

## THE SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE FAILURE OF UJAMAA POLICY

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### ABSTRACT

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The introduction of the Ujamaa<sup>3</sup> policy was regarded as a step forward to the socio-political and economic changes in the post-independent period in Tanzania. Nyerere as the founder of the Ujamaa policy, in his side, stood firm to ensure the Ujamaa policy restore the personal dignity and the socio-economic welfare of Tanzanians which were lost during the colonial period. The Ujamaa policy was practiced almost two decades, and thus it could have brought the intended goals but it couldn't in the way that many Tanzanians lost their hopes especially on the means which were used to operate the Ujamaa policy. The failure of the Ujamaa policy in the restoration of human dignity and socio-economic and political welfare have been noticed to be a cornerstone for its decline as argued by many scholars. But this article explores the main reasons which necessitated to the demise of the Ujamaa policy and opened the doors for modernization.

### UJAMAA POLİTİKASININ BAŞARISIZLIĞININ SOSYOLOJİK BİR ANALİZİ

#### ÖZ

#### Anahtar Kelimeler

Ujamaa politikası,  
Köylüleşme,  
Devletleştirme,  
liberalleşme,  
TANU.

Ujamaa politikası, bağımsızlık sonrası dönemde sosyo-politik ve ekonomik değişikliklere doğru atılmış bir adım olarak kabul edilmiştir. Nyerere, kurucu olarak, kendi açısından Ujamaa politikasının sömürge döneminde kaybedilen insan onurunu geri kazanmak için politikayı restore etmek olarak tanıtmıştır. Ujamaa politikası yaklaşık yirmi yıl uygulanmasına rağmen hedeflenenleri gerçekleştirilememiştir. Söz konusu başarısızlıkla birlikte bu politikanın uygulanma biçimi birçok Tanzanyalı'nın umutlarının tüketmesine yol açmıştır., kaybedilen insan onurunun restorasyonu ve sosyo-ekonomik ve politik refah elde etmedeki başarısızlığı, birçok bilim insanının da tartıştığı gibi, Ujamaa politikasının uygulanmasındaki başarısızlığın ana nedeni olarak görülmüştür. Bu makale, söz konusu nedenlerle birlikte, Ujamaa politikasından vazgeçmeyi gerektiren diğer nedenleri de gün yüzüne çıkarmayı ve Tanzanya'nın modernleşme sürecine nasıl girdiğini göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır

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<sup>3</sup>Ujamaa: is a Swahili word which refers to socialism. This was policy was applied by Nyerere in the establishment of a communal society in post-colonial Tanzania. also, the term refers to familyhood

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

The failure of the Ujamaa Policy welcomed different scholars in the table of discussion, in which it has led to a hot debate which ended-up with the emergence of two different schools of thoughts. These school of thoughts differed in their arguments regarding the Ujamaa policy as a development strategy. The first school of thought views that, the Ujamaa policy entirely failed because Tanzania's economy severely disrupted and its resources wasted in the slavish adherence to an idea, which gave the rise of a relegated rural areas, unethical and incompetent bureaucracy (Ibhawoh, Dibua, 2003:70). By 1970 when Tanzania' economy was in a serious disaster, some of the bureaucrats, technicians, and managers were more upset to the Ujamaa policy, they believed that the Ujamaa policy was leading the country to devastation. (Resnick,1981:18). Thus, the Ujamaa policy has gradually lost its trustworthiness and blamed for economic failure in Tanzania. (Jennings,2017:7) In addition to that this school thought pointed out that the former Tanzanian president, Julius Nyerere, for responsibility in the economic annihilation of his country. Hence, this approach claims that; the Nyerere's Ujamaa policy made Tanzania be among the poorest countries due to the policy failures in the improving economic settings. (Ibhawoh., Dibua,2003:70).

