

## INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

IMW-13  
Uhuru na Kazi

P.O.Box 5113  
Nairobi, Kenya  
January 27, 1962

Mr. Richard H. Nolte  
Institute of Current World Affairs  
366 Madison Avenue  
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Nolte:

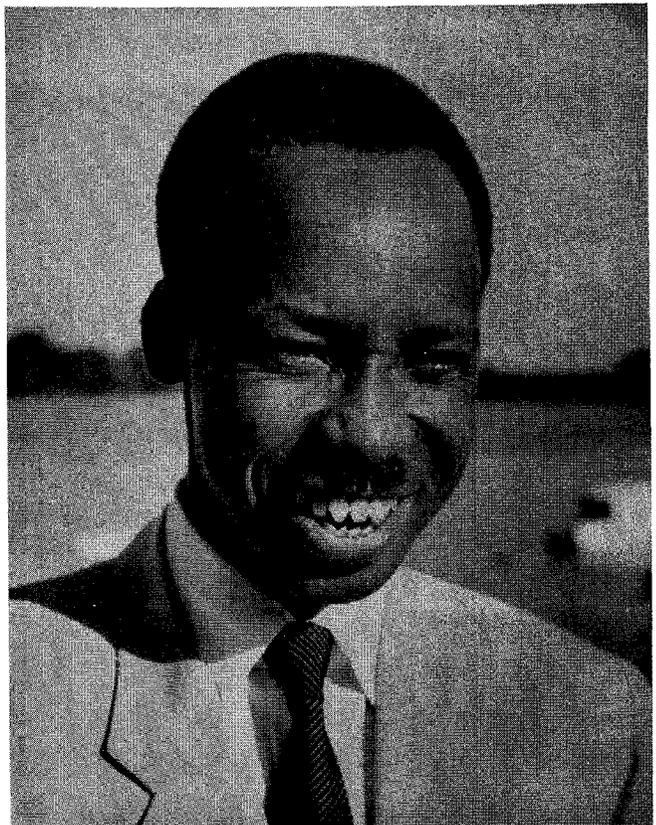
"Uhuru na Kazi", meaning freedom and work, was originally Tanganyika's slogan while striving for independence. Now it is increasingly used as a greeting throughout the country. It's a good combination, not least of all because of the rare emphasis on work in this part of the world. It gives some indication of the power and influence exerted by TANU (the Tanganyika African National Union) and its chief, Julius Nyerere.

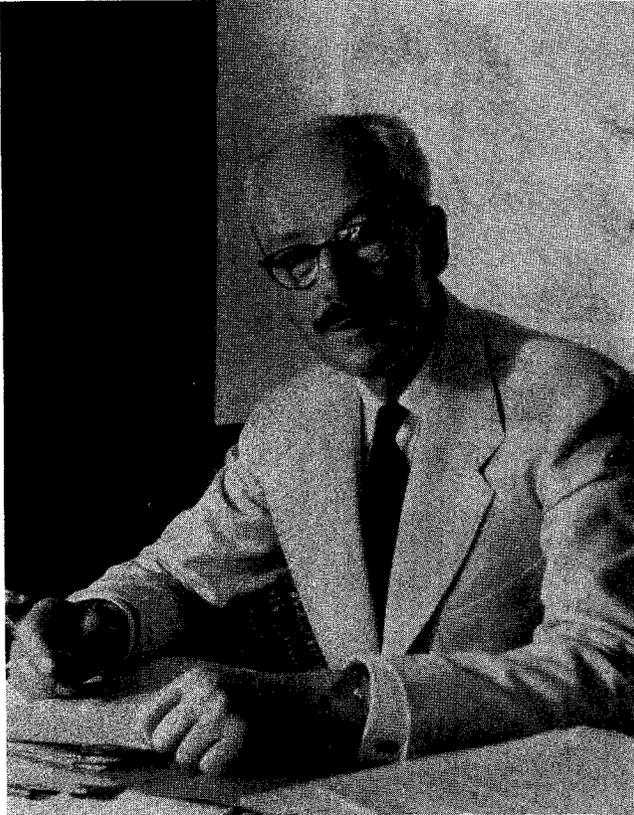
At thirty-nine Nyerere is one of the youngest leaders in the Commonwealth. Born Kambarage, son of a Zanaki chief (a small tribe near Lake Victoria), his early education was in Native Authority schools, from which he moved to Makerere College where he earned his Diploma in Education. After teaching in a mission school for several years (for he had become a Roman Catholic in 1942), he spent more than three years at Edinburgh University from which he graduated in 1952 with a Master of Arts degree.

