

**A Comparative Study of the Ideologies of Kwame Nkrumah,
Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda**

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DECLARATION

This is to certify that the dissertation
entitled "A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE IDEOLOGIES
OF KWAME NKRUMAH, JULIUS NYERERE AND KENNETH KAUNDA",
submitted by Rajat Kumar Pattnaik in fulfilment of
six credits out of total requirements of twenty-four
credits for the Degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil)
of the University is his original work according to
the best of my knowledge and may be placed before the
examiners for evaluation.



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P R E F A C E

PREFACE

The basic foundation of African ideology, according to the African leaders, is derived from African roots. For continental identity in 1950s, African leaders Leopold Senghor and Kwame Nkrumah started speaking on Negritude and African personality respectively. At the time of independence struggle, the leaders were able to unify the peoples of their countries under a single banner, that is, anti-colonialism. But after the independence the immediate need was to find new doctrines to keep the unity of African peoples. It is here that indirect control of former colonial powers in terms of economic exploitation that focussed attention on Neo-colonialism. Opposition to neo-colonialism became the rallying force to mobilize people of different areas and countries by influencing their consciousness and sentiments. This also provided incentive for developing indigenous ideologies as against the imported ones.

The purpose of the present study is to make "a comparative study of the ideologies of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Julius K.Nyerere of Tanzania and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia". Chapter-I deals with

"Socialism in Africa". As it has been propounded by different African leaders having different socio-political and historical background, it is natural that 'Socialism in Africa' differs from leader to leader. Leaders like Nkrumah and Nyerere were eager socialists whereas President Kaunda considered that 'Humanism' expressed his philosophic concept better than any other word. The general characteristics of 'Socialism in Africa', which can be found in the ideologies of these three leaders and the differences have been discussed in this chapter.

Chapter-II tackles the problem of "Foreign Policy" which is the wheel of modern age international politics. A leader formulates the foreign policy of his country on the basis of the national interest of his country. Julius K.Nyerere has rightly said, "Domestic and foreign policies are interrelated, both are aspects of one overall task." In this context, we have dealt with the problems of non-alignment, regional and global policies of these leaders and their role in different regional, third world and global forums like Organization of African Unity (OAU), Non-aligned Movement (NAM) and United Nations. We have tried to analyse the points in

which they meet and the points in which they differ. We have also seen the different domestic compulsions which have compelled these post-colonial developing states to follow these policies.

Then, Chapter-III carries the views of these statesmen on "African Unity", which came to the minds of African leaders when they were experiencing their first taste of independence and anxious to consolidate their leadership. The differences of the views of Nyerere and Kaunda from that of Nkrumah have been taken in details in this chapter.

The concluding chapter deals with the question whether these African leaders have been able to convert their ideologies into practice and also how far these ideologies are helpful for the people of present-day developing and post-colonial states.

The methodology followed here is both historical and comparative. This dissertation is primarily based on secondary sources but primary sources are also utilised whenever they are available.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CPP	Convention People's Party.
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union.
UNIP	United National Independence Party.
NDC	National Development Corporation
UNO	United Nations Organisation.
IBRD	International Bank of Reconstruction and Development.
USA	United States of America.
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic.
OAU	Organisation of African Unity.
NIEO	New International Economic Order.
NAM	Non-aligned Movement.

Chapter - I

S O C I A L I S M I N A F R I C A

Chapter I

SOCIALISM IN AFRICA

The term "Socialism" since its inception, has been variously interpreted by different persons in different historical juncture. Especially after 1930s, socialism has acquired a complex and multi-dimensional connotation. In this connection C.E.M. Joad has aptly said, "Socialism, in short, is like a hat that has lost its shape because everybody wears it."¹

African socialism is a curious blend of Marxism, traditional African attitudes and contemporary ideas of rapid modernization and social transformation. It serves both as a philosophical as well as a practical guide for most African leaders and is presented by African theorists as that continent's search for political and spiritual identity. The disintegration of the colonial empires and the emergence of numerous independent African states have led African statesmen to seek a path which could ensure the unification of

1 C.E.M.Joad, Introduction to Modern Political Theory (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p.40.

their nations, promote extensive economic development and avoid making Africa another field of battle in the cold war.² It is socialism mainly propounded by the leaders of African countries. In the early sixties it was considered a most prestigious thing to be connected with African socialism. Yet the African leaders who met in Dakar (Senegal) in December 3 to 8, 1962 to discuss "Colloquium on Policies of Development and African Approaches to Socialism" could not come to a precise definition of African Socialism.

It is natural not to have a precise definition of African Socialism as it is an ideology articulated by a number of leaders having diverse socio-political and historical backgrounds. It is also natural in the sense that this ideology is in the process of crystallization -- as it represents a broad set of dimensions to which African will give specific content as they chalk out their problems on a day-to-day basis.³

Not all of African leaders wished to be known as Socialists. Leaders like Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere were

2 A.J.Klinghoffer, Soviet Perspective on African Socialism (Rutherford, Madison ; Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1969), pp.15-16.

3 See W.H.Friedland and C.G.Rosberg, Jr., eds., African Socialism (Stanford, California ; Stanford University Press, 1964), p.2.

eager Socialists whereas Biogny of Ivory Coast, Leon M'Ba of Gabon ignored the concept. Again African Socialism differed from leader to leader, from country to country. Nyerere's Socialism stresses projects that operate mainly at the village level for community development (Ujama), in Nkrumah's Ghana much heavier emphasis was laid on the creation of modern economic institutions in which the state plays a prominent role. In Kenya's case, we see the phenomena of private capitalism surviving with public control in some sectors.

In the early 1960s the main themes of the ideology were related to the quest for continental identity as a reaction to the experience of colonial subjugation. The Dakar colloquium was able to put forth certain general characteristics of African Socialism which was supported and accepted by the majority of African leaders. Some of these general characteristics of African Socialism, which can be found in the cases of Nkrumah, Nyerere and Kaunda, are given below :

Africanness -- A Search for Identity

Africanness is the factor on the basis of which African Socialism differentiates from other ideologies which are non-African or originated from the other

continents. In fact "Africanness" is related to the political assertion of the Africans for an African identity. It is argued that the realities prevailing in Africa are quite different from those of other continents. These realities according to these leaders are attempts for economic decolonisation and the absence of established social classes. Since there is a unique socio-economic and historical condition, there is a need for an African ideology which reflects these conditions. It may be derived from this argument that African Socialism shows distrust towards ideological and political formulae which do not take into account specific African conditions.

The Basis of African Socialism

According to the founders, African Socialism is not based on Marxism-Leninism. Their opinion is that African socialism can no longer be that of Marx and Engels and their followers because their framework was designed in the nineteenth century according to the social thoughts and movements of that period. The

Dakar Colloquium incorporated the metaphysical aspects of Marxism to the realities of African situation as the nationalist leaders understood them.⁴ According to them, African socialism is based on indigenous African social organisations. The elements of traditional African society are communal ownership of land, egalitarianism, extensive network of social obligations and mutual cooperation.⁵

Path of Economic Development

The first task before the African leaders was to increase national wealth for the betterment of the people. But the strategy which they thought to be more suitable to the African conditions and circumstances is the 'non-capitalist path of economic development'. In this framework the roles of planning, public sector, and the accumulation of capital by the state have been

4 T.Hodkin, "Note on the language of African Nationalism", in K.Kirkwood, ed., African Socialism, No.1 (St.Antony Papers, No.10, London : Chatto and Windus, 1961), p.39.

5 n.3, p.5.

emphasized. In other words, African socialism emerged as a negation of the colonial one largely based on private ownership of property and free enterprise and free market system. Africa is committed to integrated economic development by reducing its dependence upon the metropolitan West.

The non-capitalist path of development⁶ highlights the fact that economic modernisation must be without alienation. Alienation occurs when the individual loses his sense of community or when man is sacrificed to the interest of the whole. In spite of the desire for modernization African Socialism does not negate the traditional values and community orientation. It is supposed to provide a middle ground between man-orientation and community orientation.

African Socialism opposes class formations and differentiation. It shows its deep concern against the continuity of the colonial process of class formation, because alienation originates from the colonial situation and from economic stratifications.

6 For details see Julius Nyerere, Freedom and Development (Dar es Salaam : Oxford University Press, 1973), pp.379-90.

Peaceful and Gradual Transition
Towards Socialist Societies

African Socialism aims at peaceful and gradual transition towards socialist societies. The logic behind this approach is that since there is no established class, no class struggle, transition to socialist societies will be peaceful. The corollary of such an inference is that transition towards a socialist society can be achieved without a communist party, because it is the entire people, rather than a particular class or section that is being organized. This is being clearly stated by CPP (Convention People's Party) of Nkrumah, TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) of Nyerere and UNIP (United National Independence Party) of Kaunda.

African socialism opposes colonial education system. Colonial education "is education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and development of underdevelopment".⁷ Within the

7 W. Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzanian Publishing House, 1972), p.264.

framework of African Socialism, education is supposed to be one of the means of achieving equality, political participation and socialist values of cooperation.

'Consciencism' (Kwame Nkrumah), 'Ujamaa' (Julius K.Nyerere) and 'Humanism' (Kenneth Kaunda)

Apart from the above discussed general characteristics of 'Socialism in Africa' which can be found in the ideologies of Kwame Nkrumah, Julius K.Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda, all of them did not wish to be known as socialists. Leaders like Nkrumah and Nyerere were eager Socialists whereas President Kaunda considered that 'Humanism' expressed his philosophic concept better than any other word. Of course, in case of Nyerere 'Ujamaa' (or "familyhood") describes his socialism. Nkrumah used the concept of "the African personality" as the basis of his theoretical substantiation of "African Socialism's" moral ideas.

The most complete and systematic description of Nkrumah's socialism is presented in his 1964 book "Consciencism, Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization and Development with particular reference to the African Revolution". Consciencism, according to Nkrumah,

would "give the theoretical basis for an ideology whose aim shall be to contain the African experience of Islamic and Euro-Christian presence as well as the experience of the traditional African society, and, by gestation, employ them for the harmonious development of that Society".⁸ In other words, an all-embracing ideology which could unify African society and become the guiding force behind social progress would replace the various traditional and frequently conflicting ideologies of the past.

'Ujamaa', a Swahili word, is used in Tanzania as an approximate term of Socialism. Its literal meaning is "familyhood" or "brotherhood". The significance of adopting Ujamaa is that it is an African word and thus it emphasises the 'Africanness' of the policies to be followed.⁹

Although Kaunda's party (UNIP) constitution laid down as its first objective 'To achieve African democratic socialism for Zambia', he chose to give his philosophy

8 Kwame Nkrumah, Consciencism, Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization and Development with Particular Reference to the African Revolution, (London: Nelson, 1965), p.170.

9 Julius Nyerere, Nyerere on Socialism (Dar-es-Salaam : Oxford University Press, 1979), p.28.

the name of 'Humanism' rather than 'Socialism'. It has been suggested that this was because he did not want to appear to be imitating Nyerere or that so many African states professed to be Socialist that the name had lost its meaning. Actually, the President considered that Humanism expressed his philosophic concept better than any other word. Significantly, he had first outlined these Humanistic principles just two months after the publication of Nyerere's Arusha Declaration. Kaunda's explanation of the relation between Humanism and Socialism shows his perception of Socialism which says:

...one cannot be a Humanist without being a socialist. It is virtually impossible. This is so because Socialism is, to a Humanist, the stage of Human development attained just before that of the final one which is Humanism on the other hand, one can be a socialist without being a Humanist.(10)

To Kaunda 'Humanism' is both a philosophy and a way of life. His object is to persuade his fellow-countrymen to accept his philosophical principles so completely that they provide a guide to every aspect of life. The only differences are that Nyerere describes

10 Quoted in John Hatch, Two African Statesmen (London, Secker and Warburg, 1976), p.245.

his ideal society as 'Socialist' whereas Kaunda uses the term 'Humanist', and that Nyerere places more emphasis on the construction of social institutions to encourage people to live in social harmony, whilst Kaunda stresses individual, personal conversion to spiritual principles. Both agree that men can be master of his own environment, which should be used to serve the needs of the total community. Both also agree that in order to transform society from its present materialist obsessions, the role of money in development must be limited, that a lower growth-rate than is potentially possible should be accepted. In this way, they believe, it should be possible to avoid the incentive of wealth from gaining hold over the few to whom its opportunities are offered in the developmental process, rather building prosperity more gradually from the grass roots of society.¹¹

Traditional and 'Communalistic'
African Society

Nkrumah called interpersonal relations in African society 'communalistic', that is, every one is equal and

11 Ibid., p.247.

each has a responsibility towards all. Idealising patriarchal African Society he wrote,

the traditional face of Africa includes an attitude towards man which can only be described in its social manifestation, as being socialist. This arises from the fact that man is regarded in Africa as primarily a spiritual being, a being endowed originally with a certain inward dignity, integrity and value.(12)

Therefore, he concludes that traditional society is classless and, furthermore that 'Marxist type' classes could not arise in such a society. "If one seeks the social-political ancestor of Socialism, one must go to communalism",¹³ wrote Nkrumah.

