SOVEREIGNTY AND SOCIALISM IN TANZANIA: THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF AN AFRICAN STATE[1]

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I

Observers of the Tanzanian political scene would point out that the country makes its own decisions on matters of internal and international importance. The policy of *Ujamaa Vijijini* [African socialism in the villages], it would be argued, was formulated here and not at the dictate of any foreign power.[2]

In an edited volume entitled *The State in Tanzania*, published in 1980 just before the precipitous denouement of President Julius Nyerere's philosophy of African socialism known as *Ujamaa*, Haroub Othman began with the question of the sub-title, "Who Controls it and Whose Interest Does it Serve?" The cover featured a large black question mark on a red background. Provocatively Othman asked, "can one say in a specific and definite sense that Tanzania is building socialism?" Exhibiting a remarkable level of open criticism of the government in a one-party state, the essays framed their issues in the Marxist terms that were long predominant in literature on the Tanzanian state. The book dealt with an ongoing con-

cern that Tanzania's ambitious goals for democracy and development were not being met and the overarching nationalist question of which sovereign defined those goals. It was a question that continues to vex political scientists of Africa today who seek to reconcile Westphalian concepts of sovereignty with the layered realities of African polities struggling to exert sovereign authority both internally and externally.[3]

Reviewing a representative sample of nearly fifty years of scholarship on the postcolonial Tanzanian state, one is struck by the tension enervating Othman's essays. Scholars are torn between the impulse to understand the theoretical implications of Tanzania's experience for socialism and a more pragmatic concern to evaluate the country's claim to sovereign authority. It is clear that Tanzania's socialism was at the same time a claim to sovereignty — ideological, economic, and political. The tension in scholarship on the Tanzanian state has not been between moderate and radical socialism as has often seemed the case. Rather debates have pitted the diffuse international discourses of modernization, socialist and otherwise, against the specific cultural needs of defining a truly independent African state. Addressing this distinction will allow a historical perspective that moves beyond obsolete debates about various theories of socialism, and understand those debates as evidence of an internationally compelling national philosophy. Disentangling the complex interchange of local and foreign discourses that constituted Tanzania's claim to sovereign statehood will offer insight into how the presentist concerns of past generations can inform historical analysis.

The debates about socialism represented Tanzania's intellectual engagement in global politics, communicating its claim to an inde-

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[3]The concept of sovereignty is tidily elaborated in John Hoffman's treatment. For modern Africa Jeffrey Herbst is a prominent voice on this issue. John Hoffman, *Sovereignty* (Minneapolis, 1998); Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton, 2000). See also Robert H. Jackson, "Quasi-States, Dual Regimes, and Neoclassical Theory: International Jurisprudence and the Third World," *International Organization* 41 (1987), 519-49; Sara Dorman et al. (ed.), *Making Nations, Creating Strangers: States and Citizenship in Africa* (Leiden, 2007); Robert H. Bates, *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa* (Cambridge, 2008).

pendent voice among the nations. As such, socialist policies must be first understood within the exercise in sovereign authority and its contestation. The passionate debate about Tanzania's socialism highlights not successful policy, but rather successful politics. While "flag" sovereignty followed logically from independence, it was only with varying success that African countries laid claim to the exercise of internal and external sovereign authority. The debate that came with Nyerere's socialist policies created as their context a robust sense of Tanzanian nationhood. Such an approach allows a multifaceted yet critical approach to the diverse archival materials available for post-colonial African research. Documents in Tanzania's national archive are dominated by administrative minutia, but as state documents they offer the voice of the sovereign and the multi-cultural debates that shaped its attempt to garner legitimate authority. At the same time, in post-colonial African politics, there is a necessary dependence on outside observations of the Tanzanian political scene in foreign diplomatic archives. Here as well, a theory of sovereignty helps bring a critical understanding of the interchange represented in those perspectives shaped by overseas concerns. Oral history can provide a crucial supplement to factual narrative, but more usefully offers interpretive context emerging from the memories of historical actors. Such memories hint at potential anthropological insights as well as how former intellectual debates shaped political decisions. A review of past scholarship can thus help the historian sift all of these voices and so glean the kernels of past decision.

II

Scholars are only beginning to articulate what a historical perspective on the independent African state might look like, cognizant of Peter Ekeh's proposal of "two publics" in post-colonial African states, with culturally distinct moral foundations, "primordial" and "civic."[4] For a broad overview with sharp comparative insights, one could do little better than Paul Nugent's panoramic survey, *Africa*

[4]Peter P. Ekeh, "Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17 (1975), 91-112.

Since Independence, with its detailed notes and bibliography.[5] Given the euphoria of independence, the bitterness arising from the intractable conflicts and corruption of modern Africa created a self-perpetuating crisis of instability in much of a continent. Attempts by African politicians to inhibit fractious dissent has often turned into the sort of precarious authoritarianism that has emerged in the last decade in Zimbabwe. The most prominent nationalist figure remains Kwame Nkrumah whose name still rings with the disputed ideals of pan-Africanism and the oft-repeated clash between personalized authoritarianism and military overthrow. Because of Ghana's prominence there is the beginning of a deeper historical perspective responding to Ekeh's intercultural thesis. Richard Rathbone and Jean Allman investigate how a colonially-constructed state negotiated sovereignty with longer-standing traditions of authority in institutions of royalty and populist youth.[6] Likewise Elizabeth Schmidt's account of the creation of Guinean nationalism offers a methodological foundation combining oral history with inevitably incomplete archival records for insight into independent national histories.[7] These works allow the reader to disengage prescriptive debates about policy and step into a more comprehensive perspective on the vigorous attempts to re-inscribe colonial territories as new nations.

But post-colonial African political history has largely been narrated by political scientists who bemoan the lack of a "historian's history" of the countries they study.[8] Because of this, the independent polity in Africa often appears as a sort of postcolonial Frankenstein's monster, pieced together awkwardly if not grotesquely from the dead practices of the European state. Frederick Cooper presents this discomfiting inheritance as a dependent "gatekeeper state" that failed to

[5]Paul Nugent, *Africa Since Independence: A Comparative History* (New York, 2004).

[6]Richard Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs: The Politics of Chieftaincy in Ghana, 1951-60* (Athens OH, 2000); Jean M. Allman, *The Quills of the Porcupine: Asante Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana* (Madison, 1993).

[7]Elizabeth Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class in the Nationalist Movement in Guinea, 1939-1958* (Portsmouth NH, 2005); Jay Straker, *Youth, Nationalism, and the Guinean Revolution* (Bloomington/Indianapolis, 2009).

[8]Sam C. Nolutshungu, *Limits of Anarchy: Intervention and State Formation in Chad* (Charlottesville, 1996), 15.

mobilize African national identity or achieve modernist development.[9] More subtle histories emerge in scholarly responses to conflict, such that Rwanda's experience of genocide brought a welter of admirably historical studies that go far beyond the journalistic debate between primordial conflict and colonial manipulations.[10] But with genocide as their historical trajectory, such studies cannot provide a broader historical paradigm for modern African states. With some amount of dramatic license, Mahmood Mamdani hinted at a much broader paradigm yet to be defined.[11]

> In the range of answers that emerged during the anticolonial movement of the late fifties, two leaders—Nyerere in Tanzania and Kayibanda in Rwanda—marked the extremes. Nyerere stood for a single unified citizenship, both deracialized and deethnicized [...] Tanzania came to be a paragon of political stability in the region, the one postcolonial state that did not turn entire groups into refugees.

Tanzania was not the only peaceful and stable state in post-colonial Africa, Botswana and Senegal are often cited similarly.[12] Mamdani's

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[9]Frederick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge, 2002), 156-190. Cooper's much-cited phrase was apparently introduced by then military dictator of Nigeria Olusegun Obasanjo to describe the role of senior civil servants mediating international and national issues. General Obasanjo's phrase was cited in Jean-François Bayart's influential tome. Cooper's explanatory proposition seems to arise from Bayart's discussion of the "Unequal State" and his related thesis of Africa's "extraversion." Both Bayart and Cooper ultimately build on Terisa Turner's analysis of the Nigerian state rooted in Dependency Theory. Jean-François Bayart, *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* (Cambridge, 2009), xvii-xxxvi, 80; Terisa Turner, "Commercial Capitalism and the 1975 Coup," in: S.K. Panter-Brick (ed.), *Soldiers and Oil: The Political Transformation of Nigeria* (London, 1978), 166-97.

[10]See Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (Ithaca, 2006); Josias Semujanga, *Origins of Rwandan Genocide* (New York, 2003); Alison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda* (New York, 1999); Christopher C. Taylor, *Sacrifice as Terror: The Rwandan Genocide of 1994* (New York, 1999); Gérard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide* (New York, 1995).

[11]Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton, 2001), 32.