In the other school of thought apprises the achievements of social welfare under Ujamaa policy. This group pointed out some activities which were achieved; such as the establishment of hospitals and schools which facilitated changes for better social justice in terms of revenue supply, preservation of national solidarity, and the attainment of a considerable step of agreement among the nation's racial sets. But, this school of thought failed to prove the economic achievements under the Ujamaa policy in which many Tanzanians hoped to achieve. This school of thought tried to address some significant reforms in the educational structure, nationalization of fiscal, manufacturing, and large enterprises (Ergas,1980:387).

## **2. REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF UJAMAA POLICY**

During the of the 1970s ujamaa policy began to face stiff challenges which led to its failure. The decline of the Ujamaa policy was caused by both internal and external factors. Soon after the introduction of the Ujamaa policy, many problems began to emerge within the country. Many of these problems were caused by the Ujamaa policy itself, though the Ujamaa policy used every means like villagization, nationalization, and

education for self-reliance to change the social and economic system but finally failed. The Ujamaa policy caused the emergence of internal conflicts between two groups, these groups emerged to oppose the application of the Ujamaa policy. The conflicts were inside the governing class association among two intermediate classes which included large initiatives and bureaucracy (Resnick,1981:138). This first group involved the Indian and Pakistan citizens which constituted orthodox capitalists, experts, and commercial class. The second group was the Africans which included wealthy farmers, small-scale industrialists, hotel owners, bureaucrats and the managerial employees of foreign-owned companies. Both of these groups were not interested in Ujamaa policy and its applications. In case of bureaucrats for example, they were frequently negotiating with foreign investors and Western aid agencies. Thus, this action proved that the bureaucrats, administrative and technical class all of them were not sympathetic to the Ujamaa policy. (Samoff,1981:286). The presence of conflicts by the shareholders of the Ujamaa policy hindered the development of the policy, because those who are responsible for implementing and supervising the Ujamaa policy only focused on their interests.

During the 1970s Tanzania faced the problem of low agricultural production this problem was due to the lack of reliable rainfall which affected nearly all of the country. The shortage of rainfall led to a severe drought which led many plantations to fail in production. Thus, the drought continued to attack agricultural activities especially the growing season between 1973 and 1975 as a result of food shortage. After failure of harvest for two seasons, people began to complain loudly in shops for famine relief. (Freyhold,1979:11). Hence, in 1973 Tanzania had to import 25,000 tons of maize, and this action showed how the scarcity of food was. By 1974 and 1975 the Tanzanian government obligated to purchase grain from the external markets which cost nearly 120 million US Dollars to buy 483,000 tons of grains. (Ergas,1980:392). Due to the increasing of famine, the government used forces to the peasants to plant. In 1975 the Julius Nyerere announced openly to the people that, either "plant or die," since there was no more foreign exchange with grains. (Resnick,1981:110). Due to this situation, the government decided to use the forced villagization method in which millions of people were forced to settle in the villages for production. Using coercive means to the peasants made the Ujamaa policy to failed in achieve its goals. (Kjekshu,1974:277-8).

Women were the critical part in the development of the Ujamaa policy; they worked for 12 or 14 hours a day and also, they worked even Sundays and holidays. (Nyerere,1968:30). But in other ways, women were severely oppressed during the Ujamaa policy. In this case, neither Nyerere nor TANU who made any effort to stop the inhuman actions against women; and thus, it was normal for a woman to be slapped by her supervisor in the presence of male Tanzanians. Women students were disqualified from school if they were found to be pregnant; they were not even given their maternity leave from their jobs when they gave birth (Resnick,1981:158). This was a big problem because, one among the aims of Ujamaa policy was to make sure that everybody is treated equally regardless their gender, colors, and religion. (Nyerere,1968:78) When the government used military power to force people to settle in Ujamaa villages resulted in many Tanzanians to lose their lives and their properties were badly destroyed. (Jennings,2017:513). This could mean that the equality was not popular with everybody during the application of Ujamaa policy. (Hunter,2015:220). From this circumstance, it was tough for Ujamaa policy to operate in a country whereby gender equality and social justice were not found or were allocated with regard to certain race, religion, and sex.

