurate interpretation of what Nyerere's assertions really mean by considering the pragmatics of public policy and by considering the theory of valuation.

²³Ibid., p. 115.

²⁴Ibid., p. 79.

In this chapter I have examined what Nyerere means by the concept "human equality" from three vantage points: Nyerere's theoretical or abstract assertions which claim equality to be a reality; the view that "human equality" is a necessary basis of public policy for social peace and harmony; and the theory of valuation. I found an apparent contradiction between applied "equality" and Nyerere's philosophical, abstract statements which seem to imply that human beings are equal as a fact of life. In the analysis, I could not find an empirical basis for the justification of the latter claim; in fact, in a review of the application by Nyerere of the principle of human equality, evidence contrary to the equality of people seems to stand out more clearly than evidence which supports the claim. Discarding these claims of absolute human equality, I scrutinized the theory of valuation and concluded that this could cogently explain Nyerere's own character and behavior in asserting the absolute equality of people. However, I concluded that equality as a product of valuation could not have any objective existence apart from its being the object of Nyerere's desire; but speaking for himself and from the point of view of his own personal valuation, I concluded that Nyerere could legitimately claim a belief in absolute equality of all people without opening his integrity to question. Perhaps the most important

conclusion I should add is that equality as a product of valuation appears to coincide with the fact that human equality is a useful basis of social policy; thus, the two approaches to human equality serve to strengthen the importance of that principle in Nyerere's general philosophy as well as in his public policies.

CHAPTER III

SOCIALISM, DIGNITY, AND EQUALITY

As we have seen in the previous chapters, by "Good Life" Nyerere means human dignity, in its most basic sense as the major purpose of society and its institutions, including education. Because of the selfish nature of human social and economic behavior, Julius Nyerere believes that human equality is a prerequisite of human dignity. Without it he feels that people would exploit and oppress one another. He now argues that socialism is the only form of social organization within which human equality can be created and maintained. In the following pages I shall analyze Nyerere's statements in which the relationship between socialism and equality is expressed.

On one occasion Nyerere stated:

We know that the basic philosophy of socialism is human equality and dignity, and that the achievement of this basic and equal respect of all the people is what socialism is about.¹

That is the basis on which President Julius Nyerere accepts and actively advocates the acceptance by others of

¹Nyerere, Uhuru Na Maendeleo, p. 218.

socialism as the only appropriate means to the "Good Life" in Tanzania.

In the President's own mind, the exact nature of the relationship between equality and socialism does not appear to be clear. What is clear is that they are both necessary for human dignity and for a harmonious society. Otherwise he employs them in reciprocal roles of causality, particularly in his theoretical statements. This interchange of causal role between the two concepts reads something like this: first, because one believes in human equality, one must therefore develop a socialist attitude of mind: in this case equality causes socialism; secondly, one has a socialist attitude, therefore one must accept the principle of human equality in this case socialism causes equality. Such purely analytical statements by President Nyerere are possible in abstract, theoretical, formulations. When applied to practical situations, a different order of relationship between socialism and equality seems to emerge.

In the statement quoted above, the basic philosophy of socialism is human equality and human dignity, and that the achievement of this basic and equal respect for all the people is what socialism is about seems to suggest that socialism is the means by which equality and dignity may be achieved. Several more examples could be cited to demonstrate this same sequence of causal relationship. In other

cases, Nyerere uses equality as the cause and socialism as the effect. To take only one illustration, he writes that "The basis of socialism is a belief in the oneness of man and the common historical destiny of mankind. Its basis, in other words, is human equality."² Elsewhere he declares that without the acceptance of human equality there could be no socialism.³

I have taken the position that reciprocal causal relation between equality and socialism is a confusion which results from a misconception of human equality as an existent reality rather than merely as a desirable basis of social policy. If we realize and accept the fact that human beings are not by nature equal, but that we must create equality of people as a sound basis of social policy, then socialism, as a deliberate form of social organization, is a means to the creation of human equality. Under these circumstances, the order of causal relationship could not be convertible. I would argue that this way of looking at equality, and at its relationship with socialism gives us a clearer picture of Nyerere's actual practice in implementing socialism, despite what he claims theoretically.

Using the theory that human equality is not a natural characteristic of people, but an appropriate basis of public

²Nyerere, Ujamaa, p. 38.

³Ibid.

policy; and using the theory that socialism is the instrument by which human beings can create equality, we can remove the ambiguity that exists between Nyerere's philosophy and its practice. Nyerere states that socialism recognizes that everyone has a selfish and a social instinct which are often in conflict. He asserts that under such circumstances, socialist doctrine demands such a conscious organization of society as to render it almost impossible for anyone to pursue his own interests at the expense or exploitation of his fellow human beings.⁴ In this statement which spells out a course of action, socialism by controlling and regulating the "selfish instinct", causes or creates human equality--clearly there is no reciprocity of causal relationship between socialism and equality in this example of a practical statement.

Socialism, then, should be viewed as essentially instrumental though it might have some intrinsic worth of its own. It is immediately instrumental to social, economic and political equality as a product of human effort. Implicit also, in the foregoing discussion, is that equality as a desirable basis of social policy is also essentially instrumental to some other end--notably, social peace and harmony, human dignity, and human well-being. In other

⁴Ibid., p. 79.

words, both socialism and equality are but means to something higher than themselves--to the "Good Life" which is reflected in human dignity. This is the sort of order in which President Nyerere's philosophy and practice seem to fall logically, though Nyerere does not himself say it exactly in this way.

As discussed earlier, socialism implies the government's right and power to involve itself in the manipulation of the economic, social, and political relationships of its citizens, with the expressed intention of preventing exploitation and, hence, of producing equality--or at least an approximation of equality. The nationalization of industries such as banks and textile corporations, the regulation of wages earned by government employees and those in private business; the efforts to distribute health services and other consumer commodities equitably;⁵ these are a few examples of how the Tanzanian Government has attempted to achieve or create human equality by direct intervention, i.e., by the practice of socialism.

President Nyerere gives a concise definition of the qualities of socialism in an address to Trade Unions in which he attempts to get these organizations to feel a sense of responsibility for the rest of the people of

⁵Nyerere, Ujamaa, p. 102.

Tanzania and not to insist on unrealistic demands for high compensation which the country cannot afford.⁶ He tells Trade Unions that the government intervenes and controls much of the means of production for the benefit of all the people of Tanzania. Socialism means this act of collective control or ownership of the essential sources of production and an equitable distribution of the product of labor. In addition to this, he says that socialism rests on a basic acceptance of human equality.⁷ There seems to be no need for the addition since the collective ownerships and equal distribution embody the notion of human equality. He warns that socialism must be seen in terms of more than mere means of production and distribution since even these cannot insure that the human dignity of all remains the goal of society. People may be subject to gross injustice in a society where the means of production are the same as those of socialism.

Government regulation of the economic and other spheres of human relationships should, therefore, not be confused with socialism. Social institutions are genuinely socialist only if their central concern is man--all men and every man. To put it more directly, the purpose of

⁶Ibid., p. 170.

⁷Nyerere, Uhuru Na Ujamaa, p. 312.

socialism is human dignity, though the immediate object is human equality. There is thus a chain where socialism causes equality and equality permits dignity.

Evidence of this man-centeredness of socialism in the mind of President Nyerere can be found in his introduction to Uhuru Na Ujamaa where he argues that the fact that socialism is concerned with all aspects of man's life in society does not mean that man as an individual ceases to exist. He says that every person is unique, and that he must have some privacy in certain things. However, he adds that "society has the right where necessary to regulate, encourage, or discourage, those actions of individuals which affect other members of the society."⁸ He explains that after discharging one's duty to society, one would not be restricted in any way by socialism from such activities of a personal sort as worship, recreation, hobbies, etc. As long as such activities do not interfere with the rights and human dignities of others, socialism has nothing to do with them.

Though Nyerere stipulates that socialism is secular, and that it has no intention of interfering with private and personal matters, very few personal matters do not impinge on the activities or desires of others.

⁸Ibid., p. 12.

For instance, religion is a very personal matter, but in Christianity and Islam proselitizing is conceived to be an integral part of one's faith. At one time, the President found himself in conflict with the operations of the Christian church. The source of the conflict is that while the Catholic church is God-centered, Nyerere is man-centered; and he wants the church to become concerned about man here on earth. His comments run like this:

It may sound odd to be saying this to the Maryknoll Sisters, but it is important to stress the working with, not the working for. For it is not the task of religious leaders to try to tell the people what they should do. What is necessary is sharing on the basis of equality and common humanity.⁹

He continues to state that the church can contribute to human growth only by sharing with other people such things as work, persecution [sic!] and progress. He goes even further and says that if the church cannot contribute to the socialist objectives of human equality and dignity, then the church may have to be sacrificed. In short, socialist values have the highest priority.

This government's entanglement with the church shows that once the government chooses for itself the role of the umpire in most of the affairs of the people, especially if this role is so emphasized as to become the rule, even the

⁹Nyerere, Uhuru Na Maendeleo, p. 221.

individual privacy and freedom of which the president speaks becomes seriously threatened for a number of reasons. The first reason is that most matters of private interest tend to exert an influence on others sooner or later and in one way or another; therefore, one never feels quite free from the eye of the Big Brother. The second is that when the government lives by a philosophy of intervention in the affairs of its citizens, and is actually accustomed to interfering for a variety of reasons, drawing the line at the appropriate point may be difficult. The third is that even if the government erroneously interferes in a purely private activity, there is no independent force powerful enough to counterbalance the action since the citizens would be so used to government control that they would not be inclined to question and fight it. Even if some would fight it, chances are that they would not be in a position to organize into a powerful enough group to counter the actions of the government. In President Nyerere's mind, government control and manipulation of economic and social relationships are essential components of socialism, regardless of their potentially unfortunate consequences.

Another aspect of socialism, with which the President of Tanzania might answer to the above charges, is that the people lead the government and that they are the government.

The government officials are only the servants of the people or workers. This phase of socialism for Nyerere requires that all citizens should be actively involved in the decision-making processes and running of the country and their own local communities. Human dignity is meaningless unless one can exercise the responsibility of directing one's own destiny and that of the society.

In one of his public speeches, Nyerere declares that socialism means nothing if the people do not have the power to rule. He says,

But ultimately socialism is only possible if the people as a whole are involved in the government of their political and economic affairs. Their efforts must be mobilized. Sometimes this may mean going slowly, sometimes faster, than academic considerations alone would determine. But the involvement of the people is vital, for socialism is nothing if it is not of the people.¹⁰

This is not an academic statement because evidence abounds in his proposals that he believes sincerely that the socialist way of life must be one of responsible decision-making citizens.

We see how seriously President Nyerere takes responsibility in a socialist society in his concrete proposals about how to develop an Ujamaa village or a socialist village organized and functioning on the principles of the extended family. He says,

¹⁰Nyerere, Ujamaa, p. 89.

It does not matter if the discussion takes a long time; we are building a nation, and this is not a short-term thing. For the point about decisions by an Ujamaa village is not just whether members do or do not decide to dig a well or clear a new shamba. The point is that by making this decision, and then acting upon it, they will be building up a whole way of life--a socialist way of life.¹¹

From this, President Nyerere might argue that once socialism is properly understood, the people will become self-regulating in matters that affect the public or other individuals, thus, obviating the need for government intervention. Here Nyerere defines leadership essentially in terms of facilitating group decision-making. Whoever is designated 'leader' is bound to abide by the collective decision of the village meeting regardless of what ideas he or she may have had prior to the meeting.