[12]J. Clark Leith, *Why Botswana Prospered* (Montreal, 2005); Momar Coumba Diop, *Senegal: Essay in Statecraft* (Dakar, 1993); Leonardo A. Villalón, *Islamic Society and State Power in Senegal: Disciples and Citizens in Fatick* (Cambridge, 1995).

statement, by offering a counterpoint to the conflicts that dominate the evening news, indicates the broader spectrum of experience in modern African politics, and implies important questions about how new political cultures were established. As Nugent noted, the gaping inequalities of resources, access, connections, cause academic scholarship on Africa to be dominated by foreign researchers, whose priorities and perceptions are more attuned to debates among their peers at home than to the concerns of local scholars.[13] The prescient *Report of the South Commission*, produced under Nyerere's chairmanship, sought to address this analytical imbalance.[14] But just as the foreigner Alexis de Tocqueville articulated insights into American culture in a way a native might not have done, so the outsider's perspective is not necessarily a weakness in foreign scholarship; rather, as Gregory H. Maddox demonstrated, it is a dynamic that demands conscious interpretation.[15]

A recent edited volume on Tanzanian national consciousness demonstrates how such an intercultural approach opens up a variety of historical perspectives that reach beyond the developmental model of human progress inhering in both modernization and socialism.[16] Tanzania as a political system had to generate a national order out of a trusteeship territory administered under the civilizing mission of the British Colonial Office on behalf of the UN.[17] The discourse of *Ujamaa* offered vernacular access to global hegemonic intellectual currents, reversing the logic of trusteeship and so constituting a necessary claim to sovereignty in an international realm governed by a logic of neo-trusteeship.[18] The "Dar es Salaam School" represented

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[13]Also Bethwell A. Ogot, "Rereading the History and Historiography of Epistemic Domination and Resistance in Africa," *African Studies Review* 52 (2009), 1-22.

[14]Julius K. Nyerere et al., *The Challenge to the South: Report of the South Commission* (Oxford, 1990).

[15]Gregory H. Maddox, with Ernest M. Kongola, *Practicing History in Central Tanzania: Writing, Memory, and Performance* (Portsmouth NH, 2007).

[16]Gregory H. Maddox, and James L. Giblin (ed.), *In Search of a Nation: Histories of Authority & Dissidence in Tanzania* (Athens OH, 2005).

[17]Peter A. Dumbuya, *Tanganyika Under International Mandate, 1919-1946* (New York, 1995); B.T.G. Chidzero, *Tanganyika and International Trusteeship* (London, 1961).

[18]Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty, and the Making of International Law* (London, 2005); Tonya Langford, "Things Fall Apart: State Failure and the Politics

by the multi-national faculty at Tanzania's influential university campus sought to lift the veil of innocence over the modernization paradigm that drove not only colonialism but also worldwide visions of technologically driven post-war world.[19] This sort of intellectual intervention into international discourse represents a crucial capability "to access the code of sovereignty," governing a discursively constructed international order.[20]

III

Haroub Othman's essays themselves predated the collapse of socialist ideals in Tanzania; they were written during the height of Nyerere's influence. As a postscript to a caustic critique of Nkrumah's Ghana, C.L.R. James praised Nyerere after a visit in the late 1960s: "It is sufficient to say that socialist thought has seen nothing like this since the death of Lenin in 1924."[21] Between 1971 and 1975, *Ujamaa* villagization policy forced rural residents to move into new settlements in one of the most ambitious and flawed social engineering schemes of modern African history. The catalyst for Othman's essays was Issa Shivji's socialist critique of Tanzanian state and society, *The Silent Class Struggle in Tanzania*, circulated first as a mimeographed essay and then published in 1970 in a University journal called *Cheche*, meaning "spark," a direct reference to Vladimir Lenin's *Iskra*. With electrifying effect, Shivji charged that the state functionaries posing as socialists were in reality a "bureaucratic bourgeoisie" with no commitment to socialist revolution.[22] Pre-

of Intervention," *International Studies Review* 1 (1999), 59-79; Saira Mohamed, "From Keeping Peace to Building Peace: A Proposal for a Revitalized United Nations Trusteeship Council," *Columbia Law Review* 105 (2005), 809-40; William Pfaff, "A New Colonialism? Europe Must Go Back to Africa," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 1995), 2-6.

[19]Haroub Othman, "Mwalimu Julius Nyerere: An Intellectual in Power," *Pambazuka* 452, http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/59505 (accessed 24 October 2009).

[20]Cynthia Weber, *Simulating Sovereignty: Intervention, the State, and Symbolic Exchange* (Cambridge, 1995), 127; Henry Bienen, *Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development* (Princeton, 1970), 252.

[21]C.L.R. James, *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution* (Westport, 1977), 223.

[22]Reprinted in Lionel Cliffe, and John S. Saul (ed.), *Socialism in Tanzania, Volumes 1 and 2* (Dar es Salaam, 1973).

cipitated by this critique, *Cheche* was promptly banned by the government. Yet Shivji's essay was then published very prominently a few years later with official assent in Dar es Salaam.[23]

The difficulty in the debate about socialism in Tanzania was the tension between formal Marxist theory and the contingent struggles of decolonization and state building. Nyerere confounded these issues in pamphlets and speeches and in the 1967 Arusha Declaration that launched *Ujamaa* socialism at the heart of government policy. Othman's essay introducing his aforementioned volume is clearly burdened by this tension. Citing Nkrumah's Leninist title, *Neo-Colonialism, The Last Stage of Imperialism*, Othman pondered whether Tanzania was truly sovereign or had only the trappings of sovereignty while its economic and political policy were directed by outside powers.[24] The establishment of a new sovereign was an especially pertinent task after the creation of the new nation of Tanzania in April 1964 representing the union of two briefly sovereign entities: Tanganyika and Zanzibar.[25]

After 1967 Nyerere's socialism was nearly always paired with the ideal of "self-reliance." The difficulty was that Tanzanian observers clearly sensed the preeminence of decolonization, yet because of the ubiquitous language of socialism it was difficult to separate these questions, which themselves were intertwined in modern Marxist-Leninism so familiar to foreign observers. "In a country like Tanzania," Othman stated, "before any talk of socialism, complete decolonisation has to be effected."[26] In this vein, over a decade later, Katabaro Miti lamented the socialist framework of so much scholarship on Tanzania and brought to the table broader issues about the meaning of independence, political and economic control. Miti focused his argument on "nationalism" in the narrow sense of state sovereignty.

[23]Issa Shivji, *Class Struggles in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam, 1975).
[24]Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* (London, 1965).
[25]John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge, 1979); Michael Lofchie, *Zanzibar: Background to a Revolution* (Princeton, 1965); Anthony Clayton, *The Zanzibar Revolution and its Aftermath* (Hamden, 1981).
[26]Othman, *State*, 9.

> My contention is that underlying all these developments is nationalism —
> first at the political level, leading to independence and the nationalist
> struggle to capture the government, and second, at the economic level in
> an attempt to control the national economy.[27]

This tension between political and economic sovereignty inhered in twentieth-century African nationalism, evinced in the scholarship of dependency school theorists well-known in Dar es Salaam in the 1970s.[28] *Uhuru*, meaning freedom and independence, was a strikingly double-sided term referring to both the national entity but also individuals. Just what it meant was hard to pin down. The term had been used to refer to the manner in which Europeans bought Africans out of slavery during the early mission years. Nyerere began using it in contrast to colonial rule, that independence was analogous to emancipation. But tension between work and freedom was maintained in Nyerere's rhetorical manipulation of the slogan, *Uhuru na Kazi*, or "Freedom and Work." Attaching freedom to an idealized category of work profoundly re-imagined the nature of citizenship.[29]

This overarching theme about the establishment of a fully sovereign state stands in contrast to much of the literature on Tanzania that is both more specifically local and generally conceptual: the villagization drive of the 1970s and its attempt to transform rural agriculture. The framework of nearly all of these studies was modernization theory that proposed a path of industrial development and political democratization modeled on modern European history.[30] On a trip upcountry with Nyerere in 1962, the new American ambassador commented that he was impressed seeing all the big highway machinery being driven and supervised by Africans. Nyerere was delighted by the comment.

[27]Katabaro Miti, *Whither Tanzania* (Delhi, 1987), 1.

[28]Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Dar es Salaam, 1989).

[29]Steven Feierman, "African Histories and the Dissolution of World History," in: Robert H. Bates et al. (ed.), *Africa and the Disciplines: The Contributions of Research in Africa to the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Chicago, 1993).

[30]Hugh W. Stephens, *The Political Transformation of Tanganyika, 1920-67* (New York, 1968); Kenneth H. Shapiro, "Efficiency and Modernization in African Agriculture: A Case Study in Geita District, Tanzania," PhD dissertation (Stanford University, 1973).

> Oh those big machines, I love them. Every time I saw one today I felt
> good all over. Machines are what we need, big ones. Roads and big
> machines are the answer. Give us big machines, and I will make a new
> world.[31]

The metaphors of the government as "machinery" and "structure" are
in some sense inevitable. Other metaphors may be substituted, but
the functioning of government in society is abstract and engenders
metaphors wherever it exists.[32] Nyerere himself took issue with the
image of the machine. The pre-colonial resident of a rural village,
Nyerere told an American audience in 1960, "never felt himself to be
a cog in a machine."[33] This contrast between the organic participation
of village life and the coercive participation borne in the machine
metaphor became the central analytical point of rural development
policy. Critiques of the authoritarian bent of development policy
seem to be distilled in this image of the machine, which even in colo-
nial times contrasted with the cultivation of popular participation.
"Not only must the local government machine be built up," wrote a
Tanganyikan district officer in the 1950s, "but every opportunity
must be taken of influencing the people themselves."[34] In a subse-
quent conversation with the ambassador, Nyerere signaled his intent
for those machines. If he had a choice, he said, "the cities could go to
hell," while the government concentrated on rural development.[35]

The unspoken assumptions lying behind the phrase "national
progress" shaped political discourse and practice in the 1960s by
defining the imagined trajectory of human affairs toward a future of
centralized administration and technological achievement. When
Nyerere explained that the techniques of mass production needed to

[31]William Leonhart, Memorandum of Conversation, 5 October 1962, US National
Archives, College Park, Maryland (NARA), RG 59, Box 2695, File 778.00/8-262.