The Tanzania State Trading Corporation was formed to manage the importation and exportation wholesales trading activities. But this trading corporation was not able to complete its duties and in 1970 failed to control the nation's foreign exchange. The first sign of its failure occurred when the State Trading Corporation authorized to withdraw a large amount of transaction and domestic credit to finance turned out enormous stocks merchandise. The massive leaks seemed in the nation's foreign exchange reserves, a good part of which traced to uncontrolled buying by the State Trading Corporation. Problems began to show up in the imported foodstuffs and industrial inputs. (Resnick,1981:110-120). The failure of the State Trading Corporation was one of the reasons for the collapse of the Ujamaa policy; because the country faced the downfall which necessitated the country to accept capitalist support.

In October 1978 Amin's troops invaded and occupied the Kagera region of Tanzania. Iddi Amin claimed he did so only because geographical problems thus he wanted to correct the border which was wrongly drawn by the colonial powers which resulted from the inclusion of Ugandan territory in Tanzania. He proclaimed that the map of Uganda would be redrawn to include 710 square miles of Tanzania territory.

(Umozurike,1982:303). Though Tanzania won the war, was a big problem for the development of Ujamaa policy, because it led failure of Tanzania economy. The Amin's coup in Uganda opened a period of great strain between two countries that ended into the war which cost Tanzania \$1million per day. (Resnick,1981:17). Also, the perfection of the Tanzanian public facilities was highly deteriorated by Tanzania-Uganda War in the sense that, Tanzania confronted with a severe decline in the actual worth of authorized pays related by the problematic conditions during the war. In fact, there was close relationship between the war and the decline of the Ujamaa. Because the war took almost 7 months (from October 1978 to June 1979); during this period \$1million was spent per day. If Tanzania spent for the war \$1million per day for 7 months, it means more than \$200 million were spent. Hence the war costs increased the poverty in the country because the government stopped all development programs which were intended to improve living condition. This situation, forced the government to take loan of about \$150million from IMF because the Soviet Union did not support Tanzania into the war. The decision made by the Tanzanian government to take a loan from the capitalist organization meant that Tanzania was ready to follow the capitalist system. (David B. Ottaway. 1979) Furthermore, before defeating of the Ugandan troops, they looted stores and homes, and destroyed many buildings, including a sugar mill and churches, seized cattle and killed hundreds of civilians. This situation increased tension to many Tanzanians to settle in the Ujamaa villages because they feared Ugandan troops; as a result, about 48,000 people left their homes, hence the declining of the Ujamaa policy.

The lack of knowledge was a huge problem to the development of Ujamaa policy people were unfamiliar to the concept. Many politicians and public servants persisted in being unaware of the basic principles of Ujamaa policy. (Yacouba, Wologueme,2018:28). Thus, made Tanzanians to get confused on the basics of Ujamaa. Hence some of them thought that Ujamaa is just a matter of ownership. (Resnick,1981:145). The lack of understanding the main concepts of Ujamaa policy increased the number of policies opposers; sometimes people were feared even to ask who the is regulating because of the presence of harsh commands whereby people were forced to follow. This situation geared the failure of Ujamaa policy because of lacking mass support from the Tanzanian population. (Ibhawoh, Dibua,2003:70). Therefore, the lack of knowledge among the Tanzanians made Ujamaa policy to loss mass support.

During 1967, the East African Community (EAC)\* formed under the members of the East African countries which were Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda. (Mngomezulu,2013:2). The Community focused on the strengthening and regulating the industrial, commercial and other relations of the Partner States. Also, accelerating, harmonizing and balancing development as well as sustaining the expansion of economic activities for the benefits of all member states. (Sebelu,1972:348) By 1977 the community collapsed due to the division of state progress and the awareness of unsatisfactory gains, the insufficiency of compensatory, the ideological differences, the rise of economic patriotism and the impacts of external influences (Mngomezulu,2013:8). The collapse of the community was a big tragedy for the development of Ujamaa policy because Tanzania did not get community's shares since Kenya confiscated nearly all of the essential properties like the East African Airways Corporation. So, this situation left Tanzania without any airline and thus Tanzania had to buy new planes. The borders between the two countries also closed, trade activities stopped, and travelers could not enter Tanzania from Kenya. (Resnick,1981:17). Thus, the breakdown of the Community made the Ujamaa policy to come to an end, because Tanzania's economic activities were severely affected.