He characterizes the appropriate Ujamaa or socialist leadership in such a way that the people would still have power to control everything. President Nyerere says that Ujamaa villages would be socialist because "the essential element in them would be the equality of all members of the community, and the members self-government in all matters which concerned their own affairs." He says further that, "For a really socialist village would elect its own officials and they would remain equal members with the others

¹¹Ibid., p. 136.

subject always to the wishes of the people."¹² In these proposals, President Nyerere argues that the people who elect the leaders and the government are the only ones who can effectively check the abuse of power and thus ensure the people's sovereignty.¹³

Where new and sophisticated knowledge is in the hands of the educated, President Nyerere insists that this should not work to place them in a superior class to that of the people. They must still operate in a manner that shows humility and respect for the people as equals. He says,

All these things we must do to the best of our ability. But we must recognize, too, that our function is to serve, to guide the masses through the complexities of modern technology--to propose, to explain, and to persuade. For our education does not give us rights over the people. It does not justify arrogance, nor attitudes of superiority.¹⁴

The implication is that leadership in a socialist society must help the people to lead and govern.

We must keep in mind that President Nyerere designs leadership in that manner because he believes that there is a direct link between a sense of power or a sense of responsibility and the "Good Life" or human dignity. There is an exhilarating feeling, a feeling of

¹²Ibid., p. 127.

¹³Nyerere, Uhuru Na Ujamaa, p. 25.

¹⁴Nyerere, Ujamaa, p. 90.

self-fulfillment that comes from a sense of responsibility over such important things as decision-making and government. Thus, the objectives of human equality and human dignity continue to dominate Nyerere's socialist views of leadership and the involvement of the people in government.

We can easily see the link between responsibility and human dignity by examining some of the deliberate conditioning of Africans by European colonialists as described by President Nyerere. He says that Africans were conditioned to serve Europeans according to orders issued by the Europeans; that Africans were not expected, and not allowed, to ask any questions but simply to carry out orders; that this subservient role carved out for the Africans deprived them of any sense of responsibility--at least that was the intention; and that, unfortunately, this colonial conditioning has carried over into independent Tanzania in which the people simply substitute, in their minds, African leaders for colonial masters. Consequently, they are prone not to take the initiative and be responsible citizens, but rather wait for leaders to decide everything and tell them what to do. Says President Nyerere,

We have been led to accept the division of men into masters and slaves ... sometimes you hear people talk about themselves as being simply ordinary men. They think their leaders know everything. When you talk to them and explain an issue to them, they will simply say, 'What can we say? You leaders know everything.'¹⁵

¹⁵Nyerere, Uhuru Na Ujamaa, p. 139.

Human dignity, he feels, can only be restored by changing this attitude toward the educated and by giving the people self-confidence.

President Nyerere fears that unless the people have control over the government, and over the leaders on both national and local levels, the small group of people in government and leadership positions pose the danger of diverting socialism to fascism, if not now, in the future. That is, a small group of leaders concerned solely about their own political and economic power can shift the whole focus from the human dignity of all the people (socialism) to the consolidation of their own power at the expense of the rest of the people (fascism). Indeed, this is what President Nyerere means by the words:

These clever people will continue to exploit our fear for their own benefit. And we leaders can become the clever people. If this happens--that leaders aspire to the positions and privileges enjoyed by colonial leaders--we shall not develop the country on the basis of the equality of all men. Instead, we shall be endangering this country.... It will mean that the money we paid to help in the work of removing colonialism will be used to maintain other cleverer Africans capable of oppressing the people more than the colonialists.¹⁶

Thus, the people's responsibility over the government, and for the government of their own affairs, is necessary for the guarantee of socialist objectives of equality and

¹⁶Ibid., p. 141.

dignity, and for the self-actualization or self-realization of the people themselves.

Some notion of derivative equality can be visualized in this idea of sharing power and responsibility among all the people of Tanzania. In fact, the idea of sharing is another characterization of socialism. 'Sharing' for President Nyerere goes far beyond power and responsibility, as we shall see below. Its significance in socialism is that it is one of the devices directly connected with the creation of equality as the most immediate objective of socialism.

Things subject to sharing, apart from power and political responsibility, include the obligation to work, sharing in the ownership of basic property; the benefits of work and the general benefits from the community and society; and misfortunes and catastrophes such as famine and death. The President argues that in precolonial African society the right of sharing served to maintain and strengthen the social unit and to make it worthwhile to all its members. He says also that there was a corresponding common duty for every member of a social unit to contribute to the pool of things to be shared. By that he means that every member of the traditional African family, which is the basis of Tanzanian socialism, had the obligation to work and

accepted the responsibility of working.¹⁷

At one level, one's contribution is said to be according to ability while sharing is simultaneously said to be according to need. This is apparent in President Nyerere's discussion of the extended family as the basis of African socialism. He writes that in tribal society the individuals or families within a tribe were rich or poor according to whether the whole tribe was rich or poor. If the tribe prospered, he says that all the members of the tribe shared in its prosperity. Since Tanganyika is poor and the standard of living very low, Nyerere says that

... if every man and woman in the country takes up the challenge and works to the limit of his or her ability for the good of the whole society, Tanganyika will prosper; and that prosperity will be shared by all her people.¹⁸

He goes on to explain that anyone, who has the capacity to contribute much but who feels that he or she must decrease the amount of that contribution because the remuneration is not commensurate with the labor, is not only exhibiting undesirable capitalistic attitudes but is also 'exploiting the country'.

Thus, an individual in a socialist society must contribute his best to society regardless of whether he

¹⁷ Nyerere, Uhuru Na Umoja, p. 11.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 168.

receives a commensurate compensation or not. Apparently the good of the society should be a greater incentive than personal gain. Some would argue that this is really unequal and unfair, implying the exploitation of the talented who are required to contribute more than others because of their ability, and who are required to take less than their fair share of the product of labor. In the mind of President Nyerere, however, socialism carries with it the idea of a community of people to which the individual belongs. Within that community President Nyerere's socialism is concerned about the general dignity or happiness of the people. It is the responsibility of every member to help raise the level of this general happiness of all in the community. The President's thinking is such that the individual, if he is a good socialist, should get his reward and satisfaction from knowing that he is contributing to the improvement of society and to the elevation of human dignity, even though his own material rewards may be inadequate compared with the contributions and shares of others.

In support of the above view of social rewards, instead of personal material rewards, President Nyerere describes socialism as an "attitude of mind." He says that it is up to the Tanzanians to make sure that temptation of individual profit does not force them to lose that socialist

"attitude of mind." Furthermore, that the people should watch that they do not fall into the temptation of placing the good of the whole community below their own individual or group interests. In other words, the good of the whole community should be uppermost in the minds of all government officials, leaders, peasants, wage earners, students, and everybody in the country.¹⁹ A sense of community, then, plays an important role in the socialist ideology of President Nyerere.

In reality, it is not as yet up to Tanzanians to uphold the ideals and principles of socialism. Rather it all depends on the effectiveness of what President Nyerere likes to call 'socialist education' to convince them fully about the desirability of such ideals and principles. In reality, it is up to the government to enforce these policies; and the effectiveness of the educational efforts and the ability of the government to enforce the policies will make the difference between the success or failure of socialism in Tanzania. For such principles as sharing, when extended beyond their normal family unit, will require much persuasion to be accepted even by cooperative Tanzanians.

President Nyerere and the Tanzanians have not yet found the answers to these problems. The President is most

¹⁹Nyerere, Ujamaa, p. 8.

concerned about keeping the people's will to work which can be easily undermined by the government forcing people to share equally without their understanding and acceptance of the meaning of the principles of socialism. For instance, as hinted above, the bonds that bind blood relatives in the small family are direct and intimate so that sacrifices for each other among them are accepted as a matter of course. A sudden extension of the principles that apply in a family to embrace a whole village cannot guarantee the people's willingness to make the same sorts of sacrifices for the members of the village as they would for their own blood brothers and sisters.²⁰ In any case, they may pay much lip service to the good of the community while actually not sacrificing as much as they are capable of. One possible consequence of collectivization is that everybody's business is liable to become nobody's business, and the level of productivity from voluntary labor is bound to take a slight dip. The alternative is obviously the use of force to get people to work; but this would be contrary to the principle of self-government and responsibility in decision-making and self-direction, as well as the need for equality.

The problems are compounded by President Nyerere's insistence that leaders should be equal to everyone else;

²⁰Ibid., p. 12.

that they should not impose their will upon the people at any time; and that their responsibility is to persuade, explain, and facilitate. The sanctions suggested by the President are those of peer pressure by the sheer approval and disapproval of the meritoriousness or laziness of a worker. Another sanction is the labelling of the worker. Nyerere himself seems to use frequently the condemnatory label "capitalist" put in a nastily negative manner. The positive label, 'good socialist' seems to be used to reinforce positive work attitude or behavior. However, the President has also warned that no one should be subjected to any abuse simply because he may happen to be a capitalist; capitalists are human first then capitalist and therefore anyone who disrespects another simply on those grounds is not himself a good socialist. 'For a socialist's concern is all men'.

For a lack of a better solution, it seems to me as though a line could be drawn as to how much every able-bodied citizen must contribute to the production of wealth and receive a set remuneration. Individuals could then be allowed to contribute as much as their capabilities permit over and above this minimum and could receive an additional compensation based on the amount of this additional productivity. Although incomes would end up unequal, at least every member of society would have that minimum share

required for the basic human dignity of all, and the inequality in incomes would be offset by the unequal contribution to production. As argued above, equality is at best merely an approximation rather than an absolute thing. This proposal might be objected to on the grounds that it tends to nurture the individual profit motive; but is that not the source of the whole problem? How far can one bank on pure altruism in this matter? Certainly by requiring the minimum contribution to the minimum happiness of all, one insures the achievement of at least the "Good Life" for all, while the prospects for an additional self-improvement could result in much more work being done.

As a matter of fact, the above suggestion to resolve the deadlock between work and sharing relative to equality can be corroborated by some of President Nyerere's ideas about basic average human dignity. For instance, he has written that,

... we have to work toward a position where each person realizes that his rights in society above the basic needs of every human being must become second to the overriding need of human dignity for all. And we have to establish the kind of social organization which reduces personal temptation above that level to a minimum.²¹

Perhaps for the sake of keeping the incentive to work among the people, the President would do well to allow a fair

²¹Ibid., p. 17.

play between the individual and social motives. This would not be inconsistent with the quest for the human dignity for all; rather it would mean its continued improvement if the country can get to produce more commodities as a result of strengthened incentive among the workers.