This view of traditional African society and interpersonal relations as "communalistic" can also be found in Julius Nyerere's thinking. Since the literal meaning of the word 'Ujamaa' is 'familyhood', it brings to the mind of the people the idea of mutual involvement in the family as they know it.¹⁴ Ujamaa (i.e. Socialism)

12 n. 8, p.68.

13 Ibid., p.73.

14 n.9, p.28.

originated in the very nature of African society. It did not grow out of the class struggle. For Nyerere like that of Nkrumah, traditional society should be used as a basis for the present development because it is not only indigenous but also intrinsically good and it can provide material and psychological needs.

Traditional society is basically egalitarian but it was destroyed by European imperialism which introduced social stratification, racialism and economic inequalities. The indigenous ethic of communal responsibility and consensus was replaced by the exploitation of many by the few. Ujamaa's function is to purge all alien ideas created by colonialism inconsistent with the traditional values of egalitarianism.

It does not mean going backwards.¹⁵ On the other hand, it means, building socialism on the foundation of the country's past and building according to its design. By emphasizing on certain features, Nyerere would like to extend these features to enable them to embrace modern technologies and other challenges of the modern period.¹⁶

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

Kaunda's 'Humanism' is supposed to be derived from the traditional African culture like Nkrumah and Nyerere. Nkrumah and Nyerere have seen communal life in the traditional African society whereas for Kaunda traditional African Society is man-centred. In order to preserve the man-centred society, the government must remember that it is people above ideology; man above institutions. Society is there because of man. In order to improve the society for man, Kaunda declares that he and his party (UNIP) are open to the advice from anyone from any part of the world. In short, whatever the party and government undertake to do they have to remember that it is man who is the Centre of all human activity. According to Kaunda, this high valuation of man and respect for human dignity which is a legacy of African tradition should not be lost in the new Africa. His choice is constantly to look for and devise new ways by which to encourage the hastening of material advance while ensuring the principles of traditional man-oriented society are preserved.

It will be seen from the above paragraph that there is one fundamental concept, but that its application

in detail is much less precise than that of Nyerere's Arusha Declaration or Ujamaa. Although the policy details remained vague in Kaunda's statement of his humanist philosophy, we had certain guidelines from which to test the direction which his country had taken since independence. Kaunda had written in the preamble, "...if the distribution of wealth is not done properly, it might lead to the creation of classes in society and much valued humanist approach would have suffered a final blow." In other words, Kaunda's 'Man' included all Zambian citizens. He was concerned to ensure that no division between 'haves' and 'have-nots' developed in Zambian society. The fact that this division did exist, was usually attributed to colonial rule; it was the responsibility of Zambia's leaders to destroy the division and bring society together as one community.¹⁷ In this context, one can see the contradiction in Kaunda's thinking who in one hand tells about man-centred society and on the other hand talks about one community.

Both Nyerere and Kaunda have been influenced

17 n.10, p.215.

by Gandhi's teachings. Kaunda had visited India in 1958 to see the places associated with Gandhi and to study his work. Particularly, one aspect of Gandhi, that is, his emphasis on the value of people's traditional culture, has influenced both men to a great extent, Gandhi had tried to insulate the Indian people against the materialist philosophy of the west and its accompanying technology. Both Nyerere and Kaunda also had realised that they would have to preserve and foster the traditional communal spirit of their people to avoid their societies stratifying into classes and to bridge the gap between their urban elites and rural masses. Moreover, the character of the societies they sought to establish was inimical to the values of the west, although many of their educated people had begun to imitate the ways of their former masters. They found, too, that their people needed an alternative cultural basis if they were to wean them from invitation of the life-styles which had been followed by colonial administrators or by those western communities in which some of the younger generation had been educated.

Views on Man's Attitude

Kwame Nkrumah devoted a great deal of his attention to developing ethical principles for an African Society had chosen socialism as its goal. "The African personality", he wrote, "is itself defined by cluster of humanistic principles which underlie the traditional African society."¹⁸ He saw the moral standard of the African embodied in the man who is dedicated, modest, honest and educated, the man who gives himself completely to the service of his country and humanity. Man's strength lay in his modesty, while his greatness lay in his moral prerity. According to Nkrumah this type of citizen is absolutely essential if a new society is to be built which is possible by returning to traditional moral codes. He write, "The emancipation of the African continent is the emancipation of man. This requires two aims first, the restitution of egalitarianism of human society, and, second, the logistic mobilization of all our resources towards the attainment of that restitution."¹⁹ Nkrumah characterised

18 n.8, p.79.

19 Ibid., p.78.

socialism as a society in which "the study and mastery of nature has a humanist impulse, and is directed not towards a profiteering accomplishment, but the affording of ever increasing satisfaction for the material and spiritual needs of the greatest number."²⁰ "Socialism", he stressed, "assumes the public ownership of the means of production, the land and its resources, and use of those means in fulfilment of the people's needs."²¹

On the other hand, while Kaunda keeps people above ideology and man above institutions, Nyerere talks about the requirement of socialist man in order to achieve a socialist social system. Apart from the material and institutional arrangements, Nyerere declares that socialism is an 'attitude of mind'.²² This attitude of mind is needed to ensure that people think and act for other's welfare. Socialist men are different from other kinds of men who are in the early phase of historical

20 Ibid.

21 Kwame Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite (London : Heinemann, 1963), p.119.

22 Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa : Essays on Socialism (Dar es Salaam : Oxford University Press, 1968), p.7.

evaluation. "A Socialist Society", Nyerere said, "can only be built by those who believe in and who themselves practice the principles of socialism".²³ The importance attributed to the attitude of mind does not mean that institutions and organizations are not required. What Nyerere meant is that without correct attitudes institutions cannot function within the desired direction.²⁴ The socialist structures will arise out of the socialist ideals and attitudes.

The Arusha Declaration shows the faith in man. The Declaration also asserts that "Socialism is a belief", "Socialism is a way of life", and a socialist society can only be built by those who believe in, and who themselves practice the principles of socialism. A committed member of TANU will be a socialist and his fellow socialist, that is, his fellow believers in this political and economic system - are those in Africa or elsewhere in the world who fight for the rights of peasants, and workers. The first duty of a TANU member and especially a TANU leader is to accept these

23 Ibid., p.17.

24 Ibid., p.89.

principles and to live his own life in accordance with them. In particular, a genuine TANU leader will not live off the sweat of another man nor commit any feudalistic or capitalistic actions. Julius Nyerere writes:

The Arusha Declaration is also a commitment to a particular quality of life. It is based on the assumption of human equality, on the belief that it is wrong for one man to dominate or to exploit another, and on the knowledge that every individual hopes to live in society as a free man able to lead a decent life in conditions of peace and with his neighbours. The document is, in other words, man-centred. (25)

Kaunda's classic stages of human development also echoes the same thing : "while a Humanist has, like a communist, one other stage - Humanism - some of our fellow-men could, and indeed do, believe in socialism as an end in itself...to a Humanist, socialism is a way of organising society in such a way as to remove, in the final analysis, all forms of exploitation of man by man. The major instrument applied to achieve this objective is to take away all major means of production

25 Julius Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism (Dar es Salaam : Oxford University Press, 1968), p.316.



and distribution from private hands - unbridled capitalism
- and put them under the control of the state.

This is the first stage of development towards
the creation of a socialist economy. The final stage
comes when the people themselves have, as a matter of
principle and/or belief, begun to control the economy,
thereby creating a state in which wealth is commonly
owned by all the people, on the basis of one doing
unto others as he would have them do unto him. At this
stage the people have wrested economic power from the
capitalist exploiters and they themselves own all the
means of production and distribution. The end of all
this is Humanism".²⁶

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Like Humanism, Ujamaa's approach to social change
is gradualist and non-violent ²⁷ as violence does not
create a congenial atmosphere for the formation of
socialist attitude of mind. Moreover, while violence
can destroy the power groups and old institutions, yet
it is not easy for building the new. Nyerere opposes
the claim of the Marxim-Leninism that 'class war' is



26 quoted in n.10, pp.245-6.

27 n.25, p.24.

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necessary for achieving socialism. In spite of this he does not rule out violence when there is no other alternative "to break power of those who prevent progress towards socialism".²⁸

Religion

Kenneth Kaunda's Humanism has been firmly planted within the religious ethic. He never separates himself from it to look at religion from an objective viewpoint as Julius Nyerere is seen. For Nyerere the purpose of the Church is man - his human dignity, and his right to develop himself in freedom. According to him, all the institutions of a society must be sacrificed, if it is necessary, to the service of man's development. All human institutions, including the church, are established in order to serve man. The institution of the Church should lead the attack on any organisation or any economic, social or political structure which oppresses men and deny to them the right and power to live as the sons of a loving God. The Church has to consistently and actively on the side of the poor and unprivileged in a poor country.

28 Ibid.

It has to lead men towards godliness by joining with them in the attack against injustices and deprivation from which they suffer. Nyerere regards man's freedom as a fundamental value in itself. Thus the Church should assist secular organisations working for its achievement. To him, God is personal, mankind's values are absolute, and it is the responsibility of all God's Churches to help attain them."²⁹

Moreover, since Ujamaa is an extended family (or familyhood), there is no place for tribalism, religious intolerance and racial discrimination. One of the basic principle of Ujamaa is human equality.³⁰ Human equality implied by familyhood encompasses beyond the tribe, the community and the nation.³¹ Under the guidance of Ujamaa based on equality, Tanzania's path is towards the building of a classless society.³²

On the other hand, according to Kaunda political activity is inspired by spiritual values, its main objective is to assist men to reach as close as possible

29 n.10, p.238.

30 n.25, p.30.

31 n.22, p.12.

32 Julius Nyerere, Freedom and Unity (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1967), p.207.

to divine perfection. Philosophical concepts are justified by reference to the spiritual values emanating from God. This is the influence of the concepts of christianity which his parents had taught from his birth.

By contrast, Nyerere's religious outlook is somewhat different. Nyerere was converted intellectually to Christianity by Father's arguments. So, although his political principles have always been entirely consistent with his religious beliefs, they have developed more independently from religion than those of Kaunda. Perhaps because Kaunda was emotionally involved with Christianity from the start of his life that faith has always been central to his political principles and philosophy. He wrote to his children :

"I believe in a Supreme Being whose love is great driving force working itself out in those three worlds which interpenetrate each other at any moment of time, the worlds of Nature, History and Eternity. For me, God is more a Presence than a philosophical concept. I am aware, even in solitude, that I am not alone; that my cries for help or comfort or strength are heard. Above all, my belief in God gives me a feeling of unlimited

responsibility. What a terrifying thing that is! I am guardian rather than owner of such powers and talents as I possess, answerable for my use or abuse of them to the one who has loaned them to me and will one day require a full reckoning. This sense of responsibility seems to be a great burden but at least it frees me from worrying too much about popularity or fame".³³ From the above paragraph, it is clear that Kaunda's God to whom he is responsible, and who has given him the opportunity and duty to serve his people, has become an ecumenical God.