In 1967 the TANU\* the government announced nationalized of all the foreign commercial banks operating in the country. (Mittelman,1981:5). Banks, insurance companies all buildings which valued \$15,000 or more were the first to be nationalized soon after the Arusha Declaration. (Resnick,1981:110). The government introduced nationalization policy as a step forward to safeguard home-grown capital which produced was obtainable for use in the country by plummeting the equity exported out of the state. But on the other side, the nationalization policy was not able to fulfill that aim. Instead, it increased many problems in such that, there were central problems which became an obstacle for the development nationalization. State ownership of the economy did not precisely seem to assurance the extra effectiveness of reorganization of the state economy towards the self-sufficient prototypical. Hence the nationalization paved the way for increasing corruption and incompetence. (Ibhawoh, Dibua,2003:65). Therefore, the nationalization policy did not help Tanzania to proceed in its Ujamaa policy because the government had to compensate all nationalized institutions. (Mittelman,1981:7) By 1969, the government received almost 98% of the claims to recompense for properties which nationalized in 1967; those claims had settled accordingly. In context, the compensation was a big fault to Tanzania, a large segment of the Tanzania economy remained in the

private ownership due to the lack of government's capacity to run the nationalized sectors. (Dias,1970:71). Thus, from the above internal reasons indicates that the Ujamaa policy lacked an excellent approach in its application, and because of that the Ujamaa policy faced many challenges.

When Tanzania struggled to solve the internal problems, the external forces became a significant impediment for the development of Ujamaa policy. Tanzania's efforts at inner transformation were affected by the external contradictions. (Dias,1970:70-3). Some of the Western powers and the international monetary organizations used different measures to ensure the failure of Ujamaa by imposing harsh environments for financial assistance. (Samoff,1981:304). During the Arusha Declaration\* Nyerere suggested developing the country without depending on external aids. Nyerere emphasized his argument that relying on external subsidies as a significant means of development is a stupid action. (Nyerere,1968:22). That was a good idea if the government leaders continued with it, but toward the end of 1971 dangerous waves of economic problems began to hit the country. (Resnick,1981:108) To solve economic problems, Tanzania had to find financial assistance from international financial institutions and capitalist investors. (Ibhawoh, Dibua,2003:72). Hence the foreign capitalists commenced entering Tanzania through what was known as new investors. (Resnick,1981:126). Means that the presence of capitalist investors in the socialist country like Tanzania indicated that the Ujamaa policy was not able to work so long, and thus the government decided to reform its economic system toward liberalization.

During the Cold War, Tanzania decided to be a member of the Non-aligned Movement (NAM) in its foreign policy. Tanzania played a neutral role in capitalist and socialist blocs. The government believed that small Western donors such as the Scandinavian countries and Canada, whose foreign aid policies were more liberal than those of Britain, the US, and the European Economic countries. Also, Tanzania depended much on socialist external aids which are known as "special friends." But during the 1970s the Soviet Union and other socialist countries cut off their support to Tanzania due to increasing of neo-liberal policy. (Ibhawoh, Dibua,2003:73). That is, socialist countries showed no more readiness to support Tanzania with foreign exchange during the economic crisis. The Soviet Union was supposed to assist in the building of vocational education facility, but because they too insisted on charging high-interest rates and

demanding on a tremendously fast loan payment, hence they eventually stopped their support because Tanzania was unable to accept such conditions. Therefore, the failure of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to support Tanzania was a big problem to the development of Ujamaa policy, because this situation made the capitalist assistances to penetrate in the state; in 1971 the government decided to submit a project in non-formal education to the World Bank for financial assistance (Resnick,1981:132).