As long as socialism is a definite government policy, and an average minimum of human dignity is required for all, it is difficult to see how fully these goals can be achieved without the government's exertion of the kind of encouragement that borders on some sort of force. This may not be the initial intention of the officials; but in the face of constant frustration of the basic policy, the use of force, however subtle, is not improbable. Force is now being used against those who directly threaten the implementation of the principles of socialism, such as those who have 'capitalistic ambitions'. As Nyerere admonishes the Trade Unions,

Trade union leaders and their followers, as long as they are true socialists, will not need to be coerced by the government into keeping their demands within the limits imposed by the needs of the society as a whole. Only when there are potential capitalists amongst them will the socialist government have to step in and prevent them from putting their capitalist ideas into practice!²²

From the available evidence, however, President Nyerere is unlikely to accept the use of force which would

²²Nyerere, Ujamaa, p. 10.

contradict many principles that are fundamental to his philosophy, despite the suppressive action he would not hesitate to take action against potential capitalist trade unionism. He condemns rule by force in the strongest terms:

For violence cannot be welcomed by those who care about people. It is a very serious matter because of the misery and suffering it involves for human beings; it should only be accepted as a necessity when every other road forward is completely blocked and cannot be cleared by persistence, by public determination, or by the expressions of the majority will.... Violence itself is the opposite of a socialist characteristic. Brigands can govern by violence and fear; dictatorships can establish themselves and flourish. Socialism cannot be imposed in this way, for it is based on equality.²³

Thus, while there may well come a time when the government feels the only way forward with socialism is by the use of force, at present the President is unlikely to resort to that. He has another weapon at his disposal. The use of education is more powerful than violence.

We have, in summary, attempted to understand three of President Nyerere's major philosophical principles: socialism, equality and human dignity. We have found that the nature of the relation of socialism to equality is blurred by the fact that Nyerere attributes qualitative reality to the equality of human beings. I have argued that we should take the approach that both socialism and human equality are deliberate ingredients of Nyerere's

²³Nyerere, Uhuru Na Ujamaa, p. 24.

public philosophy, and that this approach genuinely helps us to appreciate accurately what Nyerere is attempting to do in Tanzania. Taken from this approach, it becomes certain and clear that socialism, as a conscious human effort to organize people, seeks to create and cause human equality as its immediate objective. In turn, human equality, contrived by statesmen as an effective principle of public policy, is itself a means to the "Good Life"--to the human dignity of all. This approach to the understanding of Nyerere's philosophy can be substantiated by examining his practical statements, his practical policies, and the practical implementation of those statements and policies.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION AND SOCIALISM

For a brief review, the "Good Life" in President Nyerere's socio-political philosophy is said to be attainable by means of one human technique of social organization; namely, socialism. In the previous chapter it has been argued that the product of socialist organization is human equality. It has been stressed that socialism and human equality should be thought of as deliberate, man-made, instruments of social policy. Such a perspective on these two major concepts would make possible an accurate comprehension of Nyerere's philosophical and practical statements as well as a realistic grasp of political and educational practice in Tanzania. Obviously the creation of socialism is, for Nyerere, very important since he believes that socialism can bring about equality. In undertaking to build socialism, Nyerere uses education, both formal and nonformal, as the main vehicle.

In this chapter, attention will be concentrated on the role played by Nyerere's educational philosophy in the process of building a socialist society. Some attention

will also be paid to the exploration of other possible educational alternatives for Africa. The reader should bear in mind that though the building of socialism is the main and immediate objective of Nyerere's educational philosophy, the "Good Life"; human dignity; the well-being of all Tanzanians are the ultimate objectives.

A brief analysis of President Nyerere's educational philosophy shows that the term "education" has a particularly consistent emphasis in meaning. This emphasis is on character formation, the developing and furnishing of socialist principles, and the cultivation of socialist attitudes. Undoubtedly other meanings of the term apply at specific occasions, but those just listed are directly pertinent to Nyerere's educational philosophy concerned with the creation of an Ujamaa society.

Thus, despite the relentless assertion by President Julius Nyerere that the concern of socialism is man--his human dignity, and his happiness--Nyerere's goal in education is not really directed to the benefit of the man or woman being educated; certainly not for his own aesthetic experience or enjoyment. His goal in education is the benefit of the whole society first, and the education of the individual is seen mainly as a means to the good of society in general. One can easily see this position of Nyerere by a quick glance at some of the reasons given by him.

One reason President Nyerere takes an instrumental view of education is that he recognizes the dire need to elevate the deplorably low standard of living of the masses of Tanzanians. That need is so compelling that for Nyerere it overshadows the aesthetic value of education as can be seen in this statement:

But one thing has remained fairly constant; this is the decision that the limited resources at our command must be used first to prepare citizens of this country for the competent execution of the jobs which the community wants done.... Post-secondary education in particular is thus provided in accordance with manpower plan forecasts; although we are working towards universal primary education we cannot make available at public expense 'education for education's sake' beyond that level.¹

In other words, the government feels it cannot afford to finance at this time education for the sake of enjoyment or personal development of the individual unless an important benefit to the country can be demonstrated. It may be fair to understand this reluctance as a limitation imposed by the scarcity of the country's resources rather than a matter of principle for the President.

President Nyerere stresses that the major objective of education in Tanzania should be the benefit of society because the public spends its money and other resources on this education. For this reason, he says, the public has a right to expect something in return. Talking about

¹Nyerere, Uhuru Na Maendeleo, p. 296.

university education, Nyerere says that the public as a whole pays for it; that the peasants and workers of Tanzania provide the food, the clothes and the buildings used by the students at the university; that these workers also pay for the faculty and staff so that the college can carry on its functions--

... the community provides these things because it expects to benefit--it is making an investment in the people. It believes that after their educational opportunity the students will be able to make a much greater contribution to the society; they will be able to help in the implementation of the plans and policies of the people.²

Curiously enough, one of the running arguments of President Nyerere is that the purpose of society is the well-being of man, the individual human being. It would seem to follow logically that society should indeed provide education at its own expense for the material or aesthetic benefit of the individual. Instead, President Julius Nyerere stresses the student's obligation to compensate society with his services because the public has given him an educational opportunity. Supposing that an individual had sweated out an education through his own private means, as did many of those who went through the colonial school system, would such an individual's responsibility to a socialist society be any less? According to his stated principles, President

²Ibid., p. 195.

Nyerere could not coherently say 'yes'. For he says that socialism requires that every member of society contribute according to his or her ability.

The President in emphasizing the student's duty to use his education for the benefit of society may be overcompensating for the fact that the government is unable to provide everyone with the opportunity to get an education. Furthermore, he may be overstressing contribution to society because of the desire to maintain the presumption of social economic and political equality which uneven education tends to throw off balance.

In any event, the unique individual's needs do not seem to be the primary concern of President Julius Nyerere. Even in the face of inadequate educational resources necessary to offer everyone an opportunity, the President might at least have stressed the importance of eventually working to make education accessible to all and for the good of the individual. But there is no theoretical argument for this in his public statements. Instead, he discourages the idea that education should be thought of in this light, and encourages all involved to cast its primary value on the public good.

Taken in the context of Julius Nyerere's overall philosophy, the needs and interests of particular human beings generally seem to rank below the needs and interests

of society as a whole so that the priority given to the public benefit in his educational philosophy appears to be a mere reflection of his general "attitude of mind". It is an extension of his philosophy of socialism in which individualism is played down in preference for the collective.

That attitude of Nyerere is revealed when he argues that with regard to wider purposes of society, Tanzanians must organize their institutions and build attitudes which promote universal human dignity and social equality. They must encourage the growth of a collectivistic attitude; in considering decisions, Tanzanians must ask the proper question:

The question 'what profit would I myself get?' must be socially discouraged; it must be replaced by the question 'What benefit and what loss will be obtained by those who make up this society.'³

This is the attitude which is reflected in his instrumental view of education in which the purpose of the individual's education is the good of the society.

Yet the persistent claim in President Nyerere's philosophy that the "purpose of society is man" would seem to suggest a different educational philosophy. Such a philosophy would seem to expect that education should be student-centered. Its primary aim should be to educe the natural excellences of the human individual being educated and to

³Nyerere, Uhuru Na Ujamaa, p. 16.

lead him to the achievement of his best potential in terms of personal growth. That is, ethically, we should expect that a humanistic philosophy would doubt the legitimacy of using human lives as means to other ends, and would doubt the legitimacy of one man prescribing for other individuals their whole way of life. Besides, such a philosophy would advocate the most natural development of people in the light of their particular physical constitution; psychological, emotional and intellectual configurations. In short, a humanistic philosophy of education would be expected to concentrate its attention, not on some abstract, faceless, being called 'man'; but on real living, feeling, and breathing, individual human beings.

When existentialists say that their education is man-centered, they mean it quite literally and seem to be prepared to give the individual full responsibility over his own decisions and over where he wants to go in terms of personal growth. The following statement by Van Cleve Morris, which would most assuredly be objectionable to President Nyerere's educational thinking, represents what it means for existentialists to be man-centered in education. Morris starts out by saying that,

To be human is first to exist, and to exist is to be aware of being, to be aware of existing. This awareness is manifest most vividly, as we have said, in the awareness of choosing, the sometimes painful, sometimes exhilarating awareness of oneself as a baseless base of value creation.... To be aware is not

to be disposed this way or that. It is, rather, to be aware of the possibility of being disposed this way or that. It is to be aware that one is the author of his own dispositions.⁴

To this President Nyerere would most probably object on the grounds that it is far too individualistic and that instead of leading to social unity, it would lead to social fragmentation. Nyerere would object even more to the following existentialist view of education based on this need for awareness of one's own being--

An education which reminds youngsters that they are constantly, freely, baselessly, creatively choosing in this way is the kind of education we are in pursuit of. It is the education of the private awareness and personal involvement--an education which intensifies awareness--indeed which possibly considers intensity of awareness as the working mode of an educational enterprise....⁵

Humanistic or man-centered education cannot be primarily instrumental to external and externally desirable ends as it appears to President Nyerere who projects education first and foremost as for the benefit of society and the building of socialist society. These ends may, indeed, be ultimately desirable if the "Good Life" is to be assured a progressive evolution. John Dewey has intriguingly proposed that education should be "of, for, and by experience"⁶

⁴Van Cleve Morris, Existentialism in Education (Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1966), pp. 110-111.

⁵Ibid.

⁶John Dewey, Experience and Education (Kappa Delta Pi, 1938), p. 29.

of the individual which is as man-centered as any theory could be. Perhaps from this more direct concern with the experience of the learner, education could then expand to these other external desirables; but the desirability of these external objects of education would have to be defined from the point of view of the individual's experience--needs, interests, etc. The social end product of such a view might not be President Nyerere's socialist society; but it would be genuinely concerned about real, living, individual people. A doctrine such as socialism sometimes seems to emphasize the importance of an abstract and almost fictitious thing called society or even individual 'man' when, in practice, real people suffer and receive little if any attention.

In the third chapter we saw how President Nyerere put forward "responsibility" as one of the principles or requirements of socialism. We saw how he used "responsibility" to mean that an individual citizen should be so self-directed as to be able to participate actively in the decision-making processes of the community on matters that affect him and the community. I further described how President Nyerere advocated a democratically run community. This social objective, when taken in the context of education, would seem to require precisely the well-rounded, integrated personality that commands self-confidence and

self-respect which can only be the result of a student-oriented or experience-based education. There is, in fact, no absolute necessity of conflict between student-oriented education and the basic objective of President Nyerere's philosophical goal of human dignity, although it would not readily meet the requirements of socialism.

The above theory of education which emphasizes individual need and interest is doomed to being dismissed as Utopian and out of touch with the realities of the African economic, political and social situation. The President's choice of simple human dignity as the centerpiece of his philosophical objective would be argued to be a matter of practical recognition of the general depression and deprivation of mankind in Africa and that what is needed is not an improvement of isolated individuals or groups of individuals, but the general elevation of the whole mass of mankind, however slowly and ponderously.