[32]Michael G. Schatzberg, *Political Legitimacy in Middle Africa: Food, Family, and
Father* (Bloomington/Indianapolis, 2001).

[33]Julius K. Nyerere, *Africa Today and Tomorrow* (Dar es Salaam, 2000), 13

[34]R.H. Gower, "An Experiment in District Training," *Journal of African Administra-
tion* 4 (1952), 7.

[35]William Leonhart, Dar es Salaam to Department of State, 3 November 1962,
NARA, RG 59, Box 2028, 778.00/8-262.

be applied to the agricultural sector he told crowds, "we have to organise our Government and Party machinery."[36] The accursed industrialism that sparked the apocalyptic conflicts of Marx's vision was, in Tanzania and elsewhere, a technological utopia. In the conflation of industrial and political machinery that imbued international socialism as well as Western developmentalism inhered a logic of governance that consolidated the political and the economic in a futuristic cultural vision of choreographed citizen activism.[37] Where Americans were "sending their rockets to the moon to explore other colonies," explained Oscar Kambona, in his early role as Minister of Home Affairs, "the Tanganyika Government's rockets were to be sent to the villages with a view of developing the country as a whole."[38]

It was into this vision that Nyerere melded a nostalgic memory of village life coining the stunningly comprehensive ideological term, *Ujamaa* as a translation for "African socialism." With this invented Swahili word suggesting "extended familyhood," Nyerere defined the parameters for not only Tanzanian ideology but also everyday politics. To coincide with Nyerere's announcement of his government's full commitment to these socialist principles in the Arusha Declaration in February 1967, two volumes of speeches and pamphlets were propagandistically published to consolidate this deft, Janus-faced idiom as a philosophy of state and authorize Nyerere as its philosopher king. Another volume coincided with the ambitious villagization drive of the 1970s that exemplified the authoritarian implications of development theory.[39]

As much a tactical maneuver as a coherent philosophy, *Ujamaa* proposed that socialism was native to Africa, and as such was not the

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[36]Julius K. Nyerere, "Socialism and Rural Development," (1967) in Lionel Cliffe et al. (ed.), *Rural Cooperation in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam, 1975), 28.

[37]Thomas Burgess, "The Young Pioneers and the Rituals of Citizenship in Revolutionary Zanzibar," *Africa Today* 51 (2005), 3-29.

[38]Oscar Kambona, Press Release, 17 July 1962, Tanzania National Archives, Dar es Salaam (TNA) 593, CB/8/1, No. 15.

[39]Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity* (Oxford, 1967); Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism* (Oxford, 1968); Julius K. Nyerere *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism* (Oxford, 1968); Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Development* (Oxford, 1973).

socialism of Europe that was built on class conflict. Nor did it accept the normative assumptions of capitalism. It was instead a language of ideological sovereignty that allowed Nyerere to communicate to internal and external audiences with one language that translated the ideological debates of the Cold War into a set of metaphors of family and village. These references were familiar enough to allow Tanzanian villagers to engage in these cosmopolitan debates; similarly they offered a recognizable anthropological idiom that allowed cosmopolitan elites to appreciate the situation of Tanzanian villagers.

IV

Machinery metaphors populated the language of political science in the 1960s, and unsurprisingly, the bulk of the first generation of political studies of post-independence Tanzania dealt with bureaucratic policy. Uniquely, Raymond Hopkins' study of the Tanzanian civil service, using extensive formalized interviews among the political elite, exemplified the critical balance anthropological methods provided to the universalist discourse of modernization theory.[40] But the first scholarly study of the independent Tanzanian state was a collection of essays, somewhat hastily compiled by William Tordoff, which are striking because of the defining nature of his perspective. From village settlement to the trade union movement to local government and party politics, Tordoff's essays set the stage for the major debates that ensued about Tanzanian national politics. Like the other authors of this era, he was sympathetic to the one-party state, seeking to understand it on Nyerere's much debated terms: keeping political competition within the party would reduce the risk of civil conflict and imbue a government still tinged by its colonial inheritance with nationalist legitimacy. Tordoff's observation that "though a new state had been born, the nation of Tanganyika had still to be created," has

[40]Raymond F. Hopkins, *Political Roles in a New State: Tanzania's First Decade* (New Haven, 1971); also Jan Kees van Donge, and Athumani J. Liviga, "Tanzanian Political Culture and the Cabinet," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 24 (1986), 619-39.

remained a fundamental analytical point for Tanzanian politics.[41] It captured the tension between the formal sovereignty granted Tanzania in the international realm, the challenge of establishing an undisputed sovereign within the territory, and finally the distant goal of a rooted sense of nation among the populace.

A subsequent study by Henry Bienen disputed Tordoff's evaluation of Nyerere's party, TANU (Tanganyika [later Tanzania] African National Union), as an effective key to national consolidation and identified institutional weakness as being the primary factor in shaping Tanzanian politics, presaging current debates about the state in Africa.[42] Asking materially the same question about sovereignty as Tordoff, Bienen's question provoked a different interpretive context. Where Tordoff's question suggested TANU was progressing towards deeper popular participation in a nation founded on a set of values defined by the party, Bienen's approach asked whether the post-colonial state could ever convincingly take root in the rural upcountry. The modernization theme taken for granted in these early works is also evident throughout the later literature on villagization. But the question of extending state authority into rural communities was not about modernization, but sovereignty. It concerned the state's reach into rural community. This issue of sovereignty focuses analysis of the changing relations of state and proto-nation on a realist perspective of local power politics as well as an anthropological view of political cosmology.[43]

Andrew Maguire's *Toward "Uhuru" in Tanzania: The Politics of Participation* approached the question of internal sovereignty from a profoundly local perspective that he deemed "micropolitics" docu-

[41]William Tordoff, *Government and Politics in Tanzania: A Collection of Essays Covering the Period from September 1960 to July 1966* (Nairobi, 1967), 98. See also Leys Colin, "Tanganyika: The Realities of Independence," *International Journal* 17 (1962), 251-68.

[42]Bienen, *Tanzania*. This is a central issue in Herbst, *States*, but was also raised by John Lonsdale around the time Bienen was writing. See John Lonsdale, "The Tanzanian Experiment," *African Affairs* 67 (1968), 330-44.

[43]Such approaches appear in Liisa H. Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania* (Chicago, 1995); William Reno, *Corruption and State Politics in Sierra Leone* (Cambridge, 1995).

menting political change in a rural environment of more deeply root-
ed cultural habits. In this context, the authoritarian quality of devel-
opment politics began to come into view. "The nationalist movement
before independence exploited certain dislocations in traditional life
for political ends. After independence it thoroughly reorganized local
political institutions in line with a uniform and non-traditional
national pattern."[44] The anthropological identifiers of "traditional"
cultural life did not live and die as whole pieces, rather they were
subsumed into attitudes that had very subtle effects on institutions
and politics modeled after European practices. Maguire's work pro-
vided an early account of dissent in local politics as Tanzania pressed
forward towards a stronger sovereign state. But he wrote at a time
when such dissent was taken not as praiseworthy local agency and
the publication of "hidden transcripts," as is often the case today, but
rather represented the challenge of local intransigence.[45]

Like Maguire's work, Joel Samoff's study *Tanzania: Local Poli-
tics and the Structure of Power*, provided a perspective that offered
enough detail of local practice to dispute a simplistic application of
modernization theories. Seeking to understand the relationship of
local structures of power and political change, Samoff explored the
bureaucratic complexity of urban politics with a level of detail that
penetrated the ideological veneer. Samoff pointed out that scholars
often missed the local debates on "the nature and form of political
community" that overrode the theoretical issues perceived of acade-
mic debates. "Ideologues, and especially ideologues who are radical
in the Tanzanian context, are simply not found in Kilimanjaro poli-
tics." Instead party doctrine was little more than a legitimating lan-
guage while politics reflected a patrimonial perspective, "all evaluat-
ed through the prism of what the candidate can be expected to do for
his constituents."[46]

[44]G. Andrew Maguire, *Toward 'Uhuru' in Tanzania: The Politics of Participation*
(Cambridge, 1969), 1.
[45]James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New
Haven, 1990). See critique in Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Soci-
ety: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge, 1996), 10.
[46]Joel Samoff, *Tanzania: Local Politics and the Structure of Power* (Madison,
1974), 164-65.