The oil crises attacked not only the capitalist economy but also the socialist economy, Tanzania's economy, for example, was affected severely during the oil crises. (Samoff,1981:304). The increasing oil price made agricultural production to lose the market; this resulted in low output in agricultural. During the early 1980s, Tanzania's trade was deteriorated brutally because of the failure of world market prices. Subsequently, the trade shortfall enlarged, foreign capital influxes declined, and general indebtedness exceeded in dangerous levels. This problem led to internal conflicts among the bureaucrats, they claimed on the difficulty of getting expensive things due to the high price. (Resnick,1981:146). Therefore, this situation made it difficult for Tanzania to continue with Ujamaa policy, thus beginning of the 1980s, the neo-liberal policy became under the government's target. In general view, the failure of Ujamaa policy was much affected by western forces, because during the Ujamaa policy, the world was in hot races between capitalist and socialist blocs. Thus, when socialist bloc began to lose power, the capitalist block increased its effort to undermine the development of socialism throughout the world. (Samoff,1981:304). Hence the failure of Ujamaa policy cleared the way for Tanzania to search for modernization.

### **3. GENERAL ANALYSIS ON THE FAILURE OF UJAMAA POLICY**

It was evident that the Tanzanian model of socialist transformation failed, but the reasons for its failure originated from the domestic mistakes. (Biermann, Wagao,1986:100). Therefore, the collapse of the Ujamaa policy led to the rise of diverse views among scholars who tried to find the fundamental reasons for the failure. Thus, concerning the failure of Ujamaa policy two main questions were asked, first was the failure of Ujamaa policy caused by poor policies and implementation? And second, was the failure of Ujamaa policy generated by the disloyalty of the rural inhabitants by a power-monger bureaucratic elite who decided to use Ujamaa as a mask for gaining power? Therefore, from these questions, two different schools of thought emerged.

Cranford Pratt divided these school of thought into "Marxist socialists," and "democratic socialists." (Pratt,1980:67).

The Marxist Socialist which includes scholars like Coulson; Cliffe, Von Freyhold, Scott, Bjerk, Shivji and others. This group respected the Ujamaa as a good policy, but it destroyed by the politics of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie, who sought to establish its supremacy as a class through the application of policies around Ujamaa. Thus, they were not kind toward the implementation of the Ujamaa policy. (Resnick,1981:145). This means that founders of the Ujamaa policy did not pay attention to the local understanding and activities of peasants and workers. They forgot the most important fact about social engineering. (Scott,1998:225). Also, state functionaries dressed in socialist clothing but were using villagization, nationalization, and the other basics of Ujamaa policy to increase power for themselves. (Jennings,2017:9). Therefore, according to this group the failure of Ujamaa policy was due to the betrayal of bureaucrats. For the Marxist socialists, villagization was a tool for the deliberate subordination of the proletariat. If the Ujamaa policy was designed to create a classless society, then why classes increased during the application of the Ujamaa policy? Because we have discovered that the gap between rich people and poor people increased even more than before the introduction the Ujamaa policy. The important thing in this context is that, the Nyerere's aim of reviving the traditional African society which based on African socialist principles has failed; because the minority people especially the bureaucrats used the Ujamaa policy to exploit majority Africans. The Democratic Socialist which involves scholars such as Hyden, Bismark Mwansasu, and Prat. This group argued that it was the weakness of Ujamaa policy and the problem of its implementation. For them, the Ujamaa policy failed because it put much attention on peasants in the villages. (Jennings,2017:9-10). When the government saw the peasants are not ready to settle in the Ujamaa villages, a forced villagization policy used, this made the policy to miss popular acceptance. (Kjekshu,1974:279). Also, the Ujamaa policy was a main reason for the failure of the policy; because the Ujamaa policy characterized with social injustice. Many people especially the villages were forced to work in the Ujamaa villages without their willing; and if any one rejects the government's order, the district and regional commissioners could punish him or her. During the application of the Ujamaa policy many people were killed and their houses were destructed. This inhuman action was done by military force; the government decided to use military to force people to settle in the Ujamaa villages. This action did not present

the Ujamaa policy as a socialist policy. Because, according to Marx, Socialism permits the actualization of man's essence, by overcoming his alienation; thus, Socialism creates a society in which freedom, justice, and equality are preserved. (Fromm, 1961).