Path of Development

When Kaunda became President he would probably had described himself loosely as a socialist; but his definition of this philosophy would have been confined to a desire for social justice and moral behaviour amongst his people. At the time of independence the problems faced by his country was tougher than that of

33 quoted in n.10, p.236.

Nyerere. If Tanganyika at independence was a mixture of minor capitalism, some plantation feudalism and mass subsistence, Zambia was dominated by the capitalist sector, with its plantations and subsistence playing minor roles. Kaunda had to handle a treble rather than a dual economy. He had a strongly entrenched white community, a claimant African working class and the mass subsistence peasants.³⁴

Kaunda knew that he could not immediately transform the private enterprise, into a Zambian socialism, necessitating a cultural and ethical reformation of his people. At that stage, he was trying to limit the power of the private sector, replace foreigners with Zambians in major parts of that sector to have a better opportunity for himself, his party and government to control it. For it, he had to introduce many of his own people to capitalist practices to reduce foreign capitalist influence. This view can be found in Kaunda's 1968 Mulungushi speech, which says:

Zambia is just now emerging from the stage of a capitalist economy and is moving to a state-controlled one and from there we are determined to move to a socialist or common ownership economy.

34 Ibid., p.242.

How long it takes us to socialise all the means of production depends on the determined efforts that we as a people make to implement meaningfully the conscious decision we have taken to move towards the attainment of a Humanist society. It should be pointed out that as Humanist we know and believe that socialising the economy is only a means to a noble end. It is not an end in itself at all. (35)

Later he expanded this concept of the stage of Zambian development as follows :

Humanists also believe that before the means of production and distribution are placed firmly in the hands of the people, that is, before complete participatory democracy in our economic life is established, the state has a key role to play in the development of the nation. In other words, before man spiritual and moral maturity in so far as his economic responsibilities towards his fellowmen are concerned, State Control through State participation is essential. (36)

From being a passionate nationalist with vague socialist tendencies at the time of independence, Nyerere has grown into a fully fledged socialist.³⁷

35 Ibid., p.244.

36 Ibid., p.245.

37 Ibid., p.239.

He had recognised the need to vest the major productive sectors of the economy in the state, which he considered was the best representative institution of the people. At the same time he never believed that he was constructing a universal or even a pan-African model. He was in opinion that any discussion about the appropriate economic and social organisation must be conducted within each nation-state, and the decision must be made exclusively by the people of that nation. He was engaged in social engineering. He believed in persuading people to create certain institutions and then leaving them to experiment within them.

Soon after independence economic development was the immediate need of Tanzania. The first and most important task was to stop the continuity of the colonial trends, which were the roots of all economic problems. The modern sector is the clear example of capitalist penetration while the traditional sector functions as an adjunct to the modern sector. The low-level of Tanzanian productive forces is further distorted and complicated by its peripheral role in the world economic system.

Colonialism destroyed the pre-colonial self-sufficient economy. On the other hand, the colonial

rulers converted Tanzania to a source of raw materials and a market of the products of their own countries, which gave rise to the persistent problem of poverty. Socialist ideology does not seek for an egalitarian poverty but for an egalitarian prosperity. Since the immediate concern was not distribution, Nyerere gave a call for higher production : "The real problem in Tanzania is not redistribution of wealth and of contribution to national expenses, between the very poor and the poor, between the man who can barely feed himself and the man who can barely cloth himself".³⁸

The main tasks for Nyerere in the post-independence Tanzania was to transform the economic system towards an independent, self-reliant and socialist economy. "The Basis of African Socialism" (1952); "Socialism and Rural Development" (September 1967) and the Arusha Declaration and the Mwongozo of Nyerere are the major documents, which contain the main features of these policies. The policies, mainly to be followed, are nationalisation, resource mobilisation, rural development, development of infrastructure, manpower planning, etc.

38 n.22, p.163.

In this context, Nyerere has said,

It is not part of the job of a Socialist in 1968 to worry about whether or not his actions or proposals are in accordance with what Marx and Lenin wrote and it is a waste of time and energy to expand hours - if not months or years - trying to prove what you have decided is objectively necessary and is really in accord with their teachings. The task of a socialist is to think out for himself if the best way of achieving desired ends under the conditions which exist now. (39)

It was in the early period of independence Tanzania adopted a strategy where the government would mainly take the role in developing infrastructure whereas the private local and foreign enterprises were supposed to take on direct investment for industrial development.⁴⁰ The public (rather the government institutions) were supposed to take subsidiary roles filling the gap left by the private sector. With this purpose the "National Development Corporation" (NDC) was established in 1965.

'The policies on rural development' in the post-colonial Tanzania aim at removing poverty, illiteracy and class exploitation and aim at economic growth and

39 n.25, p.15.

40 O.Nnoli, Self-Reliance and Foreign Policy in Tanzania (New York : NOK Publishers, 1978), p.205.

and justice.⁴¹ These policies have become the meeting point of socialism, democratic participation and self-reliance. As the intention is to check the emergence of privileged elites, Nyerere put forward his "Ujamaa approach" in his "Socialism and Rural Development".⁴²

"Ujamaa approach" replaced "the transformation approach" and "the improvement approach" which had been adopted in the rural areas before the Arusha Declaration. According to the transformation approach, rural development can be achieved through the creation of new village settlements with modern farming systems financed by the state. Rural development is applied by improvement approach relying on mass education, persuasion and exhortation.

In contrast, the objective of Ujamaa approach is to own and farm the land collectively. The emphasis was given to the control of rural development by the rural population. The members of the Ujamaa villages would practise face to face democracy, electing their

41 n.22, pp.106-44.

42 See n.25, pp.337-66.

own village government and working collectively for the welfare of all. The socio-economic objectives of this are -- economies of scale, labour productivity, improving innovativeness, equality, rural welfare and self-reliance.⁴³ The government is supposed to mobilise the internal resources to implement these policies as the foreign aid cannot be relied.

A policy having the combination of force and persuasion was adopted in 1973 to achieve the complete villagization. It seems that in the course of the drive to enrol the entire population in Ujamaa villages, the emphasis shifted in 1974 from formation of villages as socialist institutions to formation of 'development villages' or villages as purely economic institutions.⁴⁴

The new policy put emphasis on production rather than collectivist production. This new policy recognized three types of villages ; traditional villages, development villages and Ujamaa villages. Nyerere found that there

43 See H.Hansel and J. de Vries and P.C.Ndedya, eds., Agricultural Extension in Ujamaa Village Development (Dar-es-Salaam ; Ukulima Wa Kisasa Printers, Ministry of Agriculture, 1976), pp.28-34.

44 See S.S.Mushi, "Community Development in Tanzania", in R.Dore and Z.Mars, eds., Community Development (Croom Helm/London ; UNESCO/Paris, 1981), pp.174-5.

are imbalances between the urban and rural areas and between the regions. Nyerere has put forth it in the Arusha Declaration:

"Although when we talk of exploitation we usually think of capitalists, we should not forget that there are many fish in the sea. They eat each other. The large ones eat the small ones, and small ones eat the smaller ones. There are two possible ways of dividing the people in our country. We can put the capitalists and feudalists on one side and the farmers and workers on the other. But we can also divide the people into urban dwellers on one side and those who live in the rural areas on the other. If we are not careful we might get to the position where the real exploitation in Tanzania is that of the town dwellers exploiting the peasants".

Kaunda faced a same situation in the countryside. He recognised that he must find the means of improving rural living standards if he was to have any chance of creating social justice. Yet, like Nyerere, he wanted to preserve the best of traditional culture because the values he was preaching approximated to those accepted in the villages. He was trying to

persuade all zambians to accept mutual aid and inclusiveness as a way of life. In traditional society mutual aid was a practical necessity for survival. Kaunda had to face the possibility that it might prove impossible to preserve when it became no longer essential. Just as he faced the dilemma of trying to reconcile urban economic growth with his prohibition of capitalism, so he had to discover whether it was possible to improve subsistence communities without introducing the exploitation of man by man. And as the conventional manner of promoting growth in the agricultural sector had been to concentrate on those areas close to the railway line, he had also to discover whether rural development was possible without aggravating the existing regional contrasts in rural living standards.⁴⁵

He realizes that land is the most important thing for production. It is no surprising, therefore, that in Zambia land is regarded as the property of

45 n. 10, p.244.

State. The reason for this state ownership is to prevent absentee land-lordism. Consequently, in the future no persons will be allowed to own land in perpetuity. The State may rent land to various users on behalf of the people.

Industrial and agricultural development form a vital part of the program of action, the objective is to make the agricultural sector as productive and as profitable as the industrial. The party intends to carry out an agrarian revolution by making every village and villager in Zambia productive on the land, as well as in secondary industries based on co-operative effort, especially in respect to agricultural development although members of co-operative societies formed to promote industrial projects would be increased progressively. The party's policy of encouraging private enterprise will also continue within the framework of accepted government policy. The government was outlined clearly the areas of economy activity over which it has complete prerogative and others that could be jointly owned by the State and private individuals. The party also accepts that a rapid and

and wide-spread improvement of living standards of
Zambians depends upon hard work and maximum
utilization of land for agricultural purposes. The
party itself has a vital role to play in order to
foster humanism in Zambia. It is mandatory for all
party leaders, that is, all members of central
committee, ministers, members of the Parliament, and
all officials to declare openly their support for
the principles of Zambian humanism. These leaders
ought to abandon any practices or privileges that
conform to capitalistic principles and adhere to the
principles of Zambian humanism. To make sure that the
leaders play their role properly, President Kaunda
developed a 'leadership code' for them. This code is
really an extension of the principles of humanism. It
emphasises the need for hard work, self-reliance,
and social justice.

In order to make these work, President Kaunda
recognizes the need for an administrative machinery
that not only brings government to the people even in
villages, but that is also manned by men and women
who understand the shortcomings of Zambian social

economic, and political systems and who appreciate the values and needs of Zambia. He also recognises the fact that the system of administration that Zambia inherited from the British Colonial government was more geared to support a foreign capitalist society. To redress this system, the administrative machinery has been decentralized, thereby increasing the opportunity to provincial and district levels to make decisions more relevant to the needs of the people.

Since the bulk of the population is rural⁴⁶ Kaunda has decentralized the administrative machinery from Lusaka to the villages in order to bring the government to the people. His "The Kabwe Declaration"⁴⁷ shows his concern for rural population.

46

Year	Population in the urban area	Population in the rural area
1965	20.1%	79%
1970	25.3%	74.7%

47

Kaunda said in "The Kabwe Declaration", "We have the major task of decentralizing the economy in favour of the rural areas. The height of the overwhelming majority of people in Zambia's rural areas calls for an urgent and positive programme of action. We have an obligation to fight for their cause because it is our cause... we must fight the war against higher poverty, ignorance and disease which plague the majority of families".

During the struggle for Ghana's liberation Nkrumah and the party he headed had not had a well-defined programme for the country's economic and political development. Although the programme adopted by the CPP in 1951 indicated that the party had its goal of building of a socialist state where there would be no place for capitalist exploitation, serious thought had not been given to the methods that would enable it to realise this goal. Nkrumah's repeated slogan says, "seek ye first the political kingdom and all things shall be added unto you".

At the time of independence Ghana had a colonial economy, characterised by extreme backwardness and a one-crop agricultural system. It was dependent on the world capitalist market to solve the metropolitan country's needs. Cocoa represented over 70 per cent of the country's total exports. In this context Nkrumah said, "It was when they had gone and we were faced with the stark realities, as in Ghana on the morrow of our independence, that the destitution of the land after long years of colonial rule was brought sharply home to us. There were slums and squalor in our towns, superstitions and ancient rites in our

villages. All over the country, great tracts of open land lay untilled and uninhabited, while nutritional diseases were rife among our people. Our roads were meagre, our railways short. There was much ignorance and few skills. Over eighty percent of our people were illiterate, and our existing schools were fed on imperialist pap, completely unrelated to our background and our needs. Trade and commerce were controlled, directed and run almost entirely by Europeans."⁴⁸ That was the condition when Nkrumah and other leaders of Ghana decided to determine the path of development and work out a programme of socio-economic reform and its theoretical foundation.