A fundamental and continuing task of the TANU state has been its defense of a non-racial definition of citizenship, both economically and politically, against populist advocates for certain privileges to be extended only to "Africans," racially differentiated from Asians (Indians) and Europeans. TANU, and its successor CCM (the current ruling party Chama Cha Mapinduzi or Party of the Revolution), have avoided the use of racial distinctions but have responded to populist racialism with policies that effectively targeted wealthy minorities as well as "foreigners" and "capitalists," categories that included some Africans as well.[47] The best studies on the Tanzanian state have paid close attention to its cultural setting and sought to construct theories of its functioning with reference the mutable and discontiguous social imaginations of the people who were both the initiators and recipients of state action.[48] In *Ujamaa*, Nyerere constructed such a theory of governance, not for the abstract needs of socialist theory, but for the immediate needs of binding an equitable national community.

Ujamaa bridged religious, political, and cultural divides.[49] Ignoring socialist orthodoxy, it mingled promiscuously with religious discourse leaving a fertile popular discourse seeded with Nyerere's philosophy.[50] Preaching his own brand of African communalism while

[47]Ronald Aminzade, "From Race to Citizenship: The Indigenization Debate in Post-Socialist Tanzania," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 38 (2003), 44-63; James R. Brennan, "Realizing Civilization through Patrilineal Descent: African Intellectuals and the Making of an African Racial Nationalism in Tanzania, 1920-1950," *Social Identities* 12 (2006), 405-23.

[48]James R. Brennan, "Blood Enemies: Exploitation and Urban Citizenship in the Nationalist Political Thought of Tanzania, 1958-1975," *Journal of African History* 47 (2006), 387-411; Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison, 1990); Michael Jennings, "'A Very Real War': Popular Participation in Development in Tanzania During the 1950s and 1960s," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 40 (2007), 71-95.

[49]William R. Duggan and John R. Civille, *Tanzania and Nyerere: A Study of Ujamaa and Nationhood* (Maryknoll, 1976).

[50]See Paul K. Bjerk, "Building a New Eden: Lutheran Church Youth Choir Performances in Tanzania," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 35 (2005), 324-61. There are numerous tracts linking theology and *Ujamaa*. For example, Peter Alute S. Kijanga, 1977. "Ujamaa and the Role of the Church in Tanzania," PhD dissertation (Aquinas Institute of Theology, 1977); David Westerlund, *Ujamaa na Dini: A Study of Some Aspects of Society and Religion In Tanzania, 1961-1977* (Stockholm, 1980); Lauren-

at the same time offering a devastating critique of European socialist dogma, Nyerere tailored a new ideology to his needs of governance. His government treated the religions much like other social movements, and sought to incorporate them into umbrella organizations that would function as quasi-ministries for the government.[51] While Nyerere worked assiduously to avoid the appearance of religious favoritism in state politics, his prominent Christianity, the outsized presence of mission-educated Christians in the civil service, and the rapid Christianization of mainland Tanganyika in the post-colonial era generated consternation among coastal Muslims who felt their cultural influence eroding. Mohamed Said critically shed light on the decisive roles of Muslims in the early independence movement.[52] Although Nyerere acknowledged these concerns even before independence, Muslim communities continue to address these issues very critically.[53] Trumping established creeds, *Ujamaa* initiated in practice a secular faith based on Nyerere's interpretation of socialism. It created a mode of civil religion that imposed enforceable ethical standards in the form of a socialist leadership code for Tanzanian politicians, while coincidentally constraining radicals who sought to align Tanzania more closely with China and the Soviet Union.[54]

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ti Magesa, "Ujamaa Socialism in Tanzania: A Theological Assessment," PhD dissertation (St. Paul University, 1985); John Sivalon's dissertation offers much historical detail of Nyerere's relationship with the Catholic Church. John C. Sivalon, "Roman Catholicism and the Defining of Tanzanian Socialism, 1953-1985: An Analysis of the Social Ministry of the Roman Catholic Church in Tanzania," PhD dissertation (St. Michael's College [University of Toronto], 1990).

[51]Frieder Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania: Aspects of a Changing Relationship, 1961-1994* (Boston, 1999).

[52]Mohamed Said, *Abdulwahid Sykes. 1924-1968: The Untold Story of the Muslim Struggle against British Colonialism in Tanganyika* (London, 1998).

[53]August Nimtz and Abdin Chande offer scholarly accounts of contemporary Muslim history in Tanzania. August H. Nimtz Jr., *Islam and Politics in East Africa: The Sufi Order in Tanzania* (Minneapolis, 1980); Abdin N. Chande, *Islam, Ulamaa and Community Development in Tanzania: A Case Study of Religious Current in East Africa* (San Francisco, 1998). Hamza Njozi and Lawrence Mbogoni exemplify the polemic nature of this debate. Hamza Mustafa Njozi, *The Mwembechai Killings and the Political Future of Tanzania* (Ottawa, 2000); Lawrence E.Y. Mbogoni, *The Cross and the Crescent: Religion and Politics in Tanzania from the 1880s to the 1990s* (Dar es Salaam, 2005).

[54]William Tordoff, and Ali A. Mazrui, "The Left and the Super-Left in Tanzania," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 10 (1972), 427-45.

Fully committed to the unorthodox ideals of *Ujamaa*, Nyerere maintained his insistence on international non-alignment, marking out a sovereign ideological territory in the international realm during the Cold War. "The Eastern countries understood us better than the Western ones," recalled Nyerere's loyal vice president, Rashid Kawawa, "but we were completely independent, as now."[55] An American ambassador in the 1960s, seeking to arrange a meeting for Nyerere with American president Lyndon Johnson, explained his understanding of the strategic timing of the announcement, illustrating Nyerere's multi-faceted approach to politics and his idiosyncratic ideological position in the Cold War. Confirming retrospective insights of Jeanette Hartmann and others that the Arusha Declaration emerged from political negotiation and strategy rather than disembodied theory, the memo signals the presence of tactical political strategy in *Ujamaa* where only ideological ideals and development economics are normally acknowledged.[56]

> Always proceeding under the banners of socialism and self reliance, Nyerere maneuvered the most doctrinaire and convinced leftist politician in Tanzania, Abdulrahman Babu, into a position of near political impotence and has maneuvered Tanzania's most popular radical leader, Oscar Kambona, right out of the country. [...] So far as bilateral relations with US are concerned, Nyerere has continually extended a friendly hand. [...] Although he is known to harbor doubts about the US role in Viet-Nam.[57]

Okwudiba Nnoli suggested a more nuanced analysis of foreign policy, positing the Arusha Declaration with its emphasis on "self-reliance" as a turning point intended to free Tanzania of donor dependence to allow more autonomy in its foreign policy.[58] But Tanzania's prominent role in African and international affairs has other-

[55]Rashid Kawawa, interview with author, Dar es Salaam, September 2006.

[56]Jeanette Hartmann (ed.), *Re-Thinking the Arusha Declaration* (Copenhagen, 1991).

[57]Dar es Salaam to Department of State, 28 August 1967, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, Austin, Texas (LBJ), NSF/CF 100, File 6, No. 15.

[58]Okwudiba Nnoli, *Self Reliance and Foreign Policy in Tanzania: The Dynamics of the Diplomacy of a New State, 1961 to 1971* (New York, 1978).

wise received only preliminary analysis, lacking archival sources.[59] Katabaro Miti criticized this lack of attention to the broader challenges of nationalism during the Cold War by grouping together Cranford Pratt, Bismarck Mwansasu, S.S. Mushi, and Goran Hyden, citing them somewhat unfairly for a myopic focus on socialism. It is notable that the concluding essays by Mwansasu and Pratt in an edited volume on socialism in Tanzania exhibited this tension: Pratt's essay highlighted the debate between "Marxist socialists and democratic socialists" in regards to policy and government structure, while Mwansasu's essay focused on the more particular issue of the increased supremacy of the party over the government in policy formation.[60] Both sought to identify how democratic process could be retained within a socialist paradigm. Miti's critique hinted at the broader tension between the objectification of Tanzania as an experiment in Third World socialism and the ongoing effort to establish a new nation and its government as economically, politically, and ideologically sovereign.

V

Goran Hyden's two major studies of Tanzanian rural development policy provide two influential bookends to the closely-watched policy of compulsory villagization in the 1970s, when thousands of people were forcefully moved into hastily planned *Ujamaa* villages. Hyden's first study, *TANU Yajenga Nchi* (a party slogan meaning *TANU Builds the Country*) was written during the height of the popular self-help fervor of the 1960s and insightfully grounded *Ujamaa* development in local cultural history.[61] He showed how Tanzanian

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[59]K. Matthews, and S.S. Mushi, *Foreign Policy of Tanzania 1961-1981: A Reader* (Dar Es Salaam, 1983); Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Pan-Africanism and East African Integration* (Cambridge, 1965); Maria Nzomo, "The Foreign Policy of Kenya and Tanzania: The Impact of Dependence and Underdevelopment," PhD dissertation (Dalhousie University, 1981); Robert Pinkney, *The International Politics of East Africa* (Manchester, 2001).

[60]Bismarck Mwansasu and Cranford Pratt, *Toward Socialism in Tanzania* (Toronto, 1979).