When the government nationalized the people's properties, many people became poor because the prohibited the presence of any private businesses and ownership. But, after the nationalization of private properties the government only compensated some of nationalized Christians' and foreigners' properties, unfortunately it is believed that Muslims were not compensated. This action was not fair because if the Ujamaa policy aimed at building the society in which equality was main target, then why Muslims were not compensated? In the aspect of Social engineering the government failed to maintain the distribution of equality to all people. Also, it is believed that, the villagization policy was a secret policy of Anti-Islam in Tanzania; according to Mzee Abdullah about 70% of Muslims were settled in the Ujamaa villages. There was no any Islamic identity (example, no mosques, no adhans, no madrassahs and no proper burial grounds) in the Ujamaa villages. (Mzee Abdullah, 1999) This environment made many young Muslims to be easily converted to Christianity when they went to secondary schools which were governed by missionaries. Also, Nyerere banned the East Africa Muslims Welfare Society (EAMWS) in 1968 with following short statement: "The Minister of Home Affairs has by command of the President (Julius Nyerere) declared the Tanzania Branch of the East African Muslims Welfare Society (EAMWS) and Tanzania Council of the East African Muslim Welfare Society to be unlawful societies under the provisions of section 6(1) of the Societies Ordinance." (The Standard, December 20, 1968).

In fact, Tanzania was not a socialist country because in a true socialist state religion is not given priority. A good example can be seen in the socialist countries like USSR and People Republic of China, these countries did not include religion in their socialist policy. According Marx, religion is not important in Socialist society because it does not satisfy the real needs of man. (Fromm, 1961) But, Nyerere was far from these countries because when he introduced the Ujamaa policy, he announced openly that the government has not any relation with religion. In other hand, Nyerere many times used religious leaders especially Christians to support the Ujamaa policy. According to Westerlund, the Tanzanian socialist policy began to get its popular acceptance due to the increasing number of church leaders who supported the TANU for the socialist progress. The mass

support of socialist policy was not only from the government pressure but also the influence of the Vatican and the World Council of Churches. (Westerlund, 1980:33). Therefore, this situation shows that when Nyerere used religion in the development of the Ujamaa policy, made the Ujamaa policy to lack its quality of being true socialist policy as explained by Marx.

The Nyerere's ideas of the Ujamaa policy did not base on dialectical materialism instead his thoughts were based on the antagonism between imperialism and socialism. Thus, the refusal of Marxism-Leninism sharply differentiates Nyerere from other leading socialist countries. All classic socialist states always use Marxism-Leninism as their base. But Nyerere's thoughts, however, was not based on dialectical materialism or the law of unity of opposites; Nyerere did not explain about the theory of proletarian revolution or dictatorship or the proletarianization of the state or the world. Also, Nyerere has never showed the driving force of history is class struggle or that the recent historical manifestation of class conflict is the struggle of developing nations against imperialism. Yet he did not have a idea of class struggle and the concept of antagonism among capitalism and socialism; and above all, Nyerere did not show the presence and evils of imperialism, neo-colonialism and exploitation. (Linton, 1968:2). Hence, these features differed the Nyerere's Ujamaa policy from the Soviet Union and China. (Linton, 1968:3). Also, it is impossible to relate the Ujamaa policy with the 'Scientific Socialism'; because Scientific Socialism relates with the Marxism and Communism. (Rodney. W, 1972: 6) There is a big difference between the Ujamaa policy and the Scientific Socialism (Marxism). According to Marx, socialism must come through proletarian revolution within an already developed capitalist state. (Fromm. E. 1961) Thus, this definition automatically excludes the Ujamaa policy, which focused on the creation of a socialist state from the peasants.