At that time Nkrumah thought that Africa did not need to choose between two political economic systems, that is, capitalism and socialism. On the other hand, it had to search for a system of its own which would make use of "the best that capitalism and socialism had to offer". It would be based on traditional communal institutions on the cooperation and egalitarian principles

48 n. 21, p. xiii.

of distribution which had once characterised them. It was thought that the material-technical base and social structures of this type of socialism could be created through "economic democracy". They saw socialism not as a goal, but rather as a means of transforming society and conceived of the path to socialism as the implementation of reforms which would not affect the roots of society. Nkrumah wrote,

These aims embrace the creation of a welfare state based upon African socialist principles, adapted to suit Ghanaian conditions, in which all citizens, regardless of class, tribe, colour or creed, shall have equal opportunity..... (49)

Until 1961 Ghana's economic policies were based on the principles laid down by Arthur Lewis,⁵⁰ Nkrumah's economic advisor. In essence they were that the government should not participate directly in production. Instead, it should limit itself to assisting private capital in whose hands the productive sphere of the economy should be. Foreign capital was to serve as the main instrument of economic development as the Ghanaian private

49 Kwame Nkrumah, I speak of Freedom, (London: Heinemann, 1961), p.163.

50 A Liberal British professor of Economics and native of the West Indies.

sector was weak. Despite the substantial benefits and guarantees given by foreign investors, the influx of capital to Ghanaian industry was insignificant. "Economic liberalism" policy did not make a high rate of economic growth. On the other hand, it led to an enormous foreign trade deficit and a sharp decrease in foreign currency reserves.

At the beginning of the 1960s Nkrumah came to the conclusion from the experience he had gained while governing the newly independent state and the loss of illusions he had suffered concerning the "good intentions" of the imperialist countries that reformist development concepts were inoperable. He declared, "If....we are to fulfil our pedge to the people and achieve the programme set out above, socialism is our only programme set out above, socialism is our only alternative".⁵¹ The year 1961 became a turning point in the country's history when a choice in favour of the socialist orientation was made.

51 n. 21, p.119.

Chapter - II

FOREIGN POLICY

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Non-alignment

Non-alignment is a policy of keeping out of alliances in general and military pacts in particular. The term is very close to neutralism, since the basic object of the two is 'non-involvement in cold war' in particular, and in actual war in general. It also aims at keeping away but it keeps away not from a particular conflict or issue but from a continuing international situation - the cold war. Since the military alliances constitute an important feature of cold war, non-alignment naturally insists on keeping away from these alliances.

The policy of "Non-alignment" pleased Nkrumah but in a different perspective. His understanding of non-alignment had broadly two faces: (i) As an aid to further the cause of African unity and (ii) having non-aligned countries acting as a 'third force'. The idea of a third bloc could very well be seen in his proposals in the Belgrade Conference (1961), where he proposed for three Deputy Secretary - Generals at UN representing the East, the West and the non-aligned.

According to Nkrumah for the developing countries an effective means of opposing imperialist neocolonialist policies is the policy of neutralism and non-alignment. However, not all of the African countries which have declared their support for these principles see them as anti-imperialist principles. Some leaders believe that, being non-aligned, their countries no longer need to get involved in such important international issues as disarmament, the struggle for peace or the condemnation of imperialist and colonial wars. They regard non-alignment as the preservation of their "neutrality" in all that does not directly affect their countries. Kwame Nkrumah called this type of neutralism "negative neutralism". It was, he added, "completely impotent and even dangerous".¹ On the other hand, according to Nkrumah, Africa should play the role of a "third force" in international relations. He was of the opinion that Ghana should follow a middle course maintaining the balance between East and West. "I really believe in a Third Force,"² he said. Africa, with its inherent

1 Kwame Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite (London: Heinemann, 1963), p.200.

2 Kwame Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom (London: Heinemann, 1963), p.36.

belief in fairness and equality, should play the role of mediator in the East-West conflict. "We may not have arms, but there is something like moral force", said Nkrumah, who thought that it would make "a distinctive African contribution to international discussions and the achievement of world peace".³

In order to resist imperialism Nkrumah thought that the African countries should adhere to the policy of positive neutralism. "Our slogan is 'positive Neutrality'. This is our contribution to international peace and world progress",⁴ he wrote. To Nkrumah's mind this type of neutralism presupposed not an amorphous pacifism but an active struggle against imperialism and colonialism together with practical action in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

Non-alignment was useful to Nkrumah on two counts: (1) as a prop to assert Ghana's independence of the West and (2) as an aid to further the cause of African

3 quoted in W. Scott Thomson, Ghana's Foreign Policy, 1957-1966 (New York: Princeton University Press), p.35.

4 n.2, p.219.

unity. He used the non-alignment forum to speak out on major African and world issues. At the Belgrade Conference (1961) Nkrumah spelled out a set of proposals which appeared to favour the Soviet vis-a-vis the American stand.

These proposals were (1) General and complete disarmament; (2) recognition of two Germanys; (3) a peace treaty with Germany; (4) complete liquidation of colonialism by 31 December 1962; (5) three Deputy Secretary-Generals of the UN representing East, West and the non-aligned; (6) Ghana's admission to UN, and (7) Africa will be declared a nuclear-free zone. His reference to Germany greatly infuriated the West, just as, conversely, boosted his image in the socialist countries.⁵ Moreover, the non-aligned movement became supplementary to his primary programme for African unity. As he stated, "The unity of Africa and the strength it would gather for continental integration supported by a united policy of the non-aligned, could have the most powerful effect for world peace."⁶

5 Andrudha Gupta and A.S. Shahid, "Ghana's Non-alignment under Kwame Nkrumah", International Studies, vol. 20, nos. 1-2, January-June 1981, p. 406.

6 n. 1, pp. 199-200.

The views of Nyerere and Kaunda on non-alignment are completely different from those of Nkrumah. Even before Tanzania adopted socialism and self-reliance, non-alignment policy was adopted.⁷ The non-alignment policy provided an important way to assist national independence and extend relations with countries in both the blocs in the interest of Tanzania. Tanzania needed economic help from the foreign countries in order to take up developmental projects and she could not remain dependent on Britain for that would affect Tanzania's political independence and decrease her bargaining power.

The major foreign policy achievements before the Arusha Declaration, within the framework of non-alignment was that Tanzania avoided ideological and military alliances with the super-powers. The ideology of Ujamaa was different from the western capitalist ideology for this has individualistic and exploitative factors. In the same way he also said that Ujamaa was different from the communist ideology. Nyerere thought African situation is different from what Marx and Lenin perceived. According

7 For details see S.S.Mushi and K.Mathews, ed., Foreign Policy of Tanzania, 1961-1981 (Dar es Salaam ; Tanzania Publishing House, 1981).

to him it is not necessary to follow what Marx and Lenin have said in order to become a socialist. Nyerere put forward the criteria for seeking and accepting aid through the broad framework of Arusha Declaration and identified the areas of exploitation through class formation and neo-colonial connections.

Kaunda, whose view is same as that of Nyerere, is in the view that Africa, as 'the Uncommitted Continent, is the arena of a silent, unseen struggle'.⁸ It is a fact that both the great power blocs would count it a rich prize to be able to recruit Africa to their side. But he is quite adamant in saying that 'Africa's destiny is to remain non-aligned'.⁹ This non-alignment, as Nkrumah has pointed out, is not neutrality. One should never intend to do any fence-sitting act in world affairs. On the other hand, Africans should reserve the right to examine all international problems in the light of their continent's interest and decide their policy without ideological commitment. According to Kaunda the role

8 Kenneth Kaunda, A Humanist in Africa (London: Longmans, 1966), p.117.

9 Ibid.

of Africans in world affairs is not to remain aloof from the basic human issues which have led to the creation of two power blocs, but to exercise their influence with both sides in order to cement understanding between them and testify to the universal desire for peace and fruitful co-existence. For him the infiltration of foreign ideologies such as Marxist communism and capitalism are threats to non-alignment in general and African unity in particular.

The contrast between Nyerere and Nkrumah can be illustrated by comparing the circumstances leading to Ghana-Guinea union, on the one hand, and the merger of Zanzibar with mainland Tanganyika for the formation of the United Republic of Tanzania (1964), on the other hand. The union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar was an instance of political pragmatism, whereas symbolically the Ghana - Guinea union demonstrated Nkrumah's idealism as primacy of ideology over nationalist susceptibilities.¹⁰ Geographically Ghana and Guinea were not even next-door neighbours and Ghana had to pay a sum of

10 See Anirudha Gupta, Politics in Africa, Personalities, Issues and Ideologies (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt.Ltd., 1988), p.30.

£ 10 million to overcome Guinea's economic difficulties in the wake of French withdrawal. On the other hand, Zanzibar's strategic proximity and the revolution of 1964, which posed grave security threats to mainland Tanganyika, forced Nyerere to call for a union, instead of living with a difficult and independent neighbour. This also gave him an opportunity to cultivate China, which had embarked on a policy of phenomenally expanding its role in Africa.

It would thus be seen that inspite of his genuine commitment to Africa, Nyerere gave primary importance to the national interests of Tanzania. This led at times to conflict in Tanzania's national and transnational commitments, but such conflict did not undermine Tanzania's capacity and willingness to back the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. In contrast, Nkrumah needed the whole continent as a stage to determine the role of Ghana in Pan-African affairs.¹¹

It was Ghana's Pan-Africanist posture that brought it into clash with French colonialism. The point was well made in the protest note Ghana sent to

11 Ibid.

France which says: "Motivated as we are, by the spirit of humanity...we feel it our duty to speak not only for the people of Ghana, but also for all the African peoples."¹² (3 July, 1959). Nkrumah condemned French nuclear test in the Sahara (1959), thus severing diplomatic relations with France and freezing French assets in Ghana.

Another clash involved the Belgians during the Congolese crisis of 1960-63. From that time onward Nkrumah spent more time in enunciating his concept of neo-colonialism when Belgian interference threatened the integrity of post-colonial state. Nkrumah described, "there is a real danger that the colonial powers will grant nominal type of political independence to individual small units so as to ensure that the same colonial type of economic organization continues long after independence has been achieved"¹³ (8 August 1960).

According to Nkrumah, neo-colonialism had two poles - one represented by the metropolitan powers which

12 quoted in n.5, p.404.

13 Ibid.

kept their invisible hold on the former colonies, and the other represented by the new states of Africa. In essence, these states were independent only in name. At a later stage, his argument ran as follows : those who opposed political integration of Africa was "neo-colonialist", and since they were already "neo-colonialist", they could not but contribute to the further fragmentation of Africa!¹⁴

Soon after independence, Nkrumah offered larger incentives to the foreign investors; urged the US to aid Ghana's economic development, and took a pro-British stance in commonwealth affairs (including South Africa's membership in the organization). Ghana also joined the IBRD expecting US help to finance the Volta River project. Even Nkrumah delayed in establishing diplomatic relations with the USSR and China to please the USA. During his American tour of 1958, he even asserted that Ghana would not go communist for "our institutions and the like which we have do not allow the (communist) ideology to have any fruitful set-up in our country."¹⁵ At this stage Nkrumah stressed

14 n.10, p.35.

15 quoted in n.5, p.404.

only three components of his foreign policy, that is, (a) Ghana's commonwealth ties; (b) commitment to UN charter, and (c) dedication to Africa's complete independence.¹⁶

The unequivocal opposition to the French and Belgian pattern of neo-colonialism, equally forceful stand in favour of African unity brought a radical change in Ghana's outlook towards the West. Apart from it, both the official and non-official agencies in the West played a great role to push Nkrumah into the lap of Soviet. His mild speech on colonial issues in the UN, which was far from communist line, but a vociferous enunciation of African, Ghanaian and his own interests, was interpreted by Christian Harter, US Secretary of State, as showing that Nkrumah was "very definitely moving towards the Soviet Bloc."¹⁷ He was dubbed a communist even as he pleaded for cooperation with the West.