[61]Goran Hyden, *Tanu Yajenga Nchi: Political Development in Rural Tanzania* (Lund, 1968).

policy alternately built on long-standing local cultural concepts and undermined local practice that interfered with national political goals.

Hyden's second work on Tanzania came after the disappointments and excesses of villagization in the 1970s.[62] His concept of the "uncaptured peasant" became a catchphrase for political science on Africa.[63] Hyden contrasted a metropolitan economy of production with a rural "economy of affection" rooted in cultural values that masked class differences. His acknowledgement of the social benefits of villagization went deeper than the matter-of-fact asides of other scholars whose frustration with *Ujamaa* was palpable. In addition to water, schools, and clinics, which had been a primary motivation for villagization since the beginning, Hyden noted the positive changes brought by the increased social interaction, particularly important for rural women. In this respect Hyden presaged studies that framed Tanzanian policies in a broader environmental history that is still rich with potential.[64] Hyden's work also began to illuminate the effects of villagization that would outlast the debate over rural economic development. Issa Shivji's work in the 1990s, following his leading involvement in land reform legislation, echoed Hyden's early perspective. Shivji noted that "the political or governance side of the villagisation process" left behind enduring rural institutions.[65] The importance of this institutional legacy is highlight-

[62]Goran Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry* (Berkeley, 1980).

[63]Edward A. Alpers, "Africa Reconfigured: Presidential Address to the 1994 African Studies Association Annual Meeting," *African Studies Review* 38 (1995), 1-10.

[64]Helge Kjekshus' article on villagization policy summarizes specific implications of her groundbreaking ecological history of Tanzania originally published in 1977. Helge Kjekshus, "The Tanzanian Villagization Policy: Implementational Lessons and Ecological Dimensions," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 11 (1977), 269-82; Helge Kjekshus, *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History* (Athens OH, 1996). See also James L. Giblin, and Gregory H. Maddox (ed.), *Custodians of the Land: Ecology & Culture in the History of Tanzania* (Athens OH, 1996); Dan Brockington, *Fortress Conservation: The Preservation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve* (Bloomington/Indianapolis, 2002); Thaddeus Sunseri, *Wielding the Ax: State Forestry and Social Conflict in Tanzania, 1820-2000* (Athens OH, 2009).

[65]Issa G. Shivji, "Reforming Local Government or Localizing Government Reform." in Gaudens P. Mpangala et al. (ed.), *Commemorations of Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere's 79th and 80th Birth Dates* (Dar es Salaam, 2004), 90.

ed in consideration of Nyerere's own regret at destroying the colonial institutions of agricultural cooperatives and local government.[66]

Since the 1980s, coming to terms with "what went wrong during this period of intense developmental activity that produced so few positive results" has been the preoccupation of scholarship on Tanzania.[67] At the very beginning of compulsory villagization, James Finucane, working with the University of Dar es Salaam on funding from Denmark, did a field study on how the top-down approach of forced villagization meshed with the goal of popular participation. Finucane noted the seriousness of purpose among the Tanzanian leadership, and the participatory rhetoric, but also the basic pattern of bureaucratic elites pushing policies onto hesitant rural farmers. "What participation there remains is an arena in which those who know the route to modernity—by self-identification the bureaucrats—try to educate their less enlightened fellows."[68] In another early study of villagization, Clyde Ingle perceived the core political difficulty, pitting centralization against local participation, on which the contradictions of the economic development project capsized.[69]

The challenge of the era, as so many noted, was the implication of the local in the national, and vice versa, the metropolitan in the rural. Michael Jennings has recently argued that the flurry of populist developmental activity of the 1960s, unlike the forced participation of the 1970s, grew from a grassroots enthusiasm to build a nation. This task was as much ideological as physical. To counteract the fragmented nature of postcolonial statehood, the Tanzanian government endeavored "to create unifying myths and bonds, to mould citizens from subjects."[70] The reference here is to Mahmood Mamdani's incisive study, *Citizen and Subject* that proposed a "bifurcated" post-

[66]Andreas Eckert, "Useful Instruments of Participation? Local Government and Cooperatives in Tanzania, 1940s to 1970s," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 40 (2007), 97-118.

[67]Leander Schneider, "Developmentalism and Its Failings: Why Rural Development Went Wrong in the 1960s and 1970s Tanzania," PhD dissertation (Columbia University, 2003), 2.

[68]James R. Finucane, *Rural Development and Bureaucracy in Tanzania: The Case of Mwanza Region* (Uppsala, 1974), 10.

[69]Clyde R. Ingle, *From Village to State in Tanzania: The Politics of Rural Development* (Ithaca, 1972).

[70]Jennings, "Very Real War," 93.

colonial state, echoing Ekeh's "two publics" thesis. While John Iliffe identified the "invention of tribe" as an aid to colonial governance, Mamdani projected the debilitating legacy of this practice into post-colonial state.[71] So long as rural areas remained under customary law—countless discontiguous legal regimes all of which were subordinate to the codified law of the state—rural residents would relate to the state as subjects, even after the colonialists were long gone. Mamdani acknowledged that Tanzania's policies, including the era of forced villagization, were an attempt to bridge this rural-urban divide, and create a uniform citizenry. "To understand the centralized despotism that the Tanzanian experience turned into we need to bear in mind that it was the bitter fruit of a failed reform."[72] Mamdani's point is supported by a Tanzanian cabinet minister's statement in the early 1960s that "the aim of present socialist government to give closer consideration to development between rural areas so as to remove imbalance in development between urban and rural areas which was created by the colonial government."[73] But, as Leander Schneider has argued, this very awareness suggests that the legacy of colonial practice in the post-colonial state might not be as coherent as Mamdani's thesis suggested, marked by more by paternalism than Mamdani's "decentralized despotism."[74]

Nyerere had spoken of the need for villagization to modernize rural agriculture since his inaugural presidential speech at the end of 1962.[75] In 1960, the World Bank commissioned a report on the Tanganyikan economy that promoted an interventionist "transformation" approach to rural development over simple "improvement."[76] This

[71]Iliffe, *Modern History*.

[72]Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, 1996), 172.

[73]Press Release, 24 July 1963, TNA 593, CB/7/2, Safaris, Public Engagements Personal Affairs: Mr. M. Kamaliza.

[74]Leander Schneider, "Colonial Legacies and Postcolonial Authoritarianism in Tanzania: Connects and Disconnects," *African Studies Review* 49 (2006), 93-118; also Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley, 2005), 18; Mamdani, *Citizen*, 37.

[75]Nyerere, *Uhuru and Umoja*, 184.

[76]World Bank, *The Economic Development of Tanganyika* (Oxford, 1961); Raphael Tibanyendera, "The Role of TANU in Rural Transformation: A Case Study in Bukoba," PhD dissertation (University of Dar es Salaam, 1972).

idea had taken form during the late colonial era, as the British sought to capitalize rural farming, reserving land for settler farmers to begin commercial operations. A grandiose scheme to initiate commercial groundnut operations never took root, even as it was passed on from the British Overseas Food Corporation to the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation. It is often cited as the cornerstone of the doomed effort towards top-down methods of agricultural development.[77] Israeli aid, and their model of collective agriculture, likewise became a key influence in Nyerere's push for cooperative farms.[78]

Many studies of villagization were written by people who had been actively involved in developing agricultural settlements and policy in Tanzania, drawn by their attraction to Nyerere's ideas and approach. In the blur and excitement of the 1960s, diplomatic officers and activist scholars saw in Nyerere's socialism a dynamic alternative to the heavy-handed communist regimes of the Soviet Union and China.[79] A group of scholars who later wrote their own accounts, were contracted by Nyerere through Syracuse University in New York to work on village settlements.[80] Their initial field reports from the mid-1960s, in which the shortcomings of the transformation approach began to be evident, are available in the East Africana Collection at the University of Dar es Salaam.[81] Tanzania came to be seen as a path-breaking effort in rural development and African ideological initiative that found strong international enthusiasm from both socialists and development experts.[82] Even as the strategy

[77]Daniel R. Smith, *The Influence of the Fabian Colonial Bureau on the Independence Movement in Tanganyika* (Athens OH, 1985).

[78]Personal Interview with Job Lusinde, Dodoma, November 2006. Mordechai E. Kreinin, *Israel and Africa—A Study in Technical Cooperation* (New York, 1964).

[79]Cliffe, *Socialism*; Duggan, *Tanzania*; Cranford Pratt, *The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945-1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Strategy* (Cambridge, 1976).

[80]Nikos Georgulas, "Structure and Communication: A Study of the Tanganyika Settlement Agency," PhD dissertation (Syracuse University, 1967); John R. Nellis, *A Theory of Ideology: The Tanzanian Example* (Oxford, 1972); Rodger Yeager, *Tanzania: An African Experiment* (Boulder, 1989).