The Arusha Declaration addressed feudalism and capitalism as enemies of socialism, but it is important to understand that, there was no strong feudal relations in Tanzania compared to Russia. Russia had experienced strong feudal relations which resulted to the emergence of the capitalist tendencies from its own internal dynamic even before the intrusion of Western European capitalists. Also, there was no Capitalist economy in Tanzania but what existed was the colonial economy. In this case it seemed that Nyerere confused himself to differentiate between Capitalism and Colonial economy.

Therefore, if someone compares the implementations of the Ujamaa policy with the implementations of Scientific Socialism greater difference will emerge.

According to the Arusha Declaration, democracy is very simple to be applied in the socialist state because, when all means of production are under government control, the only important thing is that; the government should be elected by peasants and workers. Therefore, there cannot be a real socialist state without democracy. (Nyerere,1967:21). But this is wrong meaning of democracy; according to Inglehart ve Welzel democracy is a government in which the all power is vested in the people, democracy is not just a set of government institutions but it comprises the whole system of life. Also, according to Laurence Whitehead, real democracy must include the followings characteristics. First, democracy is a government in which power and civic responsibility are exercised by all adult citizens, directly, or through their freely elected representatives. Second, democracy must rest upon the principles of majority rule and individual rights. Third, democracy must guard citizens against all-powerful central governments. Fourth, democracy must protect the fundamental human rights; for example, freedom of speech and worship, the right to equal protection under the law and the opportunity to participate fully in the political, economic, and cultural life of society. Fifth, democracy must conduct regular free and fair elections to the citizens. Sixth, in a democratic state, citizens have the responsibility to participate in the political system. Seventh, democratic societies are committed to the values of tolerance, cooperation, and compromise. (Whitehead, 2002:36). Due to these characteristics means that there was no democracy in the Ujamaa policy, but what existed was a tendency of a dictatorship. The Tanzanian socialist government characterized with lack of rule of law and freedom of expression in the point that, the leaders did not fear the citizens. The president could appoint someone to take a high post in the government or withdraw without other leaders' consensus, that meant the country was heading toward communism if not dictatorship. This was due to the characteristic nature of the complex framework of Tanzania's socialist policy which involved building socialist state without the presence the left wing vanguard which could reject the dictatorial power of the president (Resnick.I.1981:16) Also, Nyerere's ruling party (TANU) established a monopoly in the political realm and fortified this position by including most associational life under the single-party state. (Schneider, 2004:351)

Generally, many African leaders proclaimed their belief in some varieties of socialism but actually they used socialist slogans only to cheat the masses. These leaders understood the socialist aspirations from their people but they intended to use socialist policy for personal enrichment or 'improving capitalism. (Klinghoffer,1968:198) The colonial powers are responsible not only with the introduction of bourgeois concepts in Africa but also with spreading the false socialist creeds of British and French. Most African leaders improperly understand socialism because they did not live in advanced industrial countries and were greatly isolated from the outside world. (Klinghoffer.1968:198). In this way some of Soviet writers reject the notions of African socialism as an alternative of capitalism, dismissing them as populist ideals which cannot help Third-World countries overcome their backwardness. (Ottaway,1978: 482) Therefore, this situation makes us to believe that there was no real socialist policy not only in Tanzania but all African continent.

#### **4. TANZANIA AND LIBERALIZATION PROCESS**

The transition from Ujamaa policy to liberalization started to take place in the reign of president Ali Hassan Mwinyi. That is, president Nyerere was not ready to see the demise of Ujamaa policy in his reign, thus, following the increase of economic and political problems Nyerere resorted to put-over his presidential in 1985 when he rejected to sign the contract on financial assistance from the international monetary organizations. Ali Hassan Mwinyi, a Nyerere's successor, had to sign the agreement, introducing an era of structural-adjustment reforms and liberalization of the economy. (Jennings,2017:16). Mwinyi directed the country into both economic and political liberalization. The change itself was encouraged not only by global pressures but also groups bureaucrats within the ruling party (Brown,2001:321).