Nkrumah's attempt to act as a model statesman of model ex-colony failed to impress west. His appeal

16 Ibid.

17 n.3, p.166.

for greater flow of capital from the West fetched a poor response. The US Government deliberately postponed decision on financing the Volta Project. The British, exploited Nkrumah's domestic difficulties purely with a view to embarrassing him. Besides, the diversification of Ghana trade became essential to reduce its dependence on British markets. Thus, more as a reaction than from conviction, Nkrumah turned to the East to establish closer diplomatic and economic relations. In late 1961 Ghana signed its first trade treaty with the USSR. In the same year Nkrumah visited the Soviet bloc of nations and China.¹⁸

Continental Policy

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was formed when in May 1963 representatives of thirty-one of the continent's states signed the Charter of it in Addis Ababa. It was a compromise reflecting on the one hand, the point of view of the revolutionary-democratic forces which tackled the problem of African unity in a radical

18 Ibid., pp.173-4.

way and, on the other, the opinion of a large group of countries which took a 'moderate' stand. Instead of giving up the idea of a United States of Africa after it, Nkrumah was in the opinion that the establishment of the OAU was an important step forward in that direction. In the 1964 Cairo heads of the OAU member states Conference, he proposed to create a 'Joint African High Command',¹⁹ which was not accepted by the majority. Again in 1965 OAU meeting of Accra Nkrumah tried for the last time to convince to adopt his proposal on uniting the African countries while maintaining the sovereignty of each. Although again it was not accepted by the majority, still Nkrumah personally did the organisation a great service by ensuring that it was founded on the principles of anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism and positive neutralism.

Whereas Nkrumah is considered as one of the founder of the OAU, still the contribution of Nyerere and Kaunda in its development is quite significant. Both these leaders are trying to broaden intra-African

19 See Kwame Nkrumah, Revolutionary Path (Panaf Books Ltd., 1973), p.296.

economic, political and cultural ties under the auspices of the OAU. On many international matters the two presidents have worked in harness in different international and regional organisations like the United Nations, the Commonwealth Conferences and the OAU.

One of such incident, which had created a threat to African unity, was the recognition of Biafra by Nyerere and Kaunda. Both felt that the Ibo could not be forced back into the federation, yet both also abhorred secession which they realised could lead to Balkanisation of their continent. It was fortunate for the continent's future that General Gowon had a sympathetic, understanding character. Otherwise, it would have given rise to estrangement between Africa's giant Nigeria and the two most progressive regimes in the continent, Tanzania and Zambia.²⁰

Both the leaders were unhappy with the overthrow of Obote by Amin in Uganda, Ben Bella in Algeria and Nkrumah in Ghana as they had known that military coups

20 John Hatch, Two African Statesmen (London : Secker and Warburg, 1976), p.258.

replaced people's participation in government by the power of guns. Yet they knew that they had to face reality and learn to cooperate with military regimes if any form of African united action was to be preserved.²¹

Apart from it, Obote of Uganda was a member of the 'Mulungushi Club' like that of Nyerere and Kaunda. These presidents met from time to time at Mulungushi in Zambia to discuss and coordinate their policies. There a set of lodges was built for their occupation. Obote, Nyerere and Kaunda had much in common and they were usually taking the same line at international conferences. They were doing so at the commonwealth conference in Singapore on the issue of supplying South Africa with arms immediately before the coup took place. So losing Obote was the loss of a friend for Kaunda and Nyerere. Moreover, Amin began to decimate those communities from which his main rivals were drawn. He threatened to expel even the Asians who had taken Ugandan citizenship. Both presidents described Amin as 'a racialist'.²²

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid., p.259.

Moreover, the Uganda-Tanzania war of 1978-79, the eventual fall of Idi Amin in Uganda, the ambiguous stand of the OAU and particularly, the role of Nyerere throughout not only put forward Nyerere's foreign policy but also it brought a question mark in the minds of the OAU members. Tanzania's involvement in the internal overthrow of Amin in Uganda, put OAU in the picture. From a strict legalistic point Tanzania's complicity in the Ugandan affair was a violation of Article 3 of the OAU charter, which vowed not to interfere into the domestic affairs and the over-all sovereignty of an independent state. This was, however, the biggest anomaly in the Charter, under whose camouflage even a government which suppressed its people in the most brutal ways in order to crush any popular discontent, could survive full-fledged, because under the article of the OAU charter, one didn't have the right to question what was going on in the domestic front of a country. This was questioned for the first time by Nyerere who declared:

The OAU Charter spoke for the African peoples still under colonial or racial domination, but once the countries emerged to nationhood, the Charter stood

for the protection of their Heads of state... There was something seriously wrong with the OAU charter because it served as a trade union for the Heads of State and automatically protected them. (He added) that it would not matter what a Head of State did; he could kill as many people in his country as he liked and would be protected by the Charter. (23)

This situation is just like the situation of Bangladesh liberation war of 1971, in which India helped East Pakistanis in their liberation war against the repression of West Pakistan.²⁴

Civil liberties in Africa can be restored if the following conditions are met; " 1.Unity among various forces opposed to a repressive, despotic rule; 2.Aid including military, from outside sources which are committed to the goals of civil liberties at home and abroad. 3. No third party, African or non-African, intervenes in the struggle."²⁵

Keeping these in mind Tanzania's active role in the fall of Amin was necessary, whereas, at the same

23 African Diary (New Delhi), 5-11 March 1979;p.9414.

24 See Anirudha Gupta, "Amin's Fall :would There Be other Domino?", Africa Quarterly, vol.XIX, no.1, April-June 1979.

25 Ibid., p.9.

time these conditions bring forward OAU's negative role in perpetuating the status-quo in African politics. Despite, OAU's principle of non-interference it 'provides enough room for African governments to call in foreign military help for their own preservation'.²⁶

In 1978 crisis, thus manifested the shortcomings of the OAU. It was long back in early 1960s, Nkrumah questioned OAU's validity in terms of "the struggle against colonial racial domination to be extended to cover those African governments which are neo-colonial and follow anti-people policies at home?"²⁷ OAU has certainly failed in this pursuit as maintenance of status-quo in Africa has also led to the survival and legitimacy to several dictatorial regimes.

The very fact that the OAU does not have a joint military force "to guard their own security against outsiders" (the Francophone countries rejected any such proposal at the Paris meeting in 1978), makes it more vulnerable in terms of a more authoritative voice of the

26 Ibid., p.10.

27 Ibid., p.9.

Africans. Thus OAU's role shrinks in world politics and it manifests itself only on the joint foreign policy front and acting as a concerted voice at various international forums, thereby giving Africa a bit of more weight in international politics. But whether it could make sure that African governments did not deceive "the rightful aspirations of the people and remain in power",²⁸ stands as a question? And the answer is 'no' -- it could n't help Africa in this pursuit and neo-colonialism has stayed on in the garb of 'client states, independent in name'.²⁹

Southern African Policy

The contribution of both Nyerere and Kaunda in the efforts to liberate the Southern African states under colonial and racial regimes are well-known. They provided material and moral support to the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia. They understand that they cannot fully independent while neighbouring states remained under colonial rule.

28 Kwame Nkrumah, Address to the Nationalist Conference, 4 June 1962 (Accra, 1962), p.9.

29 Ibid., p.9.

Therefore, they opposed racialism, colonialism and minority rule in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, South Africa and Namibia.

They adopted diplomatic pressure to isolate the racist and colonialist regimes. They mobilised world public opinion in various forums, that is, UNO, OAU, Non-alignment meetings, etc. Later on, Tanzania has provided, apart from diplomatic assistance, training facilities, and military bases for FRELIMO and the freedom fighters in zimbabwe. Nyerere was able to provide open assistance whereas Kaunda had to be more circumspect. Because there was always the danger that the military might of South Africa could be used to invade his country or to bomb it. The excuse of such aggression would be that South African forces were pursuing guerrillas over the border to their camps in Zambia. South African ministers frequently made this threat in public. So Kaunda could not be as overt in his support of the freedom fighters as Nyerere, but he gave them constant assistance.³⁰

Both Nyerere and Kaunda recognised that if they could achieve their aims with a minimum of bloodshed,

30 n.20, p.255.

their own people as well as those in the South would be spared incalculable agonies.³¹ In the Lusaka Manifesto issued in 1969 they posed that a change towards full democracy in Southern Africa was inevitable. It could come either from peaceful reform or from violent attacks on the minority white regimes.³² Both of them would assist in peaceful change if sincere efforts were made to use this method. Otherwise, they would help those who fought for the freedom of their countries.

In case of Tanzania, its regional diplomacy was shifted to the Southern Africa in the 1970s. This was due to its involvement to the Southern African liberation and the failure of 'the East African Economic Community' and the emergence of the Idi Amin in Uganda.

To Nyerere any realistic hope for economic cooperation in the Third World, or in Africa, must be based on cooperation between neighbours. Tanzania's desire to build economic cooperation within East Africa is just the same as it was before the break-up of 'the

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

East African community'. The three countries, Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, are bound together by geography and history. So according to him it is impossible to talk about African cooperation without talking about cooperation in East Africa. In this context, Nyerere says, "East African co-operation is alive; its problems are those of action, achievement and advance."³³

The Chinese handed over the completed Uhuru railway in 1976 which was a step forward in East African cooperation. It is now the responsibility of Tanzanians and Zambians to ensure that it is used to the best effect. For TAZARA is not only important to Zambia's transit trade; it also provides a basis for trade expansion between Tanzania and Zambia. And that railway allows the development of industry and modern agriculture in areas of Tanzania which were previously cut off from meaningful economic links with other parts of the country.³⁴

Tanzania has expanded her trade with Mozambique after the establishment of a 'Joint Ministerial Commission'.³⁵

33 Julius Nyerere, Freedom and Development (Dar es Salaam : Oxford University Press, 1973), p.242.

34 See Address by President Julius Nyerere to the National Assembly, A Time of Struggle (Dar -es-Salaam, 22nd July 1980), p.8.

35 Ibid.

This trade will continue to grow as other plans for economic cooperation are completed, and also when the Unity Bridge between these two countries is built.³⁶

Apart from all these, 'The Kagera River Basin Organisation',³⁷ was formally established in 1977, which consists of Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania and later on Uganda. The establishment of this organisation is an indication of the importance which these four countries attach to joint activities and to general economic cooperation. For this will be a multi-million dollar scheme, and can eventually provide power, irrigation, improved communications and other economic infrastructure for large areas of Burundi and Rwanda as well as some economically backward parts of Tanzania and Uganda. Tanzania plays a major role in taking decisions about the kind of Dams which will be built on the Kagera River.

In relation to all these bilateral economic cooperation arrangements, Nyerere has said,

it is necessary always to remember that all the participants are poor countries, with tremendous economic difficulties and the constant need to redetermine priorities

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid., p.9.

because of changed external circumstances. Results cannot be expected quickly. What matters is that plans and progress should be made, and in particular that once having entered into a commitment to an African partner none of us should renege on it. A commitment to any of our neighbours must be taken as seriously as -- or even more seriously than -- a commitment to the World Bank, to a Super Power, or any other industrialised nation. Resolutions about inter-African cooperation arrangements are worse than useless by themselves. They may be positively harmful, because they can lead to a waste of resources, or to the creation of expectations which are then disappointed. Good faith and actions are much more important than useless resolutions. (38)

The two presidents Nyerere and Kaunda have worked most closely together on the international stage. Their objectives are identical, so that they always complement each other.³⁹ They both firmly believe in democratic rights which give each individual an equal share in choosing those who will represent him in the shaping of his society. Both of them have stood for non-racialism, to release Africa from her thrall to external economic forces and also to release of the individual in society from the constraints of natural tyrannies, hunger, poverty, disease, illiteracy.

38 Ibid., p.10.

39 See n.20, p.254.

Chapter - III

A F R I C A N U N I T Y

Chapter III

AFRICAN UNITY

The concept of nations and independent countries came to be thought of only after countries in Asia, notably India and Pakistan got independence. Before that Pan-African Congresses made very modest demands. In many African countries the time tables for independence were set for sometime in the nineteen seventies and eighties. But later, they were preponed drastically. As independence was drawing near, the concepts of unity advocated so vehemently and rhetorically from the Pan-African platforms, were going through a change.