[81]Syracuse University Village Settlement Project, Reports Nos. 1-43, East Africana Collection (EAC), University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

[82]Idiran N. Resnick, *The Long Transition: Building Socialism in Tanzania* (New York, 1981); Michael Jennings, *Surrogates of the State: NGOs, Development, and Ujamaa in Tanzania* (Bloomfield CT, 2008).

foundered, scholarly approaches sought to resolve the problems of the model rather than questioning its assumptions or its political impulses.[83] At the end of the 1970s when the policy's shortcomings were increasingly evident, studies still targeted the detail of implementation. If the problem were not one of misguided personnel, then it was a failure of planning.[84] But the structural implications of Shivji's "bureaucratic bourgeoisie" suggested, if not a deliberate deception on the part of an identifiable ruling class, certainly something more than just a failure of personnel.[85]

Expanding on Shivji, John Saul's dyspeptic essays of radical socialist critique appearing at the end of the decade presaged the profound disappointment that has colored subsequent scholarship, both radical and liberal, on the Tanzanian state with the conclusion that *Ujamaa* had fundamentally failed.[86] Left unacknowledged in such critiques is the initial seduction into Nyerere's vision, and the weight of disillusionment when Tanzania's trajectory inevitably elided his socialist pastorale.[87] Hyden, in his second study, found himself addressing the socialist paradigm even as he constructed an argument that undermined it as a useful category of investigation. "Like Don Quixote we were engaged in an imaginary struggle that kept us going intellectually but turned us into caricatures in the eyes of non-academic observers."[88] Dean McHenry's valedictory evaluation of Tanzan-

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[83]Esther Klein Fisher, "The Roots of *Ujamaa*," PhD dissertation (University of Minnesota, 1975); Justin H. Maeda, "Popular Participation, Control and Development: A Study of the Nature and Role of Popular Participation in Tanzania's Rural Development," PhD dissertation (Yale University, 1976).

[84]Dean E. McHenry Jr., *Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages: The Implementation of a Rural Development Strategy* (Berkeley, 1979).

[85]Michaela von Freyhold, *Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania: Analysis of a Social Experiment* (New York, 1979); P.F. Nursey-Bray, "Tanzania: The Development Debate," *African Affairs* 79 (1980), 55-78.

[86]John S. Saul, *The State and Revolution in Eastern Africa* (New York, 1979); Michael F. Lofchie, "Agrarian Crisis and Economic Liberalisation in Tanzania," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 16 (1978), 451-75; Joel Samoff, "Crises and Socialism in Tanzania," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 19 (1981), 279-306.

[87]Dean E. McHenry Jr., *Limited Choices: The Political Struggle for Socialism in Tanzania* (Boulder, 1994), ix.

[88]Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*, 250; Cranford Pratt, "Tanzania: The Development Debate—A Comment," *African Affairs* 79 (1980), 343-47.

ian socialism, aptly titled *Limited Choices*, belatedly took issue with
Shivji's thesis, and broke with the quixotic focus on socialist theory
exemplified in the debates between the doctrinaire Saul and the prag-
matist Cranford Pratt.[89] Rather, echoing Samoff, McHenry argued
that the use of socialism as a legitimizing tool of factional struggles
gave birth to the exaggerated policies of villagization.[90] McHenry's
analysis also built on the new perspectives that arose in a conference
evaluating the Arusha Declaration on its twentieth anniversary. The
lively and wide-ranging essays in the edited volume that followed,
Re-Thinking the Arusha Declaration, opened the first glimpse into
what a historical perspective on the *Ujamaa* era might look like, with
a palpable apprehension surrounding Nyerere's retirement after a
quarter century in power. As IMF restructuring overturned *Ujamaa*
policy, its echoing legacy reinforced its underlying utility as a sym-
bol of sovereignty, "an embodiment more of a nationalist than a
socialist ideology."[91]

In the early 1980s, after a war sparked by Idi Amin's claim to a
sliver of Tanzanian territory, the country faced economic collapse.
The villagization experiment from an economic standpoint stood as a
failure. Andrew Coulson's economic history of Tanzania provided an
authoritative assessment that shifted the debate from questions of
theory and implementation to the entire concept of villagization.[92]
From the perspective of several years working in the Tanzanian gov-
ernment, Coulson acknowledged that a more generally ignored
aspect of villagization, the need to bring people close to social ser-
vices, had been a qualified success.[93] But the entire experiment had

[89]John S. Saul, "Tanzania's Transition to Socialism?" *Canadian Journal of African
Studies* 11 (2007), 313-39; Cranford Pratt, "Democracy and Socialism in Tanzania:
A Reply to John Saul," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 12 (1978), 407-28.
[90]McHenry, *Limited Choices*; Tordoff, "The Left."
[91]Hartmann, *Re-Thinking*, 57; Ahmed Mohiddin, *African Socialism in Two Coun-
tries* (Totowa NJ, 1981).
[92]Andrew Coulson, *Tanzania: A Political Economy* (Oxford, 1982).
[93]World Bank, *Tanzania: Social Sector Review* (Washington DC, 1999); Lene
Buchert, *Education in the Development of Tanzania, 1919-1990* (Athens OH, 1994);
Edward Miguel, "Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya ver-
sus Tanzania," *World Politics* 56 (2004), 327-62.
[94]Joel D. Barkan, with John J. Okumu, *Politics and Public Policy in Kenya and Tan-
zania* (New York, 1979).

failed to increase agricultural production, drawing an unfavorable comparison to the market orientation of Kenya.[94] Coulson, following Finucane's early insights, fixed the blame on the undemocratic nature of the developmental model. "Only a bureaucracy distanced from peasant life could have forced through measures so draconian as villagization, and with so little productive effect."[95] The authoritarianism reflected in the forceful implementation of villagization could not be attributed to simple venality of the political leadership, but something lodged more deeply in the discourse of modernization.

Notable for its influence if only because it is the most widely read, James Scott's *Seeing Like a State* used Tanzania as a prime example in his argument that an aesthetic of high modernism so distorted common sense as to perpetuate wrongheaded state policies that impoverished millions.[96] Villagization in Tanzania in the 1970s was an attempt by state elites influenced by Western donors to impose a commanding rationality onto rural society. With some license, Scott took as his examples the geometric design of Omurunazi Village and the stories of villages being forcibly moved away from water to the road so that passing officials could easily see them. Scott's perspective, referenced in his title, bears the stamp of Michel Foucault's panoptic proposition elaborated from Jeremy Bentham's prison design.[97] His critical conclusion that Tanzania's villagization is ultimately comparable to far more brutal attempts at collectivization bears a fundamental insight into the authoritarianism of such projects, and will likely remain a permanent fixture in analysis of the era.

Indeed, there is much evidence that villagization, as well as numerous other Tanzanian policies were intended to increase state presence at the local level, communicating state mandates and enabling surveillance of the countryside. From the creation of "ten-

[95]Coulson, *Tanzania*, 262; Peter G. Forster, and Sam Maghimbi (ed.), *The Tanzanian Peasantry: Economy in Crisis* (Brookfield, 1992).

[96]James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, 1998).

[97]Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York, 1977).

cells" (positions of party leadership at the neighborhood level), to the mushrooming presence of *washushu* informants reporting on individual activities and official encouragement of *sungusungu* vigilante groups, the government became increasingly panoptic.[98] This panoptic potential was most clearly in evidence when *Ujamaa* villages were used as models for quasi-military settlements for thousands of refugees from conflicts in neighboring countries.[99] The evident utility of these village structures for imposing government authority was confounded by the unpredictable enmity created between refugees, camp officials, and local populations amidst the uncertain sovereignty of the camps. Refugees exercising a variation of Scott's "weapons of the weak" were far from benign as they reconstructed the genocidal logic of Burundian politics.[100] Meanwhile, in a curious twist of Scott's thesis, local villagers credited the Tanzanian government for infrastructural improvements brought by international NGOs for the refugees, both of whom were targets of local ire.[101]

But even the work that grew most closely from Scott disputes his formulaic approach. Leander Schneider has argued that it was not the visibility of modernism that enthralled Tanzanian elites, but the promise of planning to make economic wishes come true.[102] Schneider terms this faith "developmentalism," and traces its language

[98]Wilbert Klerruu, *The Systematic Creation and Operation of TANU Cells* (London, 1968 [est.]). Rashid Kawawa described the ten-cell system as the "eyes of the nation." See Bienen, *Tanzania*, 359. See also Ray Abrahams, "Sungusungu: Village Vigilante Groups in Tanzania," *African Affairs* 86 (1987), 179-96.

[99]Charles P. Gasarasi, "The Tripartite Approach to the Resettlement and Integration of Rural Refugees in Tanzania" (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Research Report 71, 1984); Beth E. Whitaker, "Disjunctured Boundaries: Refugees, Hosts, and Politics in Western Tanzania," PhD dissertation (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1999).

[100]Malkki, *Purity*; James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, 1987).

[101]Loren B. Landau, *The Humanitarian Hangover: Displacement, Aid and Transformation in Western Tanzania* (Johannesburg, 2008); also Marc Sommers, *Fear in Bongoland: Burundi Refugees in Urban Tanzania* (New York, 2001).