Many kinds of literature which examined the changes in Tanzania's policies described the uses of forceful means by donors to the government and documented them as the fundamental forces which changed Tanzania's Ujamaa policy. For Tanzania, the new economic aid set contained considerable pressures which its leadership was not willing to accept. These pressures caused in the rejection of components of the socialist model, the stage from which the administration derived its political power. (Biermann, Wagao,1986:98). Hence, this led to a misunderstanding between the donors and the Tanzanian political leadership. Nyerere proved this argument when he argued that

whenever refused conditions of IMF, they heard the intimidating rumor; that without following the requirements, then, they wouldn't receive the financial assistance to solve their economic problems (Holtom,2005:554). Thus, liberalization, as a policy which moves a country toward the market economy, is a policy which response to the extreme imposition of governments into national economies. The pressure to liberalize arises due to widespread government failures. (Lawrence, Kihwan,1991:2). Hence, the liberalization process in Tanzania was not a simple job because the government was not ready to make reforms.

Apart from the donors' pressure, there was a "war of ideas" between two groups concerning the application of liberalization policy. The first group which involved state officials stood firm to oppose the policy changes. They supervised surplus taken from agriculturalists, town dwellers that operated in manufacturing industries, directors of parastatals, selling boards, and crop authorities. Thus, they believed that they would become losers if they could accept transformations. The second group comprised those who predicted to benefit from the changes on the way to liberalization, they involved agriculturalists, workers, and others who could undoubtedly succeed through devaluating of the shilling, the deregulation of prices, lower inflation, and free access to import goods. (Edwards,2014:129). From these two groups, shows that the liberalization can include further modifications of economic policy plans, as it established a procedure that could lead to the destruction of the system. So that hatred to liberalization was a rational response for the people who decided to persist in loyalty to the socialist ideal, just for the supporters of liberalization was also a wise selection for the people who wished to see the prosperities of Tanzania. (Arkadie,1995:22).

Initially, the government tried to make little reforms, for example, in 1984, due to increasing pressure from the donor community, the government had to unclutter the restrictions towards the internal and external investors, and exposed the means for importing products with Own foreign exchange method. A few months later the government took an extra minor step towards liberalization, that the exporters were permissible to possess some of the foreign exchange earned from their exports. (Edwards,2014:115). The reforms in the imports and export sectors were the first attempts which were implemented by the government from 1984 to 85 which, which laid

down a foundation to foster further liberalization reforms which took place in the early of 1986 onwards.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Even the fact that the Ujamaa policy failed to improve the welfare of Tanzanian people due to lack of mass support from grass-roots, the Ujamaa policy succeeded to input the ideas of self-reliance for many Tanzanians. Also, the Ujamaa policy achieved in the creation of national solidarity amongst Tanzanian people since it was a prime factor for political stability since post-independence up to nowadays. These kinds of achievements are rare to see in many African countries due to the lack of basic social principles. To some extent, Nyerere succeeded in creating a communal society which was his primary target. Hence, he succeeded in creating a more classless society in which everybody was a worker. The villagization policy was a driving force for increasing of agricultural production. The peasants in the villages worked hard not only in agriculture and but also in other development activities. The number of women participations in development activities increased especially in politics and in civil society, these achieved after the transformation to modernization policy, unlike during the Ujamaa regime whereby women were restricted to participate in any political activities. During the Ujamaa regime, the women oppression was a regular thing, unlike the liberalization period whereby women wake-up to fight for their rights by organizing different NGOs.

Generally, both policies focused on improving socio-political and economic welfare, but the liberalization process succeeded to bring changes to Tanzania society in a better stage even though there are many problems still hinders for further development. Different improvements have witnessed since the introduction of the liberalization process; those improvements were very challenging to achieve during the Ujamaa policy.

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