The idea of conflict between states-to-be in Africa was not entirely novel to the leaders of Pan-Africanism. Almost all the leaders were educated in Britain, France or the United States. In the inter-war years they could not but have been aware of the intense interstate rivalry and conflict. The leaders of yesterday were destined to be Presidents and Prime Ministers of their countries. Already notions of their national interest were forming in their minds. The colonial legacy of ethnic tribal divisions and

undemarcated borders, weak dependent economies, absence of democratic institutions and above all balkanization were harsh realities. Unity, no longer, was the all pervasive word used to be, faced with reality the countries began to give their own interpretation of it. Compounding the problem was the personal and ideological rivalries between the leaders, the cold war environment and armed flare-ups in the continent. But concerned, first with the attempt to ameliorate the conditions of black people everywhere, then with demand for self-autonomy and lastly, with independence for colonies, the ideas of inter-state conflicts, got a back seat in the scheme of things of Pan-African leaders.

The year 1958 in history of Pan-Africanism is the year when Pan-African Movement was formally launched on African soil, when it emerged from idealism to practical politics. The meeting of states and governments for achieving African unity which started this year, soon started demonstrating intra-continental disagreement based on ideology, interest and leadership which was at times accelerated and accentuated by affiliation and influence of extra-

continental powers. Summing up the Pan-Africanist programme at that time Colin Legum¹ lists as the concept of 'United States of Africa' — the idea of a wholly unified continent through a series of inter-linking federations within which there would be a limitation on national sovereignty.

The idea of African unity, which arose from the Pan-African movement, was the basis of many of the concepts of national liberation. At first some of the adherents of this idea thought that unity of action in the struggle against the common enemy — colonialism — would inevitably lead to the destruction of the colonial borders so alien to the Africans, and to the creation of a single African state. Kwame Nkrumah was one of the most active and consistent champions of the idea of an anti-imperialist union of Africa's people and states.

Nkrumah's vision of Pan-Africanism and the continental unity came from his involvement with African Negro and Pan-African movement of United States and Britain. He did not have any blue print for Ghana,

1 Colin Legum's article in East Africa Journal, April 1965, pp. 38-39.

after he returned from exile apart from his passion to prove his organizing abilities and at times his impatience to put all end to the colonial stewardship of Britain. As David E. Apter remarked:

Nkrumah came to treat Pan-Africanism and the African revolution as the key issue, with Ghana residual to that object. Nkrumah had no real blue print for Ghana after independence; his was rather the art of the grant design - a fatal weakness.(2)

Nkrumah is best known as the author and advocate of the idea of forming a single African state that would embrace the entire continent. He saw the realisation of this idea as the key to accomplishing all the tasks which face the African revolution -- the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, the liquidation of economic and cultural backwardness, the overcoming of tribalism. Moreover, he thought of this union not as a distant prospect but as an immediate goal, the order of the day. In "Africa Must Unite" Nkrumah wrote that

the continental union of Africa is an inescapable desideratum. Here is a challenge which destiny has thrown out to the leaders of Africa. It is for us

2 David E. Apter, "Nkrumah, Charisma, and the Coup", in D.A. Rustow, ed, Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership (New York, 1970), p.37.

to grasp what is golden opportunity to prove that the genius of African people can surmount the separatist tendencies in sovereign nationhood by coming together speedily, for the sake of Africa's greater glory and infinite well-being, into a Union of African States.(3)

According to Nkrumah the Africans form a single national community and that the elimination of the artificial colonial boundaries would lead to creation of a single African state.

To Nkrumah African unity was not just an end in itself. He saw African unity as the most effective weapon for attaining three principal objectives;

- (1) Total liberation of Africa from colonial rule;
- (2) fighting neo-colonialism in the independent African states;
- (3) Creating world conditions favourable to African prosperity and independence and the happiness of mankind.

3 Kwame Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite (London, 1963), pp.221-22.

The content of his concept of African unity could be broadly divided into three -- (a) overall economic planning, (b) unified military and defence strategy, and (c) single foreign policy and diplomacy. In the 1958 Accra Conference it was accepted that joint action will be taken by independent African states for the liberation of all African territories still under colonial rule and also against social discrimination and apartheid.

The ironical part of Nkrumah's personality was the greater influence of his ideology on him. And this influence led him to think less on Ghana and more on the African continent. His vision of an African unity did not come out of his "philosophy's mumbo-jumbo", but out of his understanding of a newer phenomenon, called neo-colonialism. He knew it very well that newly independent small states, with no prior economic diversification, no military strength, prevailing tribalism and the eventual fear-psychosis, would depend more and more on their ex-colonial power, who would in turn exploit them more than before in the grab of international altruism. And according to his perception Africa was the best arena for this new exploitation. So he had proposed a continental unity

was so firmly embedded, that he found Ghana's independence 'transitional' and 'meaningless' In this context, he says,

Independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent.(4)

He was ready to shed a part of his country's sovereignty for this cause. According to him, the constitution of people's power must make provision for the surrender of some of the nation's sovereignty "to the total sovereignty of Africa if this should ever be required."⁵

This idea of Nkrumah did not find support among the majority of African countries. Some national leaders -- Nasser, Modibo Keita and M. Kilton Obote thought this step premature while others -- Felix Houphouet - Boigny, Habib Bourguiba and Leopold Senghor - were opposed on principle but claimed that they did not support the idea because such a union would be difficult to create. Some politicians thought that Nkrumah had just one goal in mind - to establish Ghana's hegemony in Africa and satisfy his personal

4 Stephen Dzirasa, Political Thought of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (Accra, n.d.), p.114.

5 n.3, p.85.

ambitions. Still Nkrumah maintained that the masses "spontaneously understand and uphold the need for African union".⁶

Nkrumah took steps to convert his theory of African unification into practice. On May 1, 1959 during a visit by Nkrumah to Conakry it was announced that Ghana and Guinea had formed the union of African states. The document which set forth the basic principles of this union specified that the two countries would coordinate their foreign policies while retaining the main attributes of their sovereignty. The citizens of the two countries had, in addition to citizenship in their respective countries, citizenship in the union. It was agreed that economic policy would be closely coordinated and a common bank of issue would be established. Guinea found itself in a difficult position after refusing to join De Gaulle's Franco-African community. The greater influence of ideology of Nkrumah led him to give Guinea an impressive loan to free it from the neo-colonial holds of France though Ghana itself was in desperate need of foreign currency at that time.

6 Ibid, p.193.

This shows the sincerity of Nkrumah when he repeatedly declared that he would devote all of Ghana's resources to the cause of achieving African unity.⁷

In early August 1960 during a brief visit to Accra Premier Patrice Lumumba signed an agreement with Nkrumah under which the newly formed state, the Republic of the Congo, became the third member of Union of African states. Plans called for the creation of a federal government, an integrated foreign policy and coordinated action in the fields of economic planning and defence.⁸ It was also proposed that Leopoldville would be the capital of the Union. But when in September of the same year Lumumba was removed from office and later murdered, the plan could not be realised.

The joining of the Republic of Mali in the Union of African states and the adoption of the Union charter on July 1, 1961 stipulated that concerted action should be taken in the fields of diplomacy, economics, culture and science. The guiding principles of the Union of African states were proclaimed to be

7 Yuri Smertin, Kwame Nkrumah (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1987), p.164.

8 Ibid, p.165.

the destruction of colonialism in any shape or form, and the strengthening and development of ties of friendship and cooperation among the countries of Africa. Although Ghana, Guinea and Mali did not have common borders and there were differences of opinion on several questions, still they played a positive role in the cause of bringing Africa together by influencing the formation of future Pan-African organisations and the consolidation of Africa's progressive forces.⁹

In 1960s two attitudes to Pan-Africanism emerged -- (1) federalist approach of Nigeria, (2) the unitarian ideas of Nkrumah. Later those who supported the unitarian ideas, organised the Casablanca bloc. The Casablanca Group brought together Ghana, Guinea, Mali, the United Arab Republic and a few other states. At the same time twelve African states - former French colonies - formed the Brazzaville Group which was later renamed as the Monrovia Group after being joined by several English-speaking countries and North African states.

9 Ibid.

Particularly on the question of political union of the continent there was difference between the two blocs. The Casablanca charter goes only so far as to 'affirm our will to intensify our efforts for the creation of an effective form of cooperation among the African states in the economic, social and cultural domains.' Though it provides for the establishment of four joint committees — political, economic, cultural and a military command, still they were only for consultative purpose with no power of any kind. Hence, one has to agree with Woronoff's view which says that the Casablanca machinery, although more intricate than any organisation before it was a far cry from the political union demanded by President Nkrumah.¹⁰ On the other hand, the Brazzaville conference talked on 'concerted regional action and enlargement of inter African solidarity'. The Brazzaville powers were only making clear but it is the Casablanca conference which fell short of endorsing Nkrumah's "political union" concept.

10 For details see J. Woronoff, Organizing African Unity. (New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1970).

The Monrovia Conference was the largest attended conference of its kind where for the first time the whole of French speaking states joined with a majority of English speaking states. Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Sudan and UAR did not come for the Conference which started on May 8, 1961.¹¹ Though this Conference was not attended by all the independent African countries, but it followed the old custom of invitation being sent to all. Guinea and Mali withdrew at the last minute due to the pressure of Ghana.

In this Conference, the major resolution 'on the Means of Promoting better understanding and cooperation toward achieving unity in Africa and Malagasy' emphasised the equality, sovereignty, inalienable right to existence and development of African states. Non-acceptance of any leadership, support for non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and condemnation of outside subversive action by neighbouring states was thought in many quarters to be a snub to Ghana.¹² In a significant

11 Sudan stayed away as she had done from Casablanca. Her official objection was to Mauritania's presence, so was Morocco's. Ghana, Guinea and Mali did not attend on the grounds that preparations had been inadequate. UAR did not attend mostly because Algerian Provisional Government was not invited.

12 Because Ghana was accused by many to be engaged in toppling governments and wanting to become the leader in Africa. It was the prevalent feeling in many countries.

paragraph it was made clear that 'the unity that is aimed to be achieved at the moment is not the political integration of sovereign African states, but unity of aspirations and of action considered from the point of view of African social solidarity and political identity'. A technical commission of experts was established to work out detailed plans for economic, educational, cultural, scientific and technical cooperation. It seemed that Nkrumah's dream of the political kingdom of Africa was to remain only as a dream.

It was the Conference of Addis Ababa, held in 1963, that finally brought together African states despite the regional, political and linguistic differences that divided them. The Heads of State Conference which opened on May 23 drew up the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity, which was then signed by the heads of 31 states on May 26, 1963. The charter was essentially functional and reflected a compromise between the concept of a loose association of States favoured by the Monrovia group and the federal idea supported by the Casablanca group, and in particular by Ghana under Nkrumah. It is this compromise that has given the OAU its basic character and style of diplomacy.

On the occasion of the OAU's foundation Kwame Nkrumah published 'Africa Must Unite' in which he once again stressed the need for Africa's political and economic integration and for the creation of a continental government. The day before the OAU was formed he once again called on the African heads of states to come together in an African union, emphasising that no single African state is large or powerful enough to stand on its own against unbridled imperialist exploitation. Even after the meeting in Addis Ababa Nkrumah did not give up the idea of creating a United States of Africa. Rather, he began to look for a way of forming a union using the mechanism of the OAU. He hoped that joint action to solve common problems would increase their mutual understanding and solve their political differences as a result of which it would facilitate the creation of a single African state. In this context Nkrumah said, "I considered the establishment of the OAU as an important step forward from which we had quickly to move on to the formation of a Union Government of Africa."¹³

13 Quoted in Oginga Odinga, Not Yet Uhuru (London: Heinemann, 1967), p. xv.

Kwame Nkrumah put forward the idea of creating within the framework of the OAU joint armed forces and a joint command to defend the gains of the African revolution and bring about Africa's final liberation from colonialism and racism. Speaking to the heads of the OAU member states at a Conference in Cairo in 1964 he called on those assembled to approve the idea of creating a 'Union Government of Africa' and a 'Joint African High Command' in principle, at the very minimum if they could not adopt an immediate resolution to this effect.¹⁴ Once again this proposal of Nkrumah did not receive the backing of the majority. The last meeting Nkrumah attended took place in 1965 in the capital of Ghana. Here he tried to convince his colleagues of the need to adopt his new proposal on uniting the African countries while maintaining the sovereignty of each. But once again he encountered either open or covert resistance from most of the delegates.