[102]Leander Schneider, "Freedom and Unfreedom in Rural Development: Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa Vijijini, and Villagization," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 38 (2004), 344-92; idem., "The Maasai's New Clothes: A Developmentalist Modernity and Its Exclusions," *Africa Today* 53 (2006), 101-31.

through a decade of governmental social engineering built upon projects of the late colonial era. The term builds on an earlier line of inquiry following the work of James Ferguson, who suggested that development policies created an "anti-politics machine" that concealed debate, negotiation, and mobilization, a point generally supported by Joel Samoff but contested by Geir Sundet.[103] After the hopes for rural economic development had floundered for a decade, Nyerere made moving into planned villages compulsory, arguing that it was in the best interests of everyone. The government moved people, sometimes at gunpoint, into hastily planned villages. Scott and Schneider's approaches help to resolve the disappointment of *Ujamaa*'s modernist promises by explaining how a fundamentally ethical elite under Nyerere yoked themselves to an intellectual agenda that overwhelmed their best intentions. Indeed, those who implemented the policy still hold that, despite its shortcomings, it was "the only way" given the government's financial constraints, to bring the social services they promised to the rural masses.[104]

VI

Recent historical work on Tanzania largely builds upon the broad historical canvas provided by John Iliffe in his *Modern History of Tanganyika*. Entwining social and political history with understated equanimity, Iliffe's scope makes it difficult to evaluate his ubiquitous influence, which certainly merits revisiting. Revisiting the history of decolonization will help call attention to the way Edward Barongo's triumphant boilerplate *Mkiki Mkiki wa Siasa Tanganyika* shaped a popular nationalist narrative in the markedly authentic voice of a grassroots TANU activist.[105] The continuity between political and social history that Iliffe documented can be seen in two studies that

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[103]James Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine* (Cambridge, 1990); Samoff, "Crises;" Geir Sundet, "Beyond Developmentalism in Tanzania," *Review of African Political Economy* 21 (1994), 39-49.
[104]Personal interviews with Vedastus Kyaruzi, Job Lusinde, Peter Kisumo, Lawrence Gama, and Joseph Butiku.
[105]Edward Barongo, *Mkiki Mkiki wa Siasa Tanganyika* (Dar es Salaam, 1966).

address the deeper issue Tordoff defined of the need to create a
nation to fill the space of the territorial state.

Building on the expository approach of Marcia Wright, Susan
Geiger's *TANU Women* expanded the scope of the nationalist move-
ment to capture the role of women who "constructed, performed, and
maintained Tanzanian nationalism."[106] For Geiger, the elite, institu-
tion-oriented approach of most studies of Tanzanian nationalism
underestimated local cultural inheritance, leading her to trace the
"significance of 'Swahiliness' as an epistemological basis for nation-
alism and nationalist consciousness" by portraying activists' ideas in
the context of their lives. Pursuing this question of a self-conscious
Swahili culture, Kelly Askew's *Performing the Nation* extended May
Balisidya's pioneering perspective on the discursive politicization of
popular music that both opposed and legitimized national identity
and state authority.[107] These studies emphasized the need to extend
this analysis into the past to explain how political and cultural activi-
ties lurched fitfully between nationalist idealism and jaded provin-
cialism.[108] A spurt of recent work on the state's fecund relationship
with politicized youth further illuminates the government's search to
define and shape a culturally African sovereign.[109]

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[106]Susan Geiger, *TANU Women: Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanganyikan
Nationalism, 1955-1965* (Portsmouth NH, 1997), 6; Marcia Wright, *Strategies of
Slaves and Women: Life Stories from East/Central Africa* (New York, 1993).

[107]Kelly M. Askew, *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in
Tanzania* (Chicago, 2002); May Lenna Balisidya, "Language Planning and Oral
Creativity in Tanzania," PhD dissertation (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1988).

[108]Pat Caplan, *African Voices, African Lives: Personal Narratives from a Swahili
Village* (New York, 1997); Thaddeus Sunseri, "Statist Narratives and Maji Maji
Ellipses," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 33 (2000), 567-84.

[109]There is much rich interdisciplinary work on youth. Recent historical work relat-
ing youth to state politics can be found in Andrew Burton, and Hélène Charton-
Bigot, *Generations Past: Youth in East African History* (Athens OH, 2010); Thomas
Burgess, "Cinema, Bell Bottoms, and Miniskirts: Struggles Over Youth and Citizen-
ship in Revolutionary Zanzibar," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*
35 (2002), 287-313; James R. Brennan, "Youth, the TANU Youth League, and Man-
aged Vigilantism in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania 1925-1973," *Africa: Journal of the
International Africa Institute* 76 (2006), 221-46; Andrew M. Ivaska, "Of Students,
'Nizers,' and a Struggle over Youth: Tanzania's 1966 National Service Crisis,"
Africa Today 51 (2005), 83-107; Andrew M. Ivaska, "'Anti-Mini Militants Meet
Modern Misses': Urban Style, Gender and the Politics of 'National Culture' in
1960s Dar es Salaam, Tanzania," *Gender & History* 14 (2002), 584-607.

Since the collapse of Nyerere's socialist state, scholars looking back on the era have not yet defined a more comprehensive analytical approach of the sort beginning to emerge in studies on Guinea and Ghana. Nyerere's ideals and achievements still echo in Tanzanian historical conceptions today, from popular culture to the quasi-official history of Tanzania from the stone-age to Nyerere's 1985 retirement in Mineal Mdundo's 3,000-verse epic poem.[110] But to many, Tanzania's poverty evinced failure, even malfeasance as "reckless, uncontrolled dependence on foreign aid [...] reduced [Tanzania] to veritable political and economic impotence."[111] In a study commissioned by the Tanzanian army, M.L. Baregu suggested that the 1964 mutiny by non-commissioned officers was initiated by the British to justify neo-colonial intervention. Equally provocatively, Nestor Luanda's more extensive "blow-by-blow" account in the same volume concluded that the mutiny provided Nyerere "a god-sent opportunity [...] to make a final clampdown on the [labor] movement."[112] In a similarly conspiratorial take on American diplomatic correspondence, Amrit Wilson suggested that the Union treaty was nothing but an American-supported power-grab by Nyerere and Zanzibari president Abeid Karume.[113] Issa Shivji's recent study of the Union Treaty, combining historical and legal analysis, takes a more positive view of Nyerere's intentions, but likewise maintains, without attribution, that the Union treaty emerged from an American proposal.[114] Nevertheless, Shivji concludes that the union did represent Nyerere's pragmatic approach to pan-Africanism, but that the

[110]Mineal O. Mdundo, *Utenzi wa Jeshi la Wananchi Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam, 1987).

[111]Severine M. Rugumamu, *Lethal Aid: The Illusion of Socialism and Self-Reliance in Tanzania* (Trenton NJ, 1997), 13.

[112]Tanzania People's Defence Forces (TPDF), *Tanganyika Rifles Mutiny January 1964* (Dar es Salaam, 1993). Much documentation on the mutiny is also available at the British Public Record Office in London (PRO) and the Borthwick Institute in York. See also Timothy H. Parsons, *The 1964 Army Mutinies and the Making of Modern East Africa* (Westport, 2003).

[113]Amrit Wilson, *US Foreign Policy and Revolution: The Creation of Tanzania* (London, 1989).

[114]Issa G. Shivji, *Pan-Africanism or Pragmatism? Lessons of the Tanganyika-Zanzibar Union* (Dar es Salaam, 2008).

undemocratic nature of the treaty's implementation continues to undermine its legitimacy.

Nyerere's legacy loomed large as both Tanzanian society and scholarship underwent a profound realignment after his retirement in 1985 and death in 1999. East African Community Secretary General Juma Mwapachu's study of economic restructuring opens with an extended homage to Nyerere as "the architect of the Tanzanian psyche," even as the book goes on to describe the dismantling of his economic legacy.[115] The blueprint for this drastic change in economic policy came from Nyerere's long-standing conservative associate, George Kahama, just as the post-Nyerere era began.[116] Likewise, as Tanzania adjusted to a multi-party political system, the stable state Nyerere built stood in balance with his parallel authoritarian legacy.[117] A collection of articles and newspaper columns by Issa Shivji from this period provide a lively testimony to the multi-faceted crisis the post-Nyerere era presented for Tanzanian nationalism.[118] Neither panacea nor poison, economic liberalization fundamentally changed the relationship between state and society.[119] A retreating state left citizens more free for political and economic innovation, but somewhat adrift as the purposeful state of Nyerere's era became something far more ambiguous in its role and obligations.[120]

[115]Juma V. Mwapachu, *Confronting New Realities: Reflections on Tanzania's Radical Transformation* (Dar es Salaam, 2005).

[116]C. George Kahama et al., *The Challenge for Tanzania's Economy* (Portsmouth NH, 1986).

[117]Max Mmuya, *Toward Multi-Party Politics in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam, 1993); Max Mmuya, *Tanzania: Political Reform in Eclipse: Crises and Cleavage in Political Parties* (Dar es Salaam, 1998); Samuel S. Mushi, and Rwekaza S. Mukandala, *Multiparty Democracy in Transition. Tanzania's 1995 General Elections* (Dar es Salaam, 1997).

[118]Issa G. Shivji, *Let the People Speak: Tanzania Down the Road to Neo-Liberalism* (Dakar, 2006).

[119]Aili Mari Tripp, *Changing the Rules: The Politics of Liberalization and the Urban Informal Economy in Tanzania* (Berkeley, 1997); Stefano Ponte, *Farmers and Markets in Tanzania: How Policy Reforms Affect Rural Livelihoods in Africa* (Portsmouth NH, 2002).