The second reason why a student centered educational theory might be rejected is that to select only a few students according to the limitations of available economic resources and then to provide these few with an aesthetic, open-ended, or experience-based education which may not address the need for the general uplifting of the depressed masses may seem, to African leaders such as Julius Nyerere, to be grossly unjust if not entirely careless and wasteful.

Within this context, when Nyerere says the concern of his philosophy is man, he is really thinking in terms of these suffering masses. They seem to be also what he means when he refers to "community" or "society" generally. Having made the decision that every human being is entitled to a certain minimum of dignity, President Nyerere would feel that all excess benefits of society, including education, over and above this minimum must be shared until the general standard of living is raised. By and large, that seems to be the essence of his social equality and, in part, of human sharing. The whole thrust of socialism is the benefit of these masses, and education is considered an aspect of this effort to improve them.

The building of socialism is, thus, the direct and immediate purpose of President Nyerere's philosophy of education. Unlike Van Cleve Morris' existentialist theory of education, or John Dewey's progressive theory of education, President Nyerere does not leave the direction of educational enterprise to be determined by student interest and need. He and his political party, the Tanganyika African National Union, decided and continue to decide what values and attitudes ought to be the outcomes of education. Even in the areas of intellectual and technical skills, community's and society's needs and interests rather than those of the student determine what these should be--they are decided

"according to manpower plan forecasts", to use a popular catch phrase.

President Nyerere argues that technical skills are necessary and important for national development, and that they should be taught at all levels of education. However, given the nature of the "Good Life" which he and his government have decided to pursue, and given what they perceive to be the necessary and appropriate means to the "Good Life", President Nyerere fears that those very technical and intellectual skills could be used to defeat the objective of the human dignity for all unless their development is accompanied by the appropriate value and attitudinal orientation as part of the educative process. Values and attitudes determine for what purpose and how intellectual and psychomotor skills must be used.

Julius Nyerere has written that education must teach the proper (socialist) values for the sake of both the individual and society. He says that if the learner develops values and attitudes that conflict with those of the society in which he lives and works, he may end up feeling and being treated like an outcast and unhappy which is contrary to the philosophy of education for human happiness. Needless to say, such an individual becomes a threat to society rather than an asset.⁷

⁷Nyerere, Uhuru Na Maendeleo, p. 196.

The need for ensuring that Tanzanian students absorb the kinds of social attitudes consistent with the policy of building a country based on African socialism has led to the setting up of a local national university in Dar es Salaam. The President says,

It follows that a country which is trying to build socialism on its cultural foundation cannot ignore the social atmosphere in which its students are being educated. For they are being given special educational opportunities simply because the society needs special services from them if its goals are to be achieved. The skills and the attitudes they acquire are therefore of equal importance.⁸

Thus as an instrumentalist, Julius Nyerere does not talk of exploration of human values by study but of reaching these values authoritatively planned for the general improvement of society at large.

Again Van Cleve Morris, in Existentialism in Education, makes a sharp criticism of the principle of imposing values and attitudes on students by an outside authority. He emphatically states that,

Existentialism dares to assert that the so-called 'uncoerced community of persuasion', for all its high sounding, moral scientism cannot ever become the final judge of how I look at life and how I live it. If the community of persuasion is to be such an arbiter, I as an individual must actively consent to it, choose it, as my life's arbiter.⁹

⁸Ibid., pp. 196-197.

⁹Morris, op. cit., p. 101.

This position would regard the Tanzanian socialist education program as a form of indoctrination which violates the humanity of the individual by using him as an instrument for such an extreme thing as society. Perhaps presently the Tanzanian statesman sees no alternative in stressing the importance and good of society more than that of the individual; but can he in due time break this instrumentalism and take up the challenge posed by the radical existentialist humanism? If so, his philosophy would need to project it as an ultimate goal, however remote. Most certainly, after that minimum human dignity for all is attained, and a relatively high degree of national affluence is achieved, there is no reason why this radical humanism in education should not be adopted.

Theodore Brameld, in his second book Ends and Means in Education, defines indoctrination in these terms:

In brief, it is that method of learning by communication which proceeds primarily in one direction (from the "communicator" to the "communiquee") for the purpose of inculcating in the minds and behavior of the latter a firm acceptance of some one doctrine or systematic body of beliefs--a doctrine assumed in advance by its exponents to be so supremely true, so good, or so beautiful as to justify no need for critical, scrupulous, thoroughgoing comparison with alternative doctrines.¹⁰

¹⁰Theodore Brameld, Ends and Means in Education (Harper & Brothers, 1950), p. 88.

Brameld condemns that sort of education and favors what he prefers to call a "defensible partiality" which simply means that one is still advocative of some position, but the position itself is held after a free examination of all the choices, and held democratically in common with a majority of community members who have freely shared what Dewey calls the "problematic material"--the experience data from which the decision is made.

Brameld's view of indoctrination is relevant to President Nyerere's brand of socialist education for the development of socialist attitudes and values. President Nyerere consistently claims that his government and party, as chosen representatively of the people, have decided (and the people have implicitly accepted) that Tanzania must become a socialist state and society. The implications of this decision are so far-reaching, and so fundamentally affect the whole nature and quality of life of the individual citizen that it does not seem sufficient for the government, however representative of the people, not to subject the choice to the free and intelligent or rational consent of the individual Tanzanian until a consensus is reached. In fact, education can play an important role in permitting students to examine freely the nature of socialism and its principles as well as the major alternatives to them so that they may be enabled to come to Brameld's

"defensible partiality"--that is, if they should choose socialism they do so individually, freely, consciously, and, one hopes, independently. This decision seems to be such a fundamental right that no one, especially the mature student, should be deprived of it. A survey of the relevant literature, however, does not seem to show that in President Nyerere's educational philosophy, there is a provision for this thorough scrutiny of the doctrine of socialism with a view to making individual, independent, choice to accept or to reject it.

Instead of the choice of socialism being open to public debate among students, the literature seems to suggest that the primary role of education is to help students and pupils to understand what this official choice is and means, and in particular to explore means of implementing the principles of socialism--the students and even the citizens do not seem to be expected to make any further individual choices. The following statement exemplifies the President's general view on this issue. He is discussing the topic of the relevancy of a university when he completely by-passes the whole question of the need for individual choice of socialism. He says,

The staff must be encouraged to challenge the students and society with arguments and to put forward new suggestions about how to deal with the problems

of building a socialist Tanzania based on human equality and dignity.¹¹

He takes for granted the choice and acceptance, by the university staff, of the socialist doctrine and its concomitant principles.

President Nyerere and his party use all available resources--social functions, working situations, political meetings, mass media, and educational institutions--to effect value and attitude changes in the people. The desire for this change of attitude in favor of socialism is so strong within the Tanganyika African National Union, the only legal party, that no one who is not a socialist--or at least no one who is a known capitalist--can be allowed to hold a leadership position in it. Specifically, a party declaration says that,

Every TANU and government leader must be either a peasant or a worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of capitalism or feudalism.¹²

In a one-party state such as Tanzania, this policy leaves as choice for the individual, either to be a socialist or to pretend to be one, unless one chooses to disappear from the political arena altogether.

According to the most definitive of the party statements, the Arusha Declaration, unless an individual accepts

¹¹Nyerere, Uhuru Na Maendeleo, p. 202.

¹²Nyerere, Ujamaa, p. 36.

the policy of socialism, he may no longer be eligible to be a simple member of the only political party in Tanzania.

For the document states that,

Since the Party was founded we put great emphasis on getting as many members as possible. This was the right policy during the independence struggle. But now the National Executive feels that the time has come when we should put more emphasis on the beliefs of our Party and its policies of socialism.¹³

Such actions by the only national Party place an unbearable pressure on anyone with political interest to conform to the only one choice available to him--socialism.

Thus, the odds go strongly against the non-conformist both in the thinking of the Party Executive Committee and Nyerere. The political discrimination projected against the capitalist in the Arusha Declaration appears to be inconsistent with the following policy statement of President Nyerere:

We have agreed that our nation shall be a nation of free and equal citizens, each person having an equal right and opportunity to develop himself and contribute to the maximum of his capabilities to the development of our society.... We have said that neither race nor tribe, nor religion, nor cleverness, nor anything else, could take away from a man his own rights as an equal member of society.¹⁴

It must be pointed out, however, that President Nyerere has in no uncertain terms condemned this tendency within the

¹³Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁴Nyerere, Uhuru Na Maendeleo, p. 7.

Party to wage a campaign against those who do not want to become socialists. But what the President shares in common with other Party leaders is the assumption that the acceptance of socialism is the only choice for all Tanzanians.

It thus seems that a man-centered educational philosophy, such as President Nyerere claims his to be, should concern itself with developing the individual's ability to exercise critical and independent judgment on matters of moment in his own life--matters that include how the individual wants to live his life and the kind of community appropriate for that life. Obviously, no one expects unanimity among the people as to the kind of society and sort of life which ought to be adopted; but methods could be developed by which some sort of consensus could be achieved, and methods of education could be developed that would ultimately confront every individual with the personal choice. This act of individual choosing intelligently from the available alternatives may be habituated so as to become a permanent style of life and would be compatible with President Nyerere's view of socialist responsibility as described in the previous chapters.

One defense President Nyerere might pose against the criticism that, while he encourages individual Tanzanians to think and exercise their own judgment on most of the issues, he does not leave any room for individual choice on

the question of socialism, is his claim that socialism is the natural, traditional way of African social organization. He might argue that principles of socialism were, and still are, practiced customarily in African society so that any significant aberrations are to be blamed on the deleterious effects of European colonialism. The call for African socialism is, for him, a matter of self re-education or social revitalization rather than a fundamentally new choice for the Tanzanians. We can see this argument vividly in many of his statements.

On one occasion, for instance, he has suggested that, "In the past we have worked together because that was the custom. Now we have to do it deliberately, and do it in such a manner that modern knowledge can be utilized for the common good."¹⁵ That is, in the modern Tanzanian State, socialism must become a conscious practice, though its traditional origin was by custom. Furthermore, that statement suggests that traditional socialism is merely undergoing a change through adaptation to the requirements of modernization. But for Nyerere the African acceptance of socialism is not an open question; and no new decision is implied to be under consideration or necessary.

President Nyerere makes it abundantly clear that his advocacy of socialism is not a new and arbitrary decision

¹⁵Ibid., p. 135.

by him to be imposed by fiat on the people of Tanzania.

He says,

And in fact this choice of socialism out of the alternatives before us stems in large part from the communal traditions of Africa. It is on these traditions that we are building. We are trying to maintain the traditional equality of our people and to work out new forms of political and economic association which will enable us to increase our real wealth while completely eliminating both economic and political exploitation.... In other words, we are trying to build socialism in a manner appropriate to our past, our circumstances, and our ambitions for human equality in all spheres of life.¹⁶

Granted that African socialism is not a new foreign phenomenon being introduced, it nevertheless does not seem adequate, if even appropriate, that schools should educate essentially for human equality and socialism. Rather, we should educate for the uniqueness of the individual human being--for the unique growth needs, unique psychological needs, unique social needs, and unique emotional needs of the individual. For it seems to this writer that, rather than human beings being essentially or characteristically equal, as President Nyerere claims, they are distinctively unique.

A conception of people which emphasizes those people's equality rather than their uniqueness seems bound to lead to forms of indoctrination in education unless, of course, equality is meant to refer to such external treatments as:

¹⁶Ibid.