14 See Kwame Nkrumah, Revolutionary Path. (Panaf Books Ltd; 1973), p. 296.

Nkrumah believed that, following decolonization, Africans in different independent territories would come closer to establish continental unity. He, therefore, called upon all Africans to achieve "political kingdom" as a step towards building a continental union of steps. It, however, never occurred to him that once the Africans gained separate "political kingdoms", they would not like to surrender them for the sake of a larger cause. His hopes that the momentum for unity would sweep across the continent did not come true. Hence, surprise disappointment and frustration came in quick succession.¹⁵

Nkrumah's idea for a Pan-African state has proved unacceptable in present-day African conditions. The African countries are now working to strengthen their national state systems and broaden intra-African economic, political and cultural ties. In this context, one cannot deny the contribution of Nkrumah made to the cause of strengthening African unity and giving it

15 Anirudha Gupta, Politics in Africa: Personalities, Issues and Ideologies (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd; 1988), p. 34.

an anti-imperialist orientation. On the other hand, the views of Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda are more suitable to the present-day African conditions. Moreover, their roles and contributions towards it under different international and regional forums are quite remarkable. In this context, both of them have played an active role in the OAU.

In December 1958 when the Nkrumah government took the initiative and organised the All African People's Conference, the first Pan-African Conference of Opponents of colonialism and imperialism, both Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda attended it. A historic slogan was put forward on that occasion - liberate all of Africa in this generation's lifetime. The methods used to achieve this goal, it was noted in one of the conference's resolutions, could vary, be violent or non-violent, and should be determined by the situation prevailing. After that both of them had not supported the views of Nkrumah on the Union of African States. But their role is quite prominent after the formation of OAU in 1963.

The views of Nyerere and Kaunda on African unity is totally different from that of Nkrumah. Nyerere, who had to deal with these issues whilst Kaunda was still immersed in his battle for independence, clashed with Nkrumah over the strategy for African unity. He never agreed with Nkrumah that such unity could be achieved initially on a continental basis. He considered it more realistic to approach it from a foundation of regional unities. As a result of this thinking he did great effort to form 'East African Federation' with Uganda and Kenya. He was disappointed, when continued western dominance in Kenya, the consequent stratification of Kenyan Society, and the coup in which replaced Uganda/obote by Amin, destroyed his hope of a federation of these three African states. In contrast, Nkrumah even opposed political association at the regional level. As he put it himself; "The idea of regional federation in Africa is fraught with many dangers. There is the danger of development of regional loyalties, fighting against each other. In effect, regional

federations are a form of balkanization on a grand scale".¹⁶

Free Africa is made up of 38 sovereign states, everyone of which is different from all the others. Those countries which have shown a preference for socialist policies differ among themselves in their political and economic organization, those which prefer capitalism - and all the others which defy such categorization also differ among themselves. "The different philosophies and organisations in Africa", Nyerere says, "are as much part of the Africa which has to be united as the common cultural heritage and the almost universal experience of colonialism. It is no use our waiting for differences of approach, or of political belief, to disappear before we think of working for unity in Africa. They will not disappear. If we are ever to unite, and our growing unity must be shaped in a manner which allows for the existing differences".¹⁷

¹⁶ Quoted in Ali A. Mazrui, Towards a Pan Africanism (London, 1967), p.70.

According to Nyerere, there are three basic things to move through cooperation to unity, or through unity to cooperation.¹⁸ The first thing is that each people, and each nation, must have the right to choose their own economic and political institutions and systems, in relation to matters which are of exclusive concern to them. Secondly, when there is any arrangement for inter-African cooperation, every one has to compromise with the needs and desires of others. Lastly, every one has to accept the paramountcy of Africa, and brotherhood and cooperation within Africa, over all outside relationship.

To Nyerere African unity does not have to imply hostility to other parts of the world whereas Nkrumah treats non-aligned countries as a 'third force'. Moreover, according to Nyerere, to be a member of a tribe does not automatically mean hostility to the nation of which one is a member; to be a citizen of a

18 Ibid.

sovereign nation in Africa does not preclude a loyalty to Africa and its growing unity. Similarly, the movement towards unity in Africa does not have mean hostility to Europe, or Asia, or to America. For every individual is a member of many communities; he is a member sometimes of his clan, and also of his tribe. He is now a citizen of his nation and linked with the other nations of Africa through the organisation of African unity, and he is also a citizen of the world. Individual membership of all these groups is a fact, whether one is conscious of it or not. All these groups continue within one another, and interact upon one another.¹⁹

To say that one's loyalty to Africa must predominate over loyalty to any single non-African relationship, therefore, no more implies hostility to outside groups than the predominant loyalty of brothers to each other implies hostility to other members of the village community. Brothers in a family stand together, and work together for their common good, in preference to working with outsiders,

19 Ibid, 14.

when a choice has to be made between the two. In case of conflict with other members of the society, brothers stand together. And when there are family quarrels they settle them among themselves, fiercely resenting the interven^{tion} of others. In this context Nyerere has said, "Let us African states organize ourselves as members of the one family we in fact are, and then, as one group, we shall be able to work easily and on equal terms with the rest of the world."²⁰ In this context, instability or poverty or disease or even development in one country effects the rest of Africa.

In economics, Africa suffers for the present division into sovereign states. Each of these countries separately competes with the others for the favours of the richer nations - for more capital investment, more aid, or for the sale of exports. In this context, Nyerere says, "I am not criticizing anyone for this; it is inevitable because every government in Africa must at the present time look after the exclusive interests of its own people. But the net result is that we are all in a weak bargaining

20 Ibid.

position with our wealthy trade partners; separately and collectively we suffer from the resultant poor terms of trade, from expensive outside capital, and so on. Whatever efforts we make for cooperation between our sovereign states, our condition is such that each separate country will be surely tempted and may even be forced by economic circumstances - to try to buy favours from outside, even at the expense of other African nations.²¹

Apart from it there are certain African problems like problems of border conflicts. In relation to the problem of development of national pride Nyerere says, "We are used to our sovereignty; we have developed - or in some cases are developing - a national pride. Indeed, every day that passes takes us further along the road to a nationalism which ignores our Africanness. We all salute our national flags, teach our children about our own countries, and their institutions, and create new symbols of national loyalty. And there is no comparable

21 Ibid, p.17.

symbol of the loyalty we must feel to Africa, if we are ever to attain the unity we need".²² Moreover, each of these states is grappling with difficult internal problems like unification, administrations, economics. In this case the government and legislators have to give more time for internal problems as they are all exclusively responsible to the electors of a particular part of Africa.

After dealing all these problem to African unity Nyerere has showed some paths to solve these problems. In this context he has said, "we have to keep the concept of Africa, as one unit, before our people all the time. In our schools we must teach our children that they are Africans as well as Liberians or Tanzanians. Through our newspapers and radios we must extend knowledge of other parts of our continent, and ensure that all our people know how much they have in common with each other. We must share our dances and our songs, our literature and our music. In short, we must help our people to get know each other, and understand each other's history and development."²³ Moreover, on the political front, all must try to strengthen - or at least not to

22 Ibid, p.19.

23 Ibid.

weaken - the organisation of African Unity. There should be improved telecommunications, transport, or trade between African states. More all-African discussions should be arranged to see what agreement can be done for common action in any field. All these countries should send delegations to each other's party conferences and share experiences.

Kenneth Kaunda like Nyerere has illustrated some points which create a threat to African unity. According to him 'Neo-colonialism' is a great threat to Africa's unity.²⁴ With the help of their economic tools the great powers try to undermine the sovereignty of the African states. It is just to replace the physical domination of the old colonialists. Neo-colonialism is destructive of Africa's unity because it creates mutual suspicion amongst newly independent countries.

To Kaunda foreign ideologies such as 'Marxist communism' is a threat to African unity.²⁵ But nationalism has proved to be a more powerful force than communism in the twentieth century. The history of

24 Kenneth Kaunda, A Humanist in Africa (London: Longmans, 1966), pp.115-7.

25 Ibid,117.

the handful of communist parties on the continent has not been an impressive one. They have been founded upon the rocks of indigenous political ideologies such as nationalism or religious ones such as Islam. It is this element in nationalism - the search for African personality -- maintains a strong grip upon the African people which no foreign ideology could dislodge. For this reason, even those African intellectuals who toy with Marxist ideas reject international communism. Any success, which communist bloc may achieve in aligning African states with it is destructive of Africa's unity and causes a shift of loyalty from Pan-Africa to Pan-communism. Ideological subservience must be seen for what it is - a subtle and debilitating form of colonial domination which can carve up Africa as effectively as anything achieved by the Great Powers in the late nineteenth century.²⁶ At this point one thing is clear that the force which created the new nations - nationalism - can work against the ultimate aim of African unity.²⁷ The more successful one is in sharpening a people's consciousness of being a nation,

26 Ibid, p. 121.

27 Ibid, p. 126.

the less likely they are to take kindly to submerging that new-found identity in a wider union.

Apart from all these, according to Kaunda there are certain hard realities which a newly independent African country cannot avoid. Closer links are being forced upon groups of states by the realities of international and continental politics. As for example, Zambia is in the process, as a matter of urgency of extending her trade and communication links with the East African territories and reducing the dependence upon the white-dominated States of Southern Africa, forced on her in times past. The existence of a Common Enemy in the shape of the Portuguese, South Africa is also a great aid to Pan-African unity. The urge to free the millions, who have been denied basic human rights and Political expression, has become the basis of a common African foreign policy. According to Kaunda, Pan-Africa cannot shunt her responsibilities on to United Nations Organisation or Great Powers, though in each case it is felt that little more than lip-service is being paid by them to condemnation of repressive regimes. Moreover, Kaunda has endorsed both

the letter and spirit of OAU Charter, and prepared to work within it. In this context, he has criticised the Nkrumah's concept of 'United States of Africa'. To him, it would have been a matter of honour to resist the influence and reject the ideas, if any one side would have tried to dominate continent.

It is clear from the above that for Kaunda neo-colonialism, Marxist communism, foreign aid and the forces which created the new nations were the enemies of African unity. He said, "Pan-Africa is not for me a semi-mystical concept of unity. It is an economic necessity. But we must press ahead with our planning and negotiation immediately before our situation hardens and our economic resources are locked away in water-tight national compartments, to be opened and enjoyed only by those who happen to be standing over the place where this wealth is buried".²⁸

The creation of an 'East African Federation' composed of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda has never again seemed as imminent as it did in 1963. However, in 1967

28 Ibid, p.115.

the three countries converted the 'East African Common Services Organisation' - an inheritance from the colonial period - into the 'East African Community,' whose headquarters were established at Arusha.²⁹

The community, a common market and administrative union, operates a wider range of services for the three countries. It collects income taxes, customs and excise duties; it operates four independent corporations that run East Africa's airline, railways, harbours, and post and telecommunications. Its branches include an appellate judicial system and a development bank.³⁰

The most serious threat to the community's continued existence has been caused by the overthrow of the Uganda President, Milton Obote, in January 1971, and by Tanzania's subsequent dispute with Uganda's new military ruler, General Idi Amin Dada. Nyerere continued to recognise Obote as Uganda's President, and offered him refuge in Tanzania. When Amin declared, in mid-1972, that he would expel some 50,000 Ugandan

29 William Edgett Smith, Nyerere of Tanzania (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1973), p.156.

30 Ibid.

Asians who had retained their British citizenship since Uganda's independence, Nyerere attacked Amin's action as racialism. In September 1972, a band of Ugandan rebels loyal to Obote invaded Uganda from Tanzania, and for a few days it appeared that open warfare might break out between the two countries. The events in Uganda have accelerated Tanzania's tendency to look Southward towards Zambia.