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Julius K. Nyerere

In 1953, Kambarage, now Julius K. Nyerere, became president of the Tanganyika African Association, a social organization founded in 1929. This became an effective political organization in July, 1954 and was renamed TANU. In the short span of seven-and-a-half years, it has come to dominate Tanganyika politics and the now independent Government. Tanganyika has had one of the most rapid political advances of any country in the world, not least of all because TANU has been able to find support among all the components of Tanganyika's heterogeneous population. Two years ago Nyerere could say, "We find



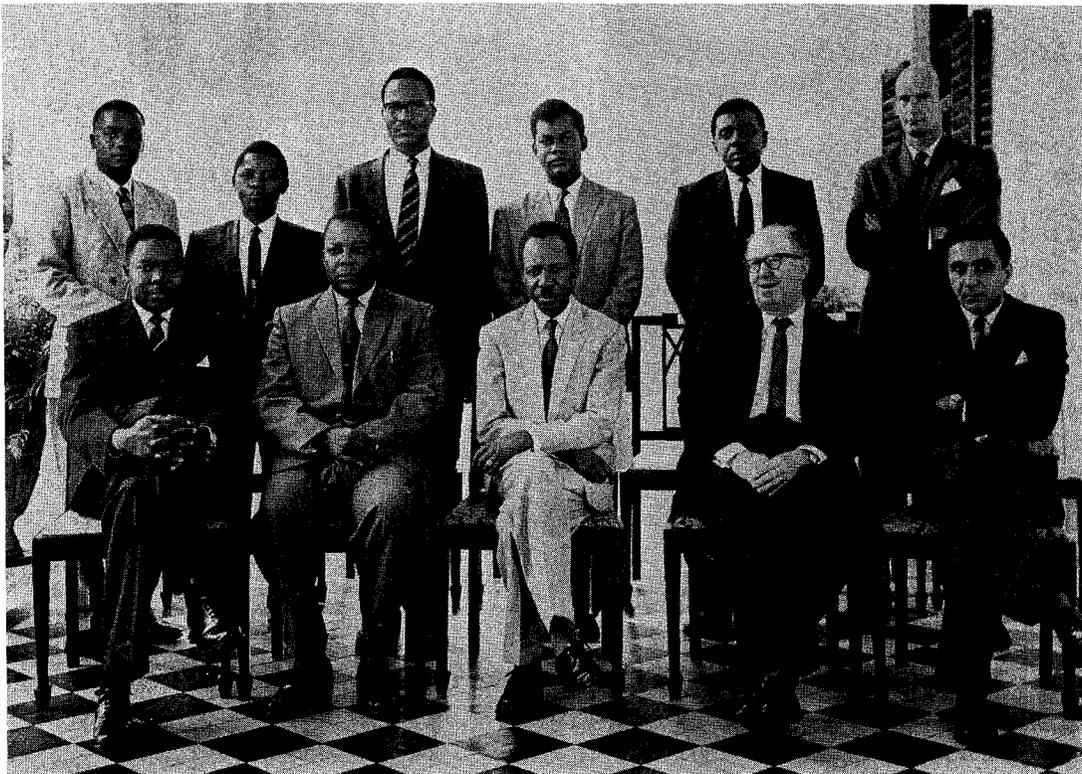


The Government

(left) Sir Richard Turnbull,  
K.C.M.G.

(below) Julius Nyerere with mem-  
bers of his pre-indepen-  
dence cabinet (two mini-  
sters, C.G. Kahama and  
Derek Bryceson are mis-  
sing).

(Photos courtesy Tan. Info. Services)



that our country must learn to think as a nation, and we are faced with the question of organization and of getting the hundred and twenty tribes to think of themselves as one people. We have faced that problem and I think we can now say that it is behind us."