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equality before the law; social, employment, political opportunities; and equality of certain rights. On the other hand, a model of human beings that underscores individual person's uniqueness would require education to be concerned with the nurturing of the growth of the individual's natural potentialities in his own terms and at his own level. The purpose of education would then be to facilitate the growth process as demanded by the growth needs of the student rather than to "inculcate the appropriate values for desirable social attitudes" which is tantamount to indoctrination.

In a free society, education should seek to promote the efflorescence of the potential and unique talents, capabilities and interests of the people so that they can contribute to the good of society in their own peculiar way, while at the same time they move gradually toward self-actualization. In other words, education should serve the twin purpose of advancing the growth of the individual and that of society without reducing either the individual or the society to a mere means.

As a matter of fact, if a choice of emphasis between the two had to be made, this writer would tip the scale over in favor of the individual since it seems education should be concerned with the liberation of the individual from himself--his fears, his ignorance about himself and his needless defensiveness--as well as from society.

His liberation from these hindrances would probably make possible his ability to experience life to his full capacity. He would be able to accept himself and to understand himself more realistically. He would be free to deal with his own inner impulses constructively and to accommodate both inner and external conflicts constructively. He would accordingly be able to make the sorts of choices for which he would accept responsibility.

The need to educate the individual in such a way as to enable him to gain a clear understanding and an acceptance of himself; in such a way as to enable him to be self-directed and responsible for his own actions and decisions; and in such a way as to enable him to sustain personal growth and development through the satisfaction of those needs and interests basic to him: the need to educate the individual in this manner derives from the present writer's doubts about the effects on human freedom of President Nyerere's socialist education program. For the aim of that socialist education is said to be inculcating into the people's minds the socialist values for socialist attitudes the purpose of which is the control by the government of human social behavior. Added to the claimed right of the socialist government to manipulate the political and economic spheres of life, such a view of education reminds one of the frightening implication of the behaviorist conception

of man as a kind of a complex machine whose behavior is at the mercy of external control by environmental factors. Education, it seems, should restore to man a sense of power over his own life, a sense of responsibility for making big and small choices over matters that impinge on his life and on his environment.

Scientific evidence has proved indisputably the overwhelming influence of the environment on the decisions and behavior of people. The well-known experiments of such psychologists as Pavlov, Watson, and B. F. Skinner are common knowledge and the general conclusion from their behaviorist theories that man is really not free but subject to these external controls need not be restated here. What needs to be reported, however, is the contradictory evidence illustrated by the case of those individuals who make choices or who behave in a manner contrary to external demands; those who refuse to be Pavlov's dogs.

In the medical profession, we often hear of how individuals, in spite of scientific medical prediction of an early death, decide to live and proceed to live much longer than the prediction. In the same field we also often hear of people "losing the will to live"--really choosing to die--and indeed proceeding to die earlier than medical science would have predicted. If such reports are true, then we have instances of choices made independently of the

external factors. We have, in short, examples of free individual choices; and the individuals bear responsibility for the choices. They refuse to react automatically to the environment, however intense the pressure.

Furthermore, history abounds with cases of individuals like Socrates or Jesus Christ who, knowing full well the consequences, chose to stand by their principles and, in that way, accepted responsibility for their own choices and the consequent death penalties.

An examination of the personality characteristics of those who tend not to react automatically to external manipulation and control shows how education can contribute to the freedom of man. Dr. Carl Rogers says that those who tend to yield, agree, conform, the ones who can be controlled, give general evidence of incapacity to cope effectively with stress while the nonconformists tend not to panic under the pressure of conflicting forces. He writes:

The conformist also tended to have pronounced feelings of inferiority and inadequacy, while the person who did not yield to pressure had a sense of competence and personal adequacy. He was more self-contained and autonomous in his thinking. He was also a better judge of the attitudes of other people.¹⁷

This seems to strengthen the belief of this writer that education should be concerned with increasing the student's

¹⁷Carl R. Rogers, Freedom to Learn (Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1969), p. 270.

self-knowledge and awareness, his ability and willingness to choose and to bear responsibility for himself and his decisions, all of which require a certain measure of self-confidence--that education should aim to develop independent but critical thinking among the students. A basis for this sort of education should be the uniqueness of individual men and women. This seems to be a better way of promoting and preserving human freedom than to leave the responsibility to the manipulative control, decisions and choices of the government or to anyone else.

It seems that we should not start thinking about educational objectives by asking what sort of society is desirable which, for President Nyerere would lead to the answer: socialist society. Rather we should start out by asking: What is the character and nature of human beings and what sort of society and education is appropriate for their enhancement? President Nyerere's answer to this latter question is that human beings are characterized by both a selfish and social instinct. From this proposition, Nyerere makes the choice that for the sake of creating a socialist society, the social instinct should be encouraged at the expense of the selfish one. The contention taken by the educational approach being suggested here is precisely to attend to the so-called "selfish instinct" first and let the social instinct follow. For what is really meant by the

selfish instinct is a collection of personal needs that demand the individual's urgent attention. Since the need for association is one of the basic ones, an education concerned about the needs and interests of the individual would naturally take care of his social needs; especially with a little encouragement such as the socialist objective to achieve some sort of equality. In any case, whether the end result of it be socialism or not, a student-oriented philosophy of education for the self-realization of individual human beings requires us to take a holistic view of people and to facilitate a multidimensional growth and development of students.

Education for self-realization is based on a conception of man that is dynamic, and that is based on the assumption that the life of the individual is at least partly an end unto itself, and not primarily instrumental to some other end. Dr. Carl R. Rogers has described a conception of the sort of individual we ought to be educating for in the view of this writer. He writes that:

It appears that a person who emerges from a theoretically optimal experience of personal growth, whether through client-centered therapy or some other experience of learning and development is then a fully functioning person. He is able to live fully in and with each and all of his feelings and reactions. He is making use of all his organic equipment to sense as accurately as possible, the existential situation within and without. He is using all of the data his nervous system can thus supply, using it in awareness, but recognizing his total organism may be, and is

often, wiser than his awareness. He is able to permit his total organism to function in all its complexity on selecting, from the multitude of possibilities, that behavior which in this moment of time will be most generally and genuinely satisfying. He is able to trust his organism, not because it is infallible, but because he can be fully open to the consequences of each of his actions and correct them if they prove to be less than satisfying.¹⁸

In this chapter I have attempted to examine in a critical way Nyerere's thesis that the major goal of education should be the creation of a socialist society. While an emphasis on such an aim is understandable in view of the dire poverty, illiteracy, and rampant disease partly due to capitalism, it has been argued that this aim is not quite consistent with President Nyerere's stress on man and on human dignity. For the emphasis on man and human dignity seems to be much more compatible with an educational philosophy whose aim is the production of an autonomous, self-actualizing human being, an aim supported by such existentialist educators as Van Cleve Morris, Maslow, and Carl R. Rogers.

While President Julius Nyerere professes to base the adoption of socialism as an ideal on traditional African culture, he goes on to accept, perhaps unwittingly, an instrumental view of man; the sort of mechanistic model of man endorsed by such behaviorists as Pavlov, Watson, and B. F. Skinner. Such a mechanistic model does not seem to

leave any room for individual capacity for freedom and choice which, for this writer, seems to be an important ingredient of human dignity.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTATION, AND THE "GOOD LIFE"

The Premise of Education

Underlying President Nyerere's theory of education is the realization that the process of education is constantly in motion in the family, at work, in the church, during games, and numerous other social activities outside the formal school system. From and through activities such as these, Nyerere says, education bears the burden of transmitting the values and traditions of society from one generation to the next. Furthermore, formal education should be in line with the general non-formal process of education and should play the same role of perpetuating traditional African values of which socialist principles are a part. This is the foundation upon which his innovative program, Education for Self-reliance, is built.

The demand that education should serve to preserve and pass on society's traditions and values can be easily justified by the obvious need for personal and social stability. Quite apart from the theory that a formal education too different in purpose from the non-formal everyday education

would be doomed to failure, the African child being formally educated needs a base of cultural heritage which acts as the springboard from which he or she may venture forth into avenues of new experience and growth. Acceptance and absorption of the child's own African cultural traditions are indeed imperative if the child is to survive the rapid social and political change so characteristic of contemporary Africa. When threatened by these winds of change, the African child should be enabled to retreat to the familiar territory of his own traditions so that he can master new courage and strategy for further adventures. For this reason we can sympathize with President Nyerere when he says the role of education should be to transmit the African heritage to posterity; but his emphasis is on something different.

It seems quite clear that Nyerere wishes education to pass on African values and traditions to future generations because he loves and respects those values and traditions. He feels that the "Good Life" would be easily possible in the context of African traditional society. Education should therefore be shaped for and by traditional values of society; it should also serve to restore traditions and values where these have been seriously eroded.

According to Nyerere, colonial education tended to pervert the traditional values of Africa:

... colonial education induced attitudes of human inequality, and in practice underpinned the domination of the weak by the strong, especially in the economic field. Colonial education in this country was therefore not transmitting the values and knowledge of Tanzanians in society from one generation to the next; it was a deliberate attempt to change those values and to replace traditional knowledge with the knowledge from a different society.¹

We should add more to Nyerere's conception of the role of education. We should go beyond the mere transmission of values and traditions. It seems to me that cultural values and traditions could be confining and restricting just as they could be a good starting point for personal growth. Undoubtedly President Nyerere would agree that enthralling traditions should not be transmitted through generations. Education should serve to disenthral people from the myriads of hinderances to self-realization, including aspects of traditions. Traditions should be discarded when they serve to hinder and obstruct the individual person's search for the maximum self-realization and fulfillment; no value nor tradition deserves to be passed on through the nation's generations if it has a deleterious effect on the progressive development of society.

Take a brief look at an example of an African tradition which, it seems, education has no business transmitting. Polygyny, the practice of one man marrying many wives--

¹Julius K. Nyerere, Education for Self-reliance (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967), p. 3.

I have heard of a man with as many as fifteen--is a genuine widespread, African tradition. Various reasons for the practice of polygyny are given. Because the mortality rate was high, a child with many mothers would experience a lot less anguish at the death of his own real mother. The old adage is that many hands make light work--the more wives one had, the more one could produce from the land. Another explanation which is less expressed than the others, is the fact that chauvinist males would not apportion land to an unmarried woman. Since land was the only sufficient source of livelihood in a traditional agricultural economy, and since women seem always to outnumber men in Africa, if women could not get a single man, they had no alternative but to double up. Many other reasons were given for this tradition.

Some of these conditions which forced many women into polygyny have become obsolete and yet the practice continues as a tradition. Has not education the obligation to destroy rather than perpetuate this African tradition? In fact Nyerere's answer would be 'yes'.

Yet if some traditions and values are desirable and others undesirable, what shall be the criterion for making the choice? And what shall be the means for effecting the

necessary change? Perhaps these roles would be appropriate for education, in addition to transmitting those values that are desirable. That is, education should also facilitate individual change, as well as social and cultural changes. Formal education has the duty of helping to re-evaluate cultural traditions in the light of the emerging self of the individual and of the society as a whole.

As indicated elsewhere, there is an important relationship between the existing culture embraced by the child and the potential direction of change. I am arguing here that the main value of traditional values is the stability and resiliency they provide for the child in the process of becoming. During such a rapid process of change both within the individual and the society, acceptance of the African cultural values would serve to control the change so that it does not run wild and become destructive. Education should not assist people to revert to the traditions for the sake of traditions; it should do so for the sake of effectively guiding a constructive personal and social change.