Ideologically, Nkrumah and Nyerere represented the radical stream in African politics.³¹ Both urged other African leaders to unite and pool their resources for an eventual confrontation with the forces of racial and colonial domination in Southern Africa. Parallel to Nkrumah's pledge to surrender Ghana's sovereignty in the event of the establishment of a continental state, Nyerere too had at one time agreed to postpone Tanganyika's independence in favour of the formation of an independent East African federation.³² But on achieving independence in December

31 n.15, p. 29.

32 See Joseph S. Nye Jr., Pan-Africanism and East African Integration (London, 1966), p.175.

1961, Tanganyika moved in a direction that weakened rather than strengthened its ties with the neighbours. Nyerere's decision to build a one-party state and an egalitarian society on the basis of Ujamaa contributed to Tanzania's growing isolation in East Africa.³³ Ali A. Mazuri had noted;

...while it is true that the failure of the federal negotiation of East Africa has resulted in a weakening of the common market, it has been Tanganyika more than anyone else which has helped to weaken it. This would be a genuine and historical justification of Nyerere's forebodings of 1960 that a Tanganyika which attained independence separately could not easily enter federation. It could, on the other hand, be a case of Tanganyika creating the necessary evidence to prove her own argument. (34)

From the very beginning Nyerere had stressed the importance of developing regional confederations as steps towards achieving African unity. He disagreed, however, with Kwame Nkrumah's call for African Union because he believed it unrealistic at that stage and

33 n. 15, p. 29.

34 Ali A. Mazuri, On Heroes and Uhuru Warship (London, 1967), p.85.

merely self-serving. He also disapproved of the widespread corruption in Ghana; after Nkrumah's overthrow in 1966, Nyerere told friends, "He made the mistake of allowing corruption, and it has overwhelmed him." At that point survival became a problem for him. As W. Scott Thomson notes: "As his objectives moved beyond his reach, he talked more and more of an African revolution and trapped himself in his talk."³⁵

He disapproved the proposal of a High command which had been proposed by Nkrumah. In this context, he has said, "How do you do it? Nkrumah used to talk of a High command. I disagreed with him on this. Suppose it were like NATO, an alliance of governments organised for self-protection against an external enemy. But how would you use NATO to stop a coup in Britain? How does the outsider go in? I differed with Nkrumah on this basis because Africa is not going to be attacked from the outside. The answer is unity on the basis of the United States of America; this is the answer to our internal problems."³⁶ Only if there

35 See W. Scott Thomson, Ghana's Foreign Policy, 1957-1966 (New York: Princeton University Press), 1969.

36 n. 29, p. 159.

was "genuine subversion by an outside power," said Nyerere, would intervention by another African state be justified. "But if there is an internal uprising in Tanzania, what does Africa do? Invade Tanzania? And who invades?"³⁷

37 Ibid.

Chapter - IV

C O N C L U S I O N

Chepter IV

Conclusion

Soon after getting independence African leaders were attracted by socialism as they thought it would not only be an arm against the colonial and neo-colonial powers but also help them to develop economically. As it has been propounded by different African leaders having different socio-political and historical background, it is natural that "socialism in Africa" differs from leader to leader. African socialism is a curious blend of Marxism, traditional African attitudes, and attempts towards economic development. Leaders like Nkrumah and Nyerere were eager socialists whereas President Kaunda considered that 'Humanism' expressed his philosophic concept better than any other word.

Nyerere's socialism stresses projects that operate mainly at the village level for community development, while in Nkrumah's Ghana much greater emphasis had been laid on the creation of modern capital intensive economic institutions in which the state supposed to play a prominent role. The Swahili word 'Ujamaa' is used in Tanzania by Nyerere as an approximate term of socialism since its literal meaning is familyhood, it brings to the mind of the

people the idea of mutual involvement in the family as they know it. In Nyerere's view socialism is an attitude of mind. Such an attitude of mind inclines men towards mutual cooperation and obligation for the welfare of fellowmen. Ujamaa originated in the very nature of African society. It did not grow out of class struggle. It is based on indigenous traditional social organisation. It is opposed to both capitalism and doctrinaire socialism. Its approach to social change is evolutionary and non-violent. According to Nyerere, the purpose of socialism is to enlarge real freedom of man and to increase his opportunity of living, welfare and dignity.

Kaunda's 'Humanism' is supposed to be derived from the traditional African culture like Nyerere's 'Ujamaa'. In order to preserve man-centred society, the government must remember that it is 'people above ideology', 'man above institution'. Society is there because of man. According to Kaunda this high valuation of MAN and respect for human dignity should not be lost in the new ways of material advancement in a traditional society.

Although 'non-capitalist path of economic development' was followed by all three, in Nkrumah's Ghana much heavier emphasis had been laid on the creation of modern economic institutions in which state played a prominent role. Kaunda's "Humanism" is to look for and devise new ways by which to encourage the hastening of material advancement while preserving principles of traditional man-oriented society. In Zambia land is regarded as property of the state to prevent absentee landlordism. The State may rent land to various users on behalf of the people. The objective is to make the agricultural sector as productive and as profitable as the industrial sector.

In the international sphere Nyerere is some steps ahead from Kaunda. Nyerere's role in the international relations is positive particularly in the context of 'Decolonisation', 'Non-alignment', 'New International Economic Order', 'South-South Co-operation' in different forums like Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Non-aligned Movement (NAM) United Nations etc. Since the Arusha Declaration Tanzania's efforts to diversify the sources of aid and economic relations have been successful to a large extent. Now Nordic countries and multilateral

institutions are playing important role in these sphere in place of UK and USA. Tanzania has been able to maintain some sort of realignment between domestic and foreign policies.

Although Kaunda is a late-comer, by now he has become an experienced international statesman. He is also playing an important role in United Nations, Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Non-aligned Movement (NAM), Commonwealth Conferences. He had led the OAU delegation of 1970 which tried to persuade western governments to refuse to supply South Africa with arms. He had been Chairman of the Non-aligned Conference in Lusaka (1970). In Singapore, in 1971, he had had the experience of persuading the Commonwealth Heads of State to accept his Declaration of Principles.

African unity, which is the cream of Nkrumah's thought, was not just an end in itself. It was the means to an end. It was for creating a modern society to give people the opportunity to enjoy a full and satisfying life. He saw African unity as the principal objective; (1) Total liberation of Africa from colonial rule; (2) Fighting neo-colonialism in the Independent Africa states; (3) Creating world conditions favourable to African prosperity and

and independence. The content of his concept of African unity and United States of Africa could be broadly divided into three -- (1) overall economic planning; (2) unified military and defence strategy; (3) single foreign policy and diplomacy.

The views of Nyerere and Kaunda on African unity are different from those of Nkrumah. Nyerere never agreed with Nkrumah that such unity could be achieved initially on a continental basis. He considered it more realistic to approach it from a foundation of regional unities like 'East African Federation' of Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya.

For Kaunda, whose views on African unity are quite applicable to the present-day Africa like those of Nyerere, neo-colonialism, ideologies (Marxist communism), foreign aid and forces which created the new nations were the enemies of African unity. To Kaunda Pan-Africa is not a semi-mystical concept of unity. On the other hand, it is an economic necessity of the post-colonial and developing countries in Africa.

One thing common can be found in ideologies of these three leaders that they are not aligned to any particular ideological bloc. On the other hand, what they have preached and done is based on tradition,

culture and need of their societies and time.

Nkrumah's political thinking has been full of contradictions. A man, who at the early stages of his rule over Ghana called himself a 'Christian Marxist' and a 'non-denominational christian' and during his American tour of 1958 he asserted that, "our institutions and the like which we have do not follow the (communist) ideology to have any fruitful set up in our country";¹ minced no words, when he was no more the destiny-maker of the Ghanians, while talking on non-alignment of nations, said that all newly independent nations should consider the Socialist bloc as their natural ally, as this was necessary 'to achieve revolutionary socialism'. In other words, the person, who started as a close friend of west soon after independence, pushed into the lap of East due to not only the domestic compulsion but also the policies of the west.

Yet, whatever may be the contradictions which arose in his thinking with the passage of time and situation; his grand design of a 'United States of Africa' never mellowed. Although he utterly failed

1 quoted in Anirudha Gupta and A.S. Shahid, "Ghana's Non-alignment Under Kwame Nkrumah", International Studies, vol.20, nos. 1-2, January-June 1981, p. 404.

in his pursuit, to write him of as a dreamer would be wrong, as his strategies on the international front showed a certain pragmatism. Moreover, many of his ideas were revived to influence the Africans and the non-aligned. At Havana (1979) President Castro argued that the reality of world politics made it impossible for one to be equidistant. From this followed Cuba's implied theory of socialist countries as 'natural allies' of the non-aligned movement.

Apart from all these, he is an outstanding leader of the national liberation movement and an active fighter within the international front of anti-colonial and anti-imperialist forces. He created one of the first mass political parties in Africa to proclaim its goal to be the achievement of political independence - the Convention People's Party (CPP). The achievement of independence by Ghana in 1957, after a struggle to which Kwame Nkrumah made an enormous personal contribution, became an important revolutionary factor on the continent. For Africans, Nkrumah's name became a symbol of independence and rebirth of national dignity which had been degraded by colonialism. He was a staunch opponent of racism, colonialism and neo-

colonialism. He saw independent development and progressive socio-economic change as the key to resolving these problems. "By leading the country to independence", Ali A. Mazrui has noted, "Nkrumah was a great Gold Coaster. By working hard to keep Pan-Africanism warm as a political ideal, Nkrumah was a great African. But by the tragedy of his domestic excesses after independence Nkrumah fell short of becoming a great Ghanaian".²

Nyerere in his socialism (Ujamaa) and Kaunda in his 'Humanism' have offered their positions for the people of their respective countries. It is because Kaunda places a higher expectation on man's innate spirituality and Nyerere on the importance of institutions which encourage mutual aid. Both find it good in their own lives to believe in a God and a future, in man's progress which gives him the abilities to improve his own life and his society. More interestingly, both of them are neither sanctimonious, dogmatic, fanatical nor attached to any one power bloc. On the other hand, they are good-humoured,

2 Ali A. Mazrui, "Nkrumah: The Leninist Czar", Transition (Kampala), vol.6, no.26, pp.9-17.

relaxed, humble, balanced, accompanying their philosophy lessons with playing golf, reading, translating, joking, watching football, playing with children.

Whereas Kaunda has always been concerned over the moral condition of mankind itself, Nyerere deals with the practical issues facing contemporary Africans. Kaunda seeks harmony in national and international society. He believes that men should be guided by values which bring together God, the community, the material world and the self.

The friendship, mutual understanding and constant co-operation of Nyerere and Kaunda profoundly influences the current development of society in Africa, ideas in the Third World and the future of human society. They both aim to build the institutions in their nations which will encourage the latter human characteristics and inhibit the former.

Nkrumah has been called 'a fraud of the highest order' (as claimed by Kofi Baako, his minister and close associate for eighteen years) or 'a genius corrupted by ambition' or 'a dreamer whose dream never realised'. It is a fact that many of his ideas have run

far in advance to the stage of consciousness of his contemporaries and time. Still the non-aligned might do well by applying their mind to learn the concepts of African unity, neo-colonialism and revolutionary action as defined by Nkrumah. On the otherhand, in the present-day condition, proposals of Nyerere and Kaunda for new social values, for a different form of society, for changed relationships between human beings, have got much importance not only for the Africans but also for the people of developing countries, particularly for the youth. Moreover, in a world in which competitive materialism has provoked continual war, frequent famine, growing mental sickness and widening social injustice, as Kaunda's "Humanism" has kept 'people above ideology' and 'man above institutions' (i.e., 'man-centred society' or 'individualism') which is more close to capitalism, Nyerere's "Ujamaa" (i.e., socialism) is due to be heard by a larger audience.

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