In common with other countries seeking independence, the emphasis in Tanganyika has been more on achieving uhuru fast than on enunciating political principles. Nyerere's statements and actions as president of TANU, as leader of the opposition in Legco and later as Prime Minister have seemed almost too good to be true, and he has been widely hailed, in the western world at least, as the very model of what all African politicians should be like. This is perhaps true, but this opinion is held more often out of faith and hope than out of knowledge of his political philosophy. This is quite understandable for Nyerere is a man of action and has written little of a theoretical nature. Also actions speak louder than words. Recently, however, he wrote an article on democracy and one party government which appeared in the first issue of an excellent new monthly, Spearhead.

In "One Party Government" Nyerere discusses his ideas on the relationship between party and government in an African democracy. It deserves our close attention not only because it will surprise those who consider Nyerere wholly committed to the formation of a western-style democracy in Tanganyika (he isn't!), but it also sheds much valuable light on the recent political developments that have so surprised the world. Finally it gives an indication of the path Tanganyika will follow.

In it Nyerere said that although the traditional African concept of democracy is talking until you agree, this is a far too clumsy way of conducting the affairs of a large modern state. Democracy is government by discussion by equals as opposed to government by force.

The idea of an organized opposition is essential to the western concept of democracy, he said, but this is really only a reflection of the society from which it evolved. The parties represented the two classes of that society, the haves and the have-nots. Thus the two party system reflects the struggle between classes.

The idea of class, however, is entirely foreign to Africa. "To us 'the Other Party' is the Colonial Power." Once the foreign power has been expelled, "there is no ready-made division, and it is by no means certain that democracy will adopt the same machinery and symbols as the Anglo-Saxon. Nor indeed is it necessarily desirable that it should be so."

"In Western democracies it is an accepted practice that in times of emergency opposition parties sink their differences and join together in forming a national government. This is our time of emergency." Until the war against poverty, ignorance and disease has been won, "there can be no room for differences

or division." It is the duty of the government to safeguard the unity of the country from irresponsible or vicious attempts to divide and weaken it.

"In the early days of nation-building as in time of war the opposition, if any, must act even more responsibly than an opposition in a more developed and more stable...country." Nyerere would be the first person to defend the right of an opposition to exist, but in present-day Tanganyika "the only voices to be heard in 'opposition' are those of a few irresponsible individuals who exploit the very privileges of democracy".

The obvious implication in this article is that there is no room for an opposition party to rival TANU, for it would endanger Tanganyika's unity.

This could have motivated Nyerere's recent moves. After personally selecting his successor and appointing the new cabinet, Nyerere resigned to devote his full time to reorganizing TANU and restoring closer contacts with his people. The new Prime Minister, Rashidi Kawawa, admitted bluntly, "Nyerere is the commander-in-chief and we are his troops." He stated that he will take his orders from TANU and that Nyerere, as president of the party, is a far more important man than he. Few people doubt that Nyerere is still in control.

It seems evident here that Nyerere resigned in order to forward the idea of African democracy outlined in "One Party Government". His move was a gamble, but then Nyerere is known for his gambles. It may have been an extremely shrewd move, for recently there have been undercurrents of opposition in the Tanganyika Federation of Labor and even in TANU itself. The one opposition party worthy of the name (but just!), the Tanganyika African National Congress, also appears to be attracting new members.

Nyerere suggested this at his press conference when he said Tanganyika's new objective is "the creation of a country in which the people take a full and active part in the fight against ignorance, poverty and disease. To achieve this objective, Tanganyika needs not only an able elected government, the full support and co-operation of the people, but also a strong political organization active in every village, acting like a two-way all-weather road, along which the purposes, plans and problems of government can travel to the people and ideas, desires and misunderstandings of the people can travel direct to the government. This is the job of the new TANU."

Although Nyerere hasn't been more specific about TANU's reorganization, he will probably try to impose a more rigid discipline on members and branches in order to bring into the open those distant rumbles of opposition only now beginning to be heard. What opposition there is is disorganized and ineffective, and by taking the initiative now TANU will have a tremendous advantage. It is a gamble, but a timely one.

There's certainly going to be more "work" with uhuru than many people bargained for!

Very sincerely yours,

*Ken Michael Wright*