In other words, the child is far more important than traditional values, and education should focus on helping him to understand the particular changes he is undergoing and help him through the changes. African society itself is in a state of dynamic change so that the role of

education as an agent of social and personal change appears to be even more realistic and appropriate than that of transmitting traditional values.

Education for Self-reliance and
Rural Development

Tanzania is unique in Africa in that its philosopher President, Julius Nyerere, has developed, and the country has adopted, a revolutionary educational plan unparalleled elsewhere on the continent. The nature and direction of Tanzania's experimental and innovative curriculum are influenced by the President's philosophy which insists that the indivisibility of mankind requires an equitable distribution of the benefits of society. This egalitarian attitude has its foundation in President Nyerere's deep moral commitment to the idea that human dignity should be open to all human beings without exception.

The other factor which plays a significant part in shaping the nature of the new Tanzanian curriculum is that this country, relative to the rest of African states, is one of the poorest and most undeveloped industrially and agriculturally. Of the fourteen million people, well over ninety-six per cent live in the rural areas engaging in agricultural production which is both the source of their own sustenance and the main source of the country's revenue.

This revenue from agriculture could be used for urban industrial development which would greatly benefit the urban population far more than those in the countryside--an exploitative situation. Nyerere's sense of justice obliges him to seek a kind of development that would not result in an unequal distribution of the benefits of labor. This might well be the fulcrum of his new curriculum program, but the emergence of the curriculum plan itself was caused by several historical events which coincided with the relative maturation of the president's overall socio-political and educational philosophy.

Soon after independence in 1961, President Nyerere began to articulate a Pan-African philosophy of socialism. His socialist philosophy, however, seemed to stagnate in its embryonic state until the union of Tanganyika with the Island of Zanzibar in 1964 to form the United Republic of Tanzania. At that point his philosophy shifted and became a little more radicalized, bearing a closer affinity to Chinese Maoist socialism. Within a three-year period of apparent further gestation, spurred on by several social and political incidents, President Nyerere's African socialism was given a new face which was manifest in the statements of clearly delineated national goals. In brief, the Arusha Declaration, published in January 1967, drew up a blueprint for Tanzanian socialism, which among other things,

emphasized individual and national self-reliance. This official document also defined the role to be played by education in the implementation of African socialism, but a separate document dealing with education (Education for Self-reliance) was to be published later in March of the same year.

The social and political incidents which immediately preceded the Arusha Declaration have a correlation with the new direction of African socialism in Tanzania. The first event spiralled into a crisis of serious proportions; it largely resulted from a combination of the effects of the old colonial education and efforts by the independent government to change the old school system. Colonial Primary school education was geared toward preparing pupils to enter the secondary school with an ultimate hope of acquiring a clerical, white-collar job. This hope implied a strong desire to escape manual, agricultural labor that soils hands and causes too much sweat.* When the independent government decided to reduce the primary school period from eight to seven years in 1965, an unusually large number of graduates left school in 1966. As a result neither the secondary schools which had not expanded accordingly, nor the clean-hands job market could absorb these primary school leavers. Thus, finding no exit route from the much disliked manual, agricultural toils, the primary school graduates went on a rampage directed against the government.

*In other studies, it has been found that school graduates shun agricultural occupations because of the fact that farming simply does not pay as well as white collar jobs. See James Sheffield, Agriculture in African Secondary Schools: Case Studies of Botswana, Kenya, and Tanzania.

To add gasoline to burning coals, the government established a compulsory national service for graduates of higher institutions of learning--university students, Form IV graduates, and graduates of professional and technical institutes. The response to this call for a two-year compulsory national service was both electric and vigorous. Students did not only refuse to serve, but they went on public demonstration against the President and protested bitterly against this measure. Although each graduate would be free to serve in a capacity consistent with his or her own training and interests--which would most probably preclude manual labor--the graduates felt that national service would delay them by two years from making good money and reaping all the other benefits of their academic accomplishments.

The Primary school graduate crisis and the reaction of students to national service awoke the President to the realization that all the widespread talk about socialism in Tanzania was only skin deep and perhaps that the current generation of those educated under the old colonial system would be impervious to the aspirations of a philosophy of socialism. Far from being subdued by the student upheavals, President Nyerere reacted with a determination not only to see to the implementation of national service, but also to change the very education system that had produced the current generation of students who, in his mind, were selfish

and individualistic as well as elitist and arrogant. He resolved to create a new system of education where students would not be afraid to use their hands; where they would learn to serve for the common good rather than merely selfish, individualistic goals. He decided to introduce a new educational system in which students would learn to accept responsibility for the financing of their own education and upkeep. In short, the immediate consequence of the two student crises was the adoption of "Education for Self-Reliance" in March, 1967.

It may be worthwhile to restate that the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance underscored the desire to create a socialist society as we saw earlier in Chapter III. In the language of Education for Self-Reliance, "We have said that we want to create a socialistic society based on three principles: equality and respect for human dignity, sharing of resources which are produced by our efforts, work by everyone and exploitation by none." The main difference now is that these words, stated with student demonstrations still fresh in mind, implied that the educated, the white-collar workers possibly including some government and party leaders, were or would be the exploiters of the masses in the rural areas. Indeed President Nyerere explicitly expresses his suspicion that the inherited system of education would most probably not lead to the evolution

of an egalitarian Tanzanian society:

... the education now provided is designed for the few who are intellectually stronger than their fellows; it induces among those who succeed a feeling of superiority, and leaves the majority of the others hankering after something they will never obtain. It induces a feeling of inferiority among the majority, and can thus not produce either the egalitarian society we should build, nor attitudes of mind which are conducive to an egalitarian society. On the contrary, it induces a class structure in our society.²

The net result of the effect of student protests, of the Arusha Declaration, and of the policy of Education for Self-Reliance, is the decision to concentrate on the development of rural socialism, the development of an agricultural society as compared with an industrial urban society. Some of the reasons given for this decision, apart from those already stated above, are that since over 96% of the population of Tanzania lives in the countryside; and since this rural population pays the bulk of Tanzania's revenue through taxation of their agricultural produce;³ and since the life of a peasant farmer is typical in Tanzania, it is only fair and proper that the resources of the country should be used for the benefit and development of the countryside. We might paranthetically add that

² Ibid., p. 6.

³ Simon Pratt, Secondary Level Teachers, Tanzania (American Council on Education, Overseas Liason Committee, 1969), p. 54.

President Nyerere's own egalitarian beliefs and his realization that his only chance of developing an egalitarian, socialist society in Tanzania rested with the uneducated masses of the rural areas rather than the urbanites.

President Nyerere himself states the reasons for the new shift in emphasis thus:

And, the truth is that our United Republic has at present a poor, undeveloped, and agricultural economy. We have very little capital to invest in big factories or modern machines; we are short of people with experience and skill. What we do have is land in abundance and people who are willing to work hard for their own development. It is the use of these latter resources which will decide whether we reach our total goals or not. If we use these resources in the spirit of self-reliance as the basis for development, then we shall make progress slowly but surely. And it will then be real progress, affecting the lives of the masses, not just have spectacular show-pieces in the towns while the rest of the people of Tanzania live in their present poverty.⁴

"We shall make progress slowly but surely"--these words of the President of Tanzania suggest that he suspects that his blueprint for the country's educational practice would not be effective in leading the country to much economic development, probably not industrial development as it is known in Western society. The slow development of a rural agricultural society may be all he has in mind, and may be part of the big decision he has made. If this

⁴Nyerere, op. cit., p. 4.

interpretation does not accurately represent his actual deliberate intentions, an analysis of Education of Self-Reliance does not seem to contradict it. In his educational theory, there does not seem to be a provision for anything more than a moderately improved agricultural, village, society. In other words, a reasonable case could be made to show both that "Education for Self-Reliance" is a deliberate resignation to an improved but traditional African society based on an agricultural economy, and that, deliberate or not, Education for Self-Reliance would most probably lead nowhere else but to a slightly improved traditional African society based on an agricultural economy. Let us examine the two possible interpretations.

The belief that President Nyerere may have, in the back of his mind, no desire for a substantial alteration of the traditional African social and economic patterns beyond mere improvement of them may be justified by the reverence and love of African traditions which are widely infused into all of his writings. In propounding his most cherished philosophy of African socialism--Ujamaa--President Nyerere strenuously insists as the justification for its acceptance that it was, and basically still is, the traditional philosophy of African social organization. Some of his scathing remarks about colonialism in Africa are that African traditions were distorted and he has ceaselessly reiterated that

it is the duty of an independent African government to restore those traditions; since African traditions were characteristically rural and agricultural; and since a rapid and high degree of industrialization would assuredly revolutionize African traditions, it stands to reason that Nyerere's decision to embark on a development based on agricultural villages is consistent with his love for the African traditional way of life.

A statement by Mr. A. C. Mwingira, Minister of Education in Tanzania, gives further evidence that Education for Self-Reliance is intended to create and perhaps maintain an improved traditional village society.

People are thinking ahead to a rural society where Ujamaa village is the norm and where the greatest value is set upon cooperative endeavor rather than individual achievement even if this is to be achieved at the expense of others.⁵

He meant that education in Tanzania was being designed with village socialism in mind as the normal, desirable, form of social arrangement. Mwingira says,

The issue is that Education for Self-Reliance sets a pattern of education for society as we hope it will be in the future.⁶

As we know, the kind of society that is projected in the theory of Education for Self-Reliance is no different from

⁵African Studies Association of the United Kingdom, Education in Africa (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969), p. 67.

⁶Ibid., p. 74.

the typical Tanzanian Ujamaa village whose economic basis is simple agriculture. Regarding President Nyerere's love and respect of our traditional society, it is important to bear in mind that he really believes that human dignity is readily possible in that form of social organization if only conditions of economic scarcity, disease, and ignorance could be eliminated without disrupting the system. That conviction is one reason why it would not be difficult for him to reject Western industrialism and opt for rural village development.

Furthermore, Nyerere's choice of rural agricultural development over Western-type industrialization can be easily understood by looking at his antipathy toward what he calls "capitalist materialism". Literature is replete with Nyerere's aversion to the effects of materialism on human life. He feels that Education for Self-Reliance should be concerned with human well-being, and that the production of material wealth should be for the universal promotion of this well-being. Education--

... has to foster the social goals of living together, and working together, for the common good. It has to prepare our young people to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of the society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortunes of the group, and in which progress is measured in terms of human well-being, not prestige building, cars, or other such things, whether privately or publicly owned.⁷

⁷Nyerere, Education for Self-reliance, p. 4.

As we might suspect, these words condemning ambitions for luxury, are in all probability intended to discourage the individualistic, materialistic, aspirations of the educated elites and of the urban bourgeoisie, to direct national attention to the need for enhancing the general good life of the masses of the country. Nyerere's near idolization of African culture and tradition might indicate that such admonitions against materialistic temptations are aimed at discouraging the evolution of a Western-kind of industrialism in the place of traditional society.