[120]Andrew E. Temu, and Jean M. Due, "The Business Environment in Tanzania after Socialism: Challenges of Reforming Banks, Parastatals, Taxation and the Civil Service," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 38 (2000), 683-712; Tim Kelsall, "Governance, Local Politics and Districtization in Tanzania: The 1998 Arumeru Tax Revolt," *African Affairs* 99 (2000), 533-51; Tim Kelsall, "Shop Windows and

The one attempt at a comprehensive survey of Nyerere's leadership stands outside the authority of academic history, but remains unequaled as a compendium of political knowledge about post-colonial Tanzania. Journalist Godfrey Mwakikagile's *Nyerere and Africa* represents the researched recollections of a well-informed observer of this history, and joins a number of recent memoirs of the period.[121] Mwakikagile's argument is perhaps best summarized in the middle of the 700-page tome in an echo of Miti's views. "That Nyerere left behind such a cohesive entity [...] is probably his most enduring legacy; yet the least appreciated among his most ardent critics who talk and write about his failed socialist policies more than anything else."[122] These somewhat nostalgic references to Nyerere and his contribution to nationalism hint at the larger legacy of Tanzanian sovereignty marked by a legitimate, if flawed, government that corresponds to an internationally identifiable and autonomous state.

As Mwakikagile made clear, Nyerere's legacy is far larger and desperately in need of reconsideration considering its relevance to Africa's situation today.[123] Villagization and its implications for socialism have taken up all too large a place because of how this policy seemingly exemplifies the failure of the ideals Nyerere communicated so effectively. What is needed is a perspective that begins with

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Smoke-Filled Rooms: Governance and the Re-Politicisation of Tanzania," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 40 (2002), 597-619; Kristin D. Phillips, "Hunger, Healing, and Citizenship in Central Tanzania," *African Studies Review* 52 (2009), 23-45.

[121] A number of memoirs have appeared in recent years, notably Mineal O. Mdundo, *Masimulizi ya Sheikh Thabit Kombo Jecha* (Dar es Salaam, 1999); Al Noor Kassum, *Africa's Winds of Change: Memoirs of an International Tanzanian* (New York, 2007); Thomas Burgess, *Race, Revolution, and the Struggle for Human Rights in Zanzibar: the Memoirs of Ali Sultan Issa and Seif Sharif Hamad* (Athens OH, 2009); John Magotti, *Simba wa Vita Katika Historia ya Tanzania: Mfaume Rashidi Kawawa* (Dar es Salaam, 2009); Edwin Mtei, *From Goatherd to Governor: The Autobiography of Edwin Mtei* (Dar es Salaam, 2009); Don Petterson, *Revolution in Zanzibar: An American's Cold War Tale* (Boulder, 2002); Tony Lawrence with Christopher McRae, *The Dar Mutiny of 1964, And the Armed Intervention that Ended It* (Sussex, 2007).

[122] Godfrey Mwakikagile, *Nyerere and Africa: End of an Era* (Dar es Salaam, 2007), 119.

[123] Eric Masinde Aseka, *Transformational Leadership in East Africa: Politics, Ideology and Community* (Kampala, 2005).

the demonstrable interests among decision-makers and constituents whose own philosophies reflected the cultural diversity of their experience. Pursuing this task, essays by Viktoria Stöger-Eising and Tadasu Tsuruta begin to trace the mixed cultural influences on Nyerere's policies in both his own thought and local conceptions.[124] Jamie Monson likewise illuminates the nexus between local experience and international politics in another of Nyerere' initiatives, the strategic Tanzania-Zambia railway.[125] The challenge is to map the "moral economy" connecting local insights to political practice. In this vein, James Brennan drew on Luise White's influential work to mine the long-standing usage of *unyonyaji* (meaning literally sucking and metaphorically economic exploitation) in *Ujamaa*-era economic discussions.[126] As the best work on Tanzanian governance has always done, interpretive theories for both African and European cultural inheritance must be reconciled, in parallel fashion to John Lonsdale's "full revisionist thesis" that begins with a rejection of the "dialectic between tradition and modernity at the core of political science's old evolutionary myth."[127]

    Instead of a new synthesis of intercultural experience, formulaic approaches like that of James Scott oppose the idealistic positivism of Mwakikagile's perspective with deconstructionist critique. A Nigerian scholar long resident at the University of Dar es Salaam, Okwudiba Nnoli, deemed such postmodern critique "Eurocentric methodological chauvinism" with its tendency to pathologize

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[124]Viktoria Stöger-Eising, "'*Ujamaa*' Revisited: Indigenous and European Influences in Nyerere's Social and Political Thought," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 70 (2000), 118-43; Tadasu Tsuruta, "African Imaginations of Moral Economy: Notes on Indigenous Economic Concepts and Practices in Tanzania," *African Studies Quarterly* 9 (2006), 103-16.

[125]Jamie Monson, *Africa's Freedom Railway: How a Chinese Development Project Changed Lives and Livelihoods in Tanzania* (Bloomington/Indianapolis, 2008); Peter Pels, "Creolisation in Secret: The Birth of Nationalism in Late Colonial Uluguru, Tanzania," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 72 (2002), 1-28.

[126]Brennan, "Blood Enemies;" Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkeley, 2000).

[127]John Lonsdale, "The Moral Economy of Mau Mau: Wealth, Poverty and Civic Virtue in Kikuyu Political Thought," in: Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa, Books I and II* (Athens OH, 1992), 316.

African politics.[128] Between celebratory idealism and postmodern deconstruction, cultural and political realities get short shrift. Because of postmodernism's European focus, its reach tends to highlight the colonial horizon and the looming legacy of bureaucratic authoritarianism, rather than the deep reach of local discourses.[129]

A revisionist thesis must include postmodern insights that help articulate deeper themes within details of bureaucracy and policy, but only with the counterweight, as Bethwell Ogot suggested, of a theoretical perspective rooted in African experience.[130] Methodologically this will require an informed re-interpretation of the rich diplomatic archives of the US, China, Britain, Russia, Israel, Portugal, France and elsewhere, balanced by an ability to read between the lines of the often limited archives of African countries. The Tanzanian archives, like other post-colonial archives, are heavily weighted with bureaucratic busywork that hints only obliquely at political purpose. Because of this, the oral history of participants can help to draw out ideological objectives and culturally-rooted perspectives that shaped administrative choices. The limitations of personal memory are well-known, all the more so in Tanzania where official narratives have seeped so thoroughly into social truth. But the very pursuit of oral history helps map former social orders; the scavenger hunt for such elderly sources is as important as the interview itself. A meaningful picture needs more than simple triangulation of oral history with

[128]Okwudiba Nnoli, "Reflections on the Study of Political Science in Africa," in: Isaria N. Kimambo (ed.), *Humanities and Social Sciences in East and Central Africa: Theory and Practice* (Dar es Salaam, 2003), 86 - Nnoli indirectly invokes Bayart, *State in Africa*; Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley, 2001); I. William Zartman, *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority* (Boulder, 1995); Richard A. Joseph, *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: The Rise and Fall of the Second Republic* (Cambridge, 1987); Robert Klitgaard, *Tropical Gangsters: One Man's Experience with Development and Decadence in Deepest Africa* (New York, 1990); Robert Fatton, *Predatory Rule: State and Civil Society in Africa* (Boulder, 1992).

[129]Cooper, *Colonialism*.

[130]Bethwell A. Ogot, Toyin Falola and Atieno Odhiambo (ed.), *The Challenges of History and Leadership in Africa: The Essays of Bethwell Allan Ogot* (Trenton, 2002). Ogot's perspective echoes recent theoretical prescriptives such as Gabrielle M. Spiegel (ed.), *Practicing History: New Directions in Historical Writing after the Linguistic Turn* (New York, 2005).

local and foreign archives, it also requires cultural knowledge rooted in anthropology and former generations of political science, both read as primary source rather than analysis. These disciplines clearly influenced Nyerere's political philosophy, raising the question posed by Dean McHenry of the way in which academic debates shaped the context in which policy was made.

The quest for sovereignty most accurately encapsulates the key issue that shaped post-colonial Tanzanian policy. It allows historians to revise the modernization thesis that has so long dominated scholarship on Tanzania, while at the same time avoiding the resolutely foreign perspective of postmodernists who have critiqued but not evaded the political development theory which is the central target of their ire. A theory of sovereignty, necessarily analyzes the relation between internal and external legitimacy and their disparate cultural contexts in a historical perspective.[131] Such an approach will allow scholars to address both a deeper historical inheritance of the "shadow state" proposed by William Reno and a more theoretically sound approach to Sam Nolutshungu's paradoxes of "asymmetrical interdependence" that characterize neocolonial relations long past the post-colonial moment.[132] The struggle for sovereignty over a mixed cultural battlefield in Tanzania was political, economic, and ideological, and took place amidst a contingent historical chronology in which socialism, and its analogue in modernization, was but one theme among many.

[131]Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change* (Princeton, 1996).
[132]Nolutshungu, *Limits*; Reno, *Corruption*.

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