President Nyerere's preference for a traditional African society in which he claims that all people are equal, and are accorded equal dignity, over the capitalist model of society where he sees dignity as a monopoly of a fortunate few is unmistakable. He feels that whatever the amount of national wealth, it must be equally shared among the people, and this he believes is not possible under a capitalist model of development. Nyerere reinforces this conviction by looking at Britain and the United States of America as examples of capitalist development:

We can see the malnutrition among the people of the Appalachian Mountains and of Harlem contrasted with the gadgetry of suburban America; or in Britain we can see the problem of homelessness while color television sets are produced endlessly; and in the same societies we can observe the small resources devoted to such things like education and health for the

people compared with those spent to satisfy the inessential desires of the minority.⁸

Questionable as some of these assertions might be, what is important is that we can see from these statements how his belief in the need for universal human dignity and equality influenced the decision to emphasize rural development. Such grave doubts about the solubriousness of capitalist industrial development would only serve to nudge Nyerere further in the direction of accepting the idea of developing, without structurally transforming, what he considers to be an agrarian, socialist traditional society.

There is much to be said for Nyerere's belief in the basic goodness of the traditional society as a factor in the decision to concentrate on rural development. However, this belief must be considered as only one of the many factors and not the most decisive one. Indeed, to discover a decisive factor in the choice to concentrate on rural development, we have to go back to what we said earlier; namely, that lack of Tanzanian capital to invest in industrial development. Such a lack of capital is one of the explicit reasons President Nyerere gives in the Arusha Declaration and in Education for Self-Reliance. This shows that Nyerere would want--does want--industrial development

⁸Nyerere, Uhuru Na Maendeleo, p. 388.

as a necessary means of generating the much needed wealth for the country. He would want a kind of industrialization that could be so controlled as to benefit the whole country and not just a small portion of Tanzania. For, undoubtedly, he believes that industrial growth in a world marked by an international economic interdependence would be the quickest way of improving the general welfare of his people. We may reiterate that although he wants industrial development in Tanzania, Nyerere finds that unless Tanzanians can generate their own capital, it would have to be borrowed at the risk of rendering national independence meaningless. This would be especially true in a capitalist form of development.

The fear of endangering autonomy and national independence seems to be a factor as important as the lack of Tanzanian capital in the choice to stress rural development. Julius Nyerere's understanding is that most foreign aid brings with it the sorts of conditions which would undermine self-determination. As an example, he feels that he might not get much aid from the capitalist countries of the Western World for the development of a socialist state, and his government would have to abandon their choice in order to be offered such support. In addition, Nyerere says that after foreign companies do invest for economic development, their influence on local affairs would make a mockery of national independence. He says,

In fact, a reliance upon capitalist development means that we give to others the power to make vital decisions about our economy. The kind of economic production we shall undertake; the location of factories, offices, and stores; the amount of employment available in any area; and even the kind of taxation system we adopt; all these matters will be decided by outsiders.⁹

In another paragraph he also says,

What I mean is that, given the present inequalities between nations, capital development is incompatible with full national independence in the Third World countries. For such development will be foreign owned, and foreign controlled; local capitalists will be subsidiary, and will remain subsidiary.¹⁰

It is development under these conditions that President Nyerere has unequivocally rejected by adopting Education for Self-Reliance.

There is, thus, no reason to doubt that Nyerere is interested in an industrialization consistent with the building of an African socialist society, and that he would accept foreign assistance if it were given without conditions which sooner or later would interfere with national independence. This conclusion bids us to examine the policy of Education for Self-Reliance to see if it is designed eventually to lead to industrialization. We scrutinize it not only to understand whether eventual

⁹Ibid., p. 384.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 385.

industrial development is the intended effect of Education of Self-Reliance, but also whether such a theory is capable of accomplishing industrial development.

In evaluating the policy of Education for Self-Reliance, we should remember the two incidents of student demonstration in 1966:

For it is the self-centered, materialistic and arrogant attitudes of some of the secondary school products of the past that triggered off this new approach to our educational policy,...¹¹

said the Minister of Education. As mentioned above, these students revolted against an impending return to an agricultural life in the village because they could neither find a place at the University, and the training institutes, nor could they find clerical jobs in any of the urban centers. The new curriculum reform embodied in Education for Self-Reliance took full account of this educational dysfunction as President Nyerere considers it. The main thrust of the new educational policy, therefore, is to ensure that primary school and secondary school graduates would be quite content to return to the village and labor with their hands in harmony with their brothers and sisters.

Nyerere's revolutionary theory of education is calculated to preserve and enhance the pupils' ties with their families in the village and thus help them hang on to

¹¹ Education in Africa, p. 75.

African values and traditions. The effect of this continued interdependence between children in school and adults in the country villages would be a continued feeling of equality and mutual respect and love between the schooled and the unschooled. In addition, the new education system would foster in the students the normal habits of working with their hands whether in agriculture or at carpentry, and this would be achieved by building such tasks into the fabric of the regular curriculum. In this way school life and village life would be closely related.

... it is absolutely vital that they (the primary schools) and their pupils should be thoroughly integrated into the village life. The pupils should remain an integrated part of their family (or community) economic unit. The children must be made part of the community by having responsibilities to the community, and having the community involved in the school activities.¹²

A further incentive in the integration of theoretical learning and practical work in schools for self-reliance is the expected cut-down of the cost of education. Students, teachers and other school employees would work together on "terms of equality" to produce practically everything they need for their own sustenance and upkeep as a community. They would strive to become economically self-contained or self-reliant. Obviously children in the lower

¹²Nyerere, Education for Self-reliance, p. 12.

primary schools would be severely handicapped because of their young age; but President Nyerere suggests that primary schools should hire adults from the community to do some of the more difficult jobs such as clearing a field. In return for help by people from the community, school children might go and help the community with the drainage system or with weeding in the corn fields of that community. In either way, the primary school community would be learning to depend on their own ability to produce wealth as they would after graduation.

One would have to agree with Nyerere that because over 87% of the primary school graduates do not enter secondary school, the primary school curriculum should be designed for the sort of life and occupation these school leavers are destined for; namely, an agricultural rural life. It makes sense to prepare them to live side by side with the "uneducated" masses in the community since they would have to go there to live. This is one of the most commonsensical aspects of Education for Self-Reliance. The problem comes in when the depth and adequacy of the academic preparation of those few who will make it through to the secondary, and of those even fewer who go all the way through to the University is considered.

The lucky ones who enter the University college at Dar es Salaam will most probably hold some of the highest

positions in the nation. The management, development, and smooth day to day operations of the country would eventually come to rest on their shoulders. Even if the country were to remain essentially rural and agricultural, a small nucleus of competent, high level, management manpower would still be required. Below this group, there would be need for a reservoir of generally competent secondary school educated manpower to fill up many of the technical and low level executive jobs. Can Education for Self-Reliance prepare pupils and students to meet the challenges posed by these requirements?

In my own theory of education, the years of formal education are a time out for the child to be freed from many responsibilities of home life so that he can concentrate on his own development as rapidly and effectively as possible. This formalization of the learning situation makes the school a sort of experimental laboratory with the intellectual, emotional, and psychological growth of the child always as the central objective. The development of the child should be accelerated by the intensification and coordination of both theoretical and practical learning activities which challenge the pupil to his best performance. Such formalized educational exercise would need to be extended over a period of time. Optimally, it seems that the primary school and the secondary school periods should

be devoted to developing the individual's capacities for reasoning, emotional and psychological resilience, for self-understanding and coping with interpersonal relationships, as well as an understanding of his culture and society in addition to the three R's.

Yet, even with highly trained teachers, these phases of the curriculum are difficult enough to achieve effectively within the few years of the primary and secondary schools. To add to this program the responsibility on the students to produce their own daily necessities to the point of almost being a self-contained economic community would simply overload the work of education at the detriment of the students. Consequently, educational standards are bound to take a dip and ultimately the whole country could conceivably be affected. This watering-down of educational standards and the consequent possible slowing down, if not outright retardation, of national development may result from education for self-reliance despite the legitimate and, in many ways, compelling reasons for adopting such an innovative form of education.

Philip Foster of the University of Chicago, in his scathing evaluation of Education for Self-Reliance, has cast a serious doubt on the prospects of the Tanzanian experiment's ability to prepare adequately young and older students for the economic development of the country.

Although some of Foster's criticisms seem to be unfair, if not altogether irrelevant to what appears to be the main thrust of the policy of Education for Self-Reliance, one cannot help but share with him this one concern that placing on school children the full responsibility to produce and provide for all their economic needs in addition to academic study might be too much to handle effectively. The work required to carry out agricultural production, the management of the school farm, as well as all the production of other necessary things--tools, classroom equipment, furniture--needed for a self-reliant school community would certainly take a large proportion of the day's work hours. As a result there may not be enough time left to concentrate on the academic development of the child. To put it in the words of Philip Foster,

The critical question here is agricultural production at what cost. This latter includes direct monetary outlays and opportunity costs in terms of learning foregone in school and productive activities foregone at home.¹³

Children in schools for self-reliance would indeed lose opportunities to learn. If not because the school day is reduced by work on the school farm, the pupil's very engagement in physical labor for a good part of the day is apt to wear him out so that she or he would be unable to do

¹³ Education in Africa, pp. 95-96.

additional study beyond the actual classroom activities. We know from learning psychology that intellectual development is incremental and cumulative so that the opportunities to develop lost at the primary school level cannot be compensated for at either the secondary or university level. Developmental deficiencies systematically engendered at the primary school level would ultimately affect general competency not only at the secondary and university academic levels but also at the crucial level of conducting the affairs of the nation--when graduates of the schools for self-reliance eventually come to assume the leadership of the country.

The weakening of the academic side of the self-reliance curriculum could pose real dangers for the future development or even mere stability of Tanzania as a nation. Socio-political and economic development implies a necessary and progressive intricacy of tasks to be performed and of problems to be solved. A relevant curriculum theory for this kind of development must therefore seek to build a foundation for the development of a balanced versatile and mature mind and personality capable of reacting and adapting to, learning and understanding of, ever new situations and problems as they arise. A curriculum theory for development should take into account a world steeped in the utilization of combinations of knowledges of ever

increasing breadth and sophistication, whether in the technical areas or in the area of the management of human affairs. Education for self-Reliance, with its emphasis on work and socialization of pupils, falls short of these characteristics.

The serious problems of a curriculum characterized by an inadequate academic emphasis and a more than adequate agricultural and socio-political orientation can be visualized clearly when one considers that in time the present generation in self-reliance schools will rise to replace those in government jobs, in hospitals, industries and academic institutions. When that replacement process is complete, whether the new workers are competent or not, assuming that education for self-reliance can be readily revolutionized to give an exclusive attention to the academic, intellectual development of at least some of the pupils, a whole generation, if not more, would have to pass before a better prepared group could occupy these positions. In the meantime, national development must be held in check or at least slowed down until the necessary changes can be made.

Yet as we know, systems have a tendency to perpetuate themselves, and no further major curriculum changes may be forthcoming however dysfunctional the academic phase of Education for Self-Reliance might prove to be. In that

event, President Nyerere will then have committed himself and his country to a rural, peasant agricultural society for a long time to come. One shuns the thought that Tanzania would have to import highly skilled manpower from abroad. Even if African and other highly trained people could be attracted to Tanzania from abroad to do what graduates of schools for self-reliance might not be able to do, this would conflict with the prime objective of the present educational policy of placing the destiny of the country firmly in the hands of Tanzanians themselves.

Again, Philip Foster, unduly harsh in his criticism of President Nyerere as he is, made a suggestion which, though contrary to Nyerere's general philosophy, should be given serious consideration. Foster argues that the main problem President Nyerere tries to resolve through the policy of Education for Self-Reliance is the conflict between the desire for equal educational opportunity and the need for national development.

Foster sees the adoption of the policy of Education for Self-Reliance as the triumph of egalitarian beliefs over the need for national development.¹⁴ Taking the opposite view to that of President Nyerere, Foster argues that the main function of education and of examinations is

¹⁴Ibid., p. 83.

the fair and objective selection of those young people with the highest potential so that they can enter secondary school, the university, and recruitment for high, middle, and lower administrative and technical jobs. Foster feels, and we can sympathize with him, that such a systematic selection, though not providing for equal educational opportunities, is necessitated by the national development imperative.

Philip Foster argues that social equality and national development are not compatible. He says in Tanzania, even under the new educational policy, only a few will be allowed and able to enter secondary schools, and still fewer the university--there is no educational equality and there cannot be.

In summary, so long as the schools have selective and allocative functions--as indeed they must--and criteria for selection are largely based on merit, then inequality of educational opportunity is inescapable.¹⁵

These statements of Foster make sense. However, he draws from them an unacceptable conclusion; namely, that

Acceptance of this situation should have been the starting point of Nyerere's analysis since it is Utopian to expect schools to undergo a major transformation of social function at the present stage of African development.¹⁶

¹⁵Ibid., p. 87.

¹⁶Ibid.

Many of Professor Foster's wide-sweeping criticisms appear to be orchestrated to defend the old colonial education system and the values it subsumed. Consequently, his criticisms fail to put emphasis on the main thrust of the policy of Education for Self-Reliance. In a way, Foster misrepresents President Nyerere when he claims that in effect Nyerere does not accept the "inescapable inequality of educational opportunity". For the truth is that Nyerere does in fact recognize and accept, in practice (if not in theory), inequalities inherent in developmental education. His attempt to reconcile these inequalities with social equality is not convincing, but there can be no question that Nyerere realizes the inevitability of educational inequality. One of his own Ministers provides us with evidences of Nyerere's recognition in practice of the necessity of educational inequality:

President Nyerere was quite unequivocal in his statement that 'in Tanzania the only true justification for secondary education is that it is needed by the few for the service of the many.' Secondary education, in our view is functional. It is aimed firstly, at fulfilling a basic objective of the Tanzania Economic Development Plan, that of being self-sufficient in trained high-level manpower by 1980; and secondly, it is aimed at training a cadre of young people for a life of dedicated socialist leadership.¹⁷

Equality of educational opportunity neither immobilizes President Nyerere's planning for development nor is it the

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 75

main objective of education for self-reliance, contrary to Foster's criticism. The central issue in the Tanzanian policy is for schools to cultivate a way of life chosen by the government of Tanzania; a way of life not possible through the colonial system of education as evidenced by student uprisings in 1966. If academic excellence is at stake in Education for Self-Reliance, the main cause may be found in the need for national socio-political and cultural integration in the pursuit of an African socialist society as we shall see later. Only with this understanding could we use Foster's criticism to venture a possible solution to the corrosion of academic excellence while remaining constructive to the otherwise meritorious Tanzanian experiment.

It may be appropriate to suggest the establishment of a special track within the self-reliance school system and provide for it a curriculum similar to the rest of the self-reliance schools, but with a much greater emphasis on a holistic intellectual and personality development than on work on the school farm. For this special track, an intensive and integrated curriculum which combines the traditional academic disciplines could be provided at appropriate levels beginning somewhere in the primary school. Traditional academic subjects would, of course, be adapted to the living conditions of African life--wherever this adaptation can be fruitfully done--so that children can see and feel the relevancy of the curriculum.

In keeping with the central objective of Education for Self-Reliance--that of keeping the educated culturally integrated into African society--students in the special track schools could be given opportunities to keep in touch with rural African values and rhythm of life. In order to retain the students' "respect for manual labor", they might be allowed a limited amount of time to work on the school farm. I suppose students could also be drilled in socialist doctrines. This socialization aspect of the special track school curriculum would be calculated, as in the rest of the self-reliance schools, to keep students in close contact with the realities of Tanzanian rural and urban life. The school farm could be used in the fashion of a living laboratory where they could test some of the things they learn in class. The special track school could also continually keep in touch with neighboring village communities, assisting them in some of their projects. However, if these schools are to be allowed ample time for a holistic personal development of students, they should not be expected to be economically self-sufficient. Their responsibilities to the surrounding communities should not be too time-consuming as this would detract from their studies and other developmental activities. If carefully planned and administered, such a curriculum plan would ensure a competent future leadership regardless of the direction the country chooses to develop, and if Tanzania chooses to become a socialist

society the students would be sufficiently kept in touch with, and oriented toward the evolving socialist state.

The problem of the equitability of the special track school would undoubtedly arise from the point of view of selection, but one hopes that a fair and objective instrument of assessing student potential would be devised and applied. A similar problem is probably being experienced today when students are selected for admission to the secondary schools and to the university. Further problems might result from the complaint that public resources are being used to benefit a small number of children. Here, again, the argument about the country's future need for competent high, middle, and lower level manpower would be perfectly applicable. Such an addition to the main body of Education for Self-Reliance would have the promise of fulfilling both objectives of that new Tanzanian curriculum experiment: it would pave a way for a better society, and it would also prepare ground for the country's progressive general development in the future. Such a society might not be as egalitarian as Nyerere would want but would better achieve his social goals.

Education for Self-Reliance and the Ideal Society

That the nurturing of an African socialist society is one of the top objectives of Education for Self-Reliance

has been sufficiently demonstrated above. What remains to be done is to evaluate how Education for Self-Reliance is calculated to produce a socialist society. That evaluation is essential since the achievement of the "Good Life" in the philosophy of President Nyerere depends on the attainment and maintenance of the right sort of society--the society based on the principles of African Socialism.

The reader will recall that one of the main ingredients of Nyerere's conception of the "Good Life" is the idea of human dignity. In the previous discussions, it became clear that the concept "dignity" is intricately interrelated with the other main components of the "Good Life"; namely, equality, mutual respect and sharing--they are intricately related in the way Nyerere conceives of them and applies them. His philosophy claims that socialism is the social framework within which human dignity and its correlates can best be realized as well as preserved. For Nyerere the search for a socialist society is synonymous with a search for the "Good Life".

Consistent with the aspirations for the "Good Life" is need for the production of wealth--not necessarily in the sense of money. Education for Self-Reliance insists that schools should be self-supporting just as Ujamaa village communities should be economically self-contained. That is, pupils should be trained to become proud workers on the

school farm and live on the produce from their labor.

Though wealth is necessary, the evolution of a way of life on the school farm is even more important in the policy of Education for Self-Reliance. In the process of producing material wealth pupils, teachers, and other members of the school community should be able to develop habits of mutual respect and sharing on terms of equality--this is the crux of it. Quite a few head teachers, erroneously sought to get credit for themselves by outproducing other school farms in ways not consistent with the evolution of the ideal way of life, and thus in ways that contradict the central principle of Education for Self-Reliance. The Minister of Education gives several examples of such gross misunderstanding of the new policy.

In isolated cases, we have had to rebuke the teacher foreman who sought to impress us with the largest acreage in the district but who was running the farm like a capitalist plantation with labour intensive operations far beyond the capacity of pupils sent to school to learn. We have also encountered the problem of school land being divided up into individual plots, with any profit made being paid wholly or in part to the pupil farmer. Here again, whatever the total wealth produced by such a system, we condemn it, as it works against the principle of cooperative endeavour and sharing in the fortune of the group.¹⁸

Teachers who overwork pupils for the sake of producing wealth are condemned because they are considered to be in

¹⁸Ibid., p. 71.

violation of human dignity and not to show due respect to the children as individuals. Such teachers do not nurture in the pupils the free cooperative spirit which is needed for a future self-directed and free-thinking individual, as the government leadership sees it. Those teachers who offer personal rewards for incentives to produce more are punished because they are expected, according to the policy of Education for Self-Reliance, to promote social incentives rather than individual gain. We thus see how the imperatives for the "Good Life", and how the principles of socialism permeate the theory and practice of Education for Self-Reliance. Although the bulk of the teachers, parents and pupils do not accurately understand the prior significance of developing a way of life over such other desirable ends as production of wealth, President Nyerere and Mr. A. C. Mwingira, Minister of Education, believe that relentless application of socialist education will in time correct the confusion.

Similarly, some of President Nyerere's critics such as Philip Foster err when they overstress the fact that schools for self-reliance would not be capable of producing professional agricultural farmers. Tanzanian leaders would certainly welcome professional farmers as products of Education for Self-Reliance, but that is not what they expect from their educational experimentation. At best,

schools for self-reliance are expected to produce Ujamaa village farmers who are a little bit better informed about modern agricultural methods than the ordinary traditional farmer. These primary school graduates would indeed be better off than the traditional peasant farmer since they not only practice some of the new agricultural methods on the school farm but they also acquire literacy, writing and quantitative skills which will permit them to assimilate more information about agriculture after they leave school. Since village agriculture is being pulled together into collective enterprises, the influx of these better informed--but by no means professional--young farmers could be expected to upgrade the general agricultural economic life of the rural population in Tanzania; and this seems to be what Tanzanians would like to see happen. As important as these productive agricultural capacities of graduates from self-reliance schools are considered to be, Nyerere gives them a place below the overriding need for the evolution of a socialist society which would guarantee the appropriate, equitable, utilization of the outcomes of productive labor.

Just how effectively schools for self-reliance can induce in the students the values and attitudes conducive to the building of socialism has come under criticism, notably from Philip Foster:

The potential impact of this program is difficult to assess. Doubtably the schools are powerful agencies of cognitive socialization but the evidence concerning their effectiveness in influencing affective dispositions, sentiments and attitudes is much more equivocal. Generally, both historical and more recent research evidence would suggest that it is extremely difficult to mobilize educational systems in such a manner as to effect significant attitudinal change.¹⁹

The ineffectiveness of schools in creating the desired attitudinal changes in pupils is believed by Foster to be due to the preponderance of the influence of such other social institutions as the family and the immediate community in which the family is immersed. Under these circumstances, the practical, living situations of the family prevail over the generally theoretical academic influence--hence Foster tends to limit the impact of school on students to "cognitive socialization", leaving value and attitudinal changes to other social agencies.

Yet as we have seen, Education for Self-Reliance schools cannot be said to be theoretical and purely academic in the usual sense. These schools are designed to be close-knit communities of mutually interdependent individuals. If, as Foster claims, the family is indeed decisive in the development of socialist values and attitudes then President Nyerere has the right idea indeed. For not only has Nyerere attempted to build the school into a family

¹⁹Ibid., p. 89.

community; he has also decreed that parents from outside the school should be allowed to participate as regularly as possible in the implementation of the Education of Self-reliance curriculum. Further, even if the parents may, at this point in the country's history, not be as socialistic as Nyerere is pushing for, the machinery of the Party is working as hard in schools as it is in the Ujamaa village to promote these changes which Nyerere considers vital to the evolution of a new society. In addition, this coordinated family-community-school socialist education effort; the places of work are being turned into centers of socialist education. All agencies of social change are designed to reinforce the evolution of a socialist society. Thus, Education for Self-Reliance, may succeed for the very reasons it is being criticised. In our evaluation of the program, it seems we can be more certain of the potential success of the inculcation of socialist values in the minds of students, and of the development of related attitudes than of the optimal growth of the students' academic potentials. While I agree with Nyerere's concern for social justice, nevertheless, if Nyerere's socialism must be achieved at the expense of an educational program which would promote optimal individual growth for future national development, then such socialism would not be an adequate model for future African education